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THE INDIAN ANTIQUARY,

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THE PROBABLE INDIAN ORIGIN OF THE NAMES OF THE WEEK-DAYS.

BY MAJOR-GENERAL A. CUNNINGHAM, C.S.I.

As the names of the week-days play a very important part in the determination of Indian dates, it will be useful to have a list of the principal appellations by which they are known. They are all named after the seven planets, including the sun and moon. The word *vâra*, *vâsara*, or *dina*, "day," is usually added and inflected after the name of the planet,—as *Ravi-vârê*, *Ravi-vâsarê*, *Ravi-dinê*, = "on Sunday." But sometimes simply the name of the planet is used in an inflected form,—as *Ravau*, "on Sunday"; *Sômê*, "on Monday"; *Bhaumê*, "on Tuesday"; *Budhê*, "on Wednesday"; *Gurau*, "on Thursday"; *Śukrê*, "on Friday"; *Śanau*, "on Saturday."

The names of the planets which are most commonly used for the week-days, in Indian Inscriptions, are the following:—

SUNDAY—Âditya, Arka, Ravi, Bhânu, Bhâskara, and Pûshan. [Also Âdivâra, or the "First day" or "Commencement-day"].

MONDAY—Sôma, Chandra, Indu, Vidhu.

TUESDAY—Maṅgala, Bhauma, Kuja, Mahîja, Mahîsuta.

WEDNESDAY—Budha, Saumya, Rauhiṇêya.

THURSDAY—Bṛihaspati, Guru, Surâchârya, Âṅgirasa, Vâchaspati.

FRIDAY—Śukra, Uśanas, Kavi, Daityaguru, Bhṛigu, Bhârgava.

SATURDAY—Śani, Sauri, Śanaiśchara, Kṛitânta.

Although the names of the week-days are clearly derived from those of the seven planets, yet nothing is actually known as to the date when they were first adopted, or as to the people who first made use of them. The Hebrews had their weeks of seven days; but they never got beyond the primitive plan of calling them by their numbers, as the "first day," the "seventh day," &c. Dion Cassius says that the custom of naming the days after the seven planets was first adopted by the Egyptians, and had in no very long time been communicated by them to all other nations, especially the Romans. But this statement is open to much doubt; as we know that the Egyptian months were divided into decades, or periods of ten days, and not into weeks, or periods of seven days. Dion Cassius wrote about A.D. 200,—long after the names of the week-days had been in common use amongst the Romans. Thus Tibullus, B. C. 20, mentions the *Saturni sacra dies*, or 'day sacred to Saturn' (*Eleg.* I. 3-18). So also Julius Frontinus, A.D. 70 to 80, in speaking of the capture of Jerusalem, says that it took place on the same day as "Saturni die quo eis nefas quidquam seriæ rei agere" (*Strategematica*, II. 1.) I remember also having read that Julius Cæsar esteemed the *dies Veneris* as his lucky day; but I cannot find the authority.

From these notices it seems certain that the

Romans had adopted the names of the seven planets for the week-days, a short time before the beginning of the Christian era.

But there is equally good evidence to show that the week-days, as named after the seven planets, were in use, both in Persia and in India, at the same time as in the west, and perhaps even earlier. We have the testimony of Celsus, who lived during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, that the Persian temples had seven gates, named after the seven planets in regular order, from Saturn to the Sun, with their appropriate metals and colours as follows:—[1]

1st Gate	Saturn	Lead.
2nd	Venus	Tin.
3rd	Jupiter	Brass.
4th	Mercury	Iron.
5th	Mars	Mixed metal.
6th	Night (Moon)	Silver.
7th	The Sun	Gold.

Here the metals appropriate to Venus and Jupiter have changed places. That of Venus should be copper; while that of Jupiter should be tin.[2]

But the statement regarding the Indian week-days is still more explicit. In the Life of Apollonius by Philostratus, it is said that "the "Indian Sage Iarchas gave Apollonius seven "rings, each bearing *the name of one of the* "*Seven Stars*; and that he wore them alter-"nately, *according to the particular name of the* "*day*." As Philostratus derived his information from the Assyrian Damis, who actually accompanied Apollonius, this notice is contemporary with the date of the travels, between A.D. 20 and 50. The use of the week-days named after the seven stars was, therefore, already established in India at least as early as the beginning of the Christian era.[3]

The order of the days, according to European writers, was derived from the division of the day into 24 hours, and the assignment of each hour to the different planets in succession, in their natural order, according to their distance from the earth,—as Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, the Sun, Venus, Mercury, and the Moon. This is the arrangement given in the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, XII. 31. The first hour of the 24 was assigned to the Sun, as chief of the planets; the second, to Venus; the third, to Mercury; and so on, in regular succession, until the 25th hour, or first hour of the second day, which falls on the Moon; while the 49th hour falls on Mars; the 73rd, on Mercury; the 97th, on Jupiter; the 121st, on Venus; and the 145th, on Saturn. This arrangement is shown in the annexed diagram, fig. A, in which the progression is retrograde, or contrary to the motion of the Sun, as shown by the arrows inside the circle.

But if the order of the week-days was first developed in India, the process cannot have been based on the division of the day into 24 hours; seeing that the Indians have always divided their day into 60 *ghaṭîs* (*ghaṛî*), or periods of 24 minutes each. This division of the day is still in common use in Native States, and amongst Native Paṇḍits and astronomers. The author of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* makes no mention of the week-days by name; but he speaks of the "*lords of the day*," that is, of the planets which give their names to the days of the week.[4] Unfortunately he gives no instructions as to how these "lords of the day" are to be found. In another place however he speaks of the "regents of the hours" (*hôrâ*) as occurring in downward order from Saturn.[5]

But the process with the 60 *ghaṭîs* of India, would be similar to that with the 24 hours of Europe. Taking the Sun as the lord of the first *ghaṭî* of the 1st day,—the 61st *ghaṭî*, or the first *ghaṭî* of the 2nd day, would fall on the Moon; the lord of the 121st *ghaṭî*, or 3rd day, would be Mars; of the 181st *ghaṭî*, or 4th day, Mercury; of the 241st *ghaṭî*, or 5th day, Jupiter; of the 301st *ghaṭî*, or 6th day, Venus; and of the 361st *ghaṭî*, or 7th day, Saturn. This arrangement is shown in the annexed diagram, fig. B, in which the seven planets are arranged exactly in the same order as in diagram A, while the number of *ghaṭîs* is counted in the direct order of the Sun's progress, as shown by the arrows inside the circle.

[1] Quoted from Origen in Maurice's *Indian Antiquities*.

[2] See the very curious book of Petrus Arlensis de Scudalupis, entitled *Sympathia Septem Metallorum ac Selectorum Lapidum ad Planetas*; Paris, 1590. At p. 258 he says—*Jovem Stannum, Venerem Cuprum.*

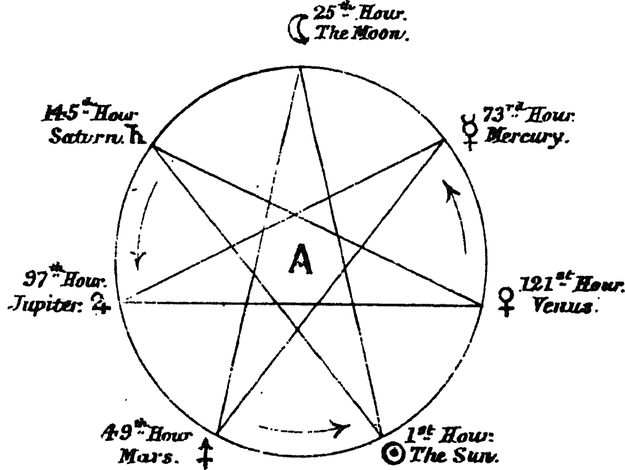
[3] Philost. *Vit. Apollonii*, III. 41.

[4] *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, I. 51.

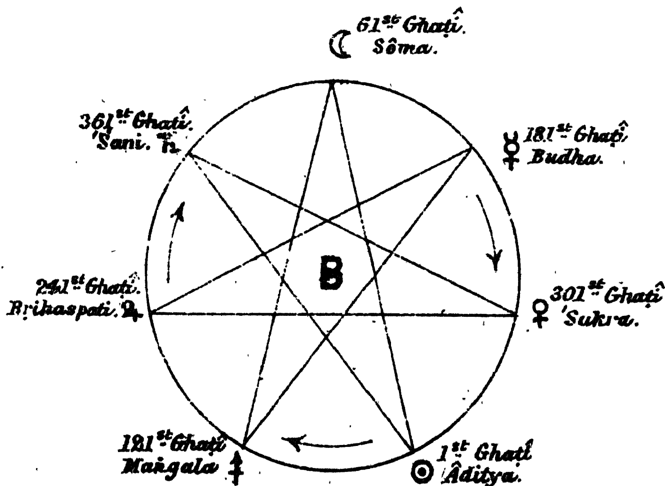
[5] *id.* XII. 79.

DIAGRAM SHOWING THE PROCESS BY WHICH THE NAMES OF THE WEEK-DAYS WERE DERIVED.

BY DAY OF 24 HOURS.



BY DAY OF 60 GHAṬÎS.



The fact that in India the naming of the days of the week after the seven stars had already been followed by the wearing of rings, "each bearing the name of one of the Seven Stars," to be worn "according to the particular name of the day," seems to point to an early adoption of the system, if not to its actual invention, in India. This custom

indeed still exists in India, where a man will wear a red coral ring on Tuesday, the day of Mars, and a blue sapphire ring on Saturday, the day of Śani or Saturn, after whom the gem itself is named *Śani-priya*, or Saturn's beloved.

The dedication of the different stones and the different metals appears to have been regulated by the colours of the planets themselves, as follows :—

Planets.	Colours.	Metals.	Stones.
Saturn	blue	lead	sapphire
Venus	red, tawny	copper	amethyst, jacinth
Jupiter	grey	tin	cornelian
Mercury	black	quicksilver	touchstone
Mars	green	cutting bronze	bloodstone
Moon	white	silver	crystal
Sun	yellow	gold	topaz, diamond

There is no direct evidence to show the age of this scheme; but I believe that it must have been in use in Media and Babylonia for several centuries before the Christian era. The account given by Herodotus of the seven walls of the Median Ecbatana of seven different colours, whether true or false, is at least as old as the time of Herodotus himself. So also the description of Belshazzar's feast given by Daniel,[6] when "the king, and his princes, his wives, and his concubines, drank wine and praised *the gods of gold, and of silver, of brass, and of iron, of wood, and of stone*," is as old as the Book of Daniel, whether it be referred to the time of Nebuchadnezzar or to that of the Maccabees. Here the *gods* of gold and of silver, of brass and of iron, can only refer to the planets as regents of the metals. As there is no allusion to this subject in any of the early classical authors of Greece or Rome, I conclude that the dedication of the different stones and metals to the seven planets must have originated in the East, in the quarter where they are first found.

At a later date, on the coins of the Indo-Scythian Kushâns, we have the planets represented under their personified forms as heavenly *kings*, as well as under their elemental forms as ΑΘΡΟ, *fire*, ΟΑΔΟ, *air*, &c.

That the planets, or the regents of the planets, were accounted kings, we learn from Hyde, who says, "apud Ethnicos planetæ omnes regum epitheto gaudebant." So also, on the Indo-Scythian gold coins, we find the inscriptions ΡΑΟ ΡΗΟΡΟ and ΡΑΟ ΝΑΝΑ.

THE MAHÂNÂRÂYAṆA-UPANISHAD OF THE BLACK YAJUR-VÊDA.

BY LIEUTENANT-COLONEL G. A. JACOB, BOMBAY STAFF CORPS.

Being engaged in the preparation of a complete concordance to the most important of the *Upanishads*, I have recently examined the printed text of that named above, which forms the tenth *Prapâṭhaka* of the *Taittirîya-Âraṇyaka*. By a most fortunate coincidence, a very rich collection of *Upanishads* and *Dîpikâs* has lately been added to the library of the Deccan College; and it now possesses an old and accurate MS. of Nârâyaṇa's *Dîpikâ* on this *Upanishad*, together with four MSS. of the text. Of these, No. 140 of 1879-80 contains the text used by Nârâyaṇa, and is very valuable. The other three, No. 10 of 1882-83 and Nos. 133 and 134 of 1880-81, embody the same text, except in Sections 18-20. The *Dîpikâ*, No. 10, and No. 133, were purchased in Gujarat; and the others are probably from the same province. All these have been carefully collated with the printed text edited by Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra in 1872, and many valuable readings have been obtained.

The editor of the *Âraṇyaka* seems to have had good materials at his disposal; but it is questionable whether he made the best possible use of them. Suffice it to say, that the composition of the first *Anuvâka* of the tenth Book is certainly unsupported by any MS. now extant! In publishing a text of this kind, with a verbal commentary by the renowned Sâyaṇa, it would seem but common-sense that the former should, as far as possible, agree with that used by the commentator. Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra, however, determined to follow the text of his manuscript A, in spite of the fact that it differed materially from Sâyaṇa's; and the result is not encouraging! For example, the first *Anuvâka* proper consists of 140

[6] Daniel v. 3, 4, and 23.

lines,—33 *of which are not in the Bhâshya which accompanies it,* whilst others appear there in a different order. The first *Anuvâka* of manuscript A evidently ends on page 785, and the *pratîkas,* or memorial words, follow on page 786; but the second is glued on to it, in a most unscholarly fashion, so that the chapters may be in conformity with those of Sâyaṇa.

In some MSS., the text now under notice is styled the *Nârâyaṇa-Upanishad*; and Sâyaṇa gives it also the name of *Yâjñikî* (तत्र कर्मणां बाहुल्याद्याज्ञिकीत्युच्यते). In two of the College MSS. it is called the *Bṛihannârâyaṇa-Upanishad*; whilst in the other three it bears the title adopted at the head of this paper.

Before proceeding to examine the one in hand, it may be well to notice briefly another *Upanishad* of the same name, but differing entirely as to its contents. It is otherwise known as the *Paramatattvarahasya-Upanishad* (Burnell's *Catalogue of Tanjore MSS.*, page 34), and commences thus:—

ओं श्रीमद्विश्वाधिष्ठानपरमहंससद्गुरुरामचन्द्राय नमः। ओं भद्रं कर्णेभिरिति शान्तिः। अथ परमतत्त्वरहस्यजिज्ञासुः परमेष्ठी देवमानेन सहस्रसंवत्सरं तपश्चचार। सहस्रवर्षेऽतीतेऽप्युग्रतीव्रतपसा प्रसन्नं भगवन्तं महाविष्णुं ब्रह्मा परिपृच्छति भगवन्परमतत्त्वरहस्यं मे ब्रूहीति ॥

The following is a *résumé* of its contents as appended to each of the eight *adhyâyas*:—

1. इत्याथर्वणमहानारायणोपनिषदि पादचतुष्टयस्वरूपनिरूपणं नाम प्रथमोऽध्यायः
2. परब्रह्मणः साकारनिराकारस्वरूपनिरूपणं
3. मूलाविद्यामलयस्वरूपनिरूपणं
4. महामायातीताखण्डाद्वैतपरमानन्दलक्षणपरब्रह्मणः परमतत्त्वस्वरूपनिरूपणं
5. संसारतरणोपायकथनद्वारा परममोक्षमार्गस्वरूपनिरूपणं
6. परममोक्षमार्गस्वरूपनिरूपणं
7. परममोक्षस्वरूपद्वारा त्रिपादविभूतिपरमवैकुण्ठमहानारायणस्वरूपनिरूपणं
8. परमसायुज्यमुक्तिस्वरूपनिरूपणं

In style and matter it is thus wholly unlike the older *Upanishads,* and should rather be classed with the later Vêdântic treatises based on those works. There is a MS. of it in the set of 108 *Upanishads* added to the Deccan College Library last year, and called No. 487 of 1882-83.

Sâyaṇa tells us that the number of *Anuvâkas* in the tenth book of the *Taittirîya-Âraṇyaka* varies from 64 to 89; but that he himself followed for the most part a text consisting of 80 (तत्र वयं पाठान्तराणि यथासंभवं सूचयन्तो ऽशीतिपाठं प्राधान्येन व्याख्यास्यामः). Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra's edition comprises only 64, but seems to exhaust the whole of the *Bhâshya.* The divisions in the College MSS., however, differ from all the above, and they also vary amongst themselves. The *Dîpikâ* divides it into 25 sections, as stated in Nârâyaṇa's opening words:—महानारायणीयेऽत्र तैत्तिरीये शिरस्यपि। पञ्चविंशतिसंख्याकाश्चातुर्त्रिंशे तु खण्डकाः ॥

The matter included in each Section, together with the portion that corresponds with it in the printed text, is indicated below:—

1. अंभस्यपारे.........इत्यष्टौ (pp. 752-763)
2. एष हि देवः......मा परिपातय (763-769)
3. पुरुषस्य विद्महे.........तन्नो ब्रह्मा प्रचोदयात् (769 to end of invocations, which differ materially).
4. सहस्रपरमा देवी......यं च वयं द्विष्मः (772-776, omitting what Sâyaṇa omits, and following his order. This Section therefore includes part of 777!)
5. नमोऽग्नये सुमते ....पुनात्वघमर्षणः (778 to footnote on 785; omitting what Sâyaṇa omits).
6. अक्रान्समुद्रः ....सौभगमायजस्व (785-790; omitting, of course, page 786).
7. भूरग्नये पृथिव्यै...........ममामुष्य ओम् (791-797, omitting what Sâyaṇa omits).
8. ऋतं तपः.........अन्तरात्मा (797-804).
9. ब्रह्मा देवानां............अवमीद्वीर एतत् (804-813).
10. चत्वारि शृङ्गा .... स महेश्वरः (813-820).
11. सहस्रशीर्षं .... परमस्वराट् (*Anuvâka* 11, omitting the clause that Sâyaṇa omits).
12. ऋतं सत्यं......इत्युपनिषत् (829-834).
13. घृणिः सूर्यः .... इति वसिष्ठः (835-842).

14. आपो वा इदं.........सूर्ये ज्योतिषि जुहोमि स्वाहा (842-846).

15. आयातु वरदा देवी .... अपिधानमसि (847-856).

16. श्रद्धायां प्राणे............सुमतीका जुषतां (856-863).

17. सद्योजातं......पङ्क्तिं पुनन्ति (863-871).

18. Consists of *Anuvâkas* 59, 61, 62, on pages 919 and 920.

19. Consists of *Anuvâka* 64, (page 920), with considerable alterations, and *Anuvâka* 67, (page 923), down to परमेष्ठिने स्वाहा.

20. Consists of the last part of *Anuvâka* 67, from the words ये भूताः; of a number of *Mantras* from the *Taittirîya-Saṁhitâ*, including most of what Sâyaṇa omits on pages 774-776; and of the text from 872-878.

21. सत्यं परं......इत्युपनिषत् (*Anuvâka* 62).

22. प्राजापत्यो हारुणिः ...... अग्निहोत्रं परमं वदन्ति (885-890).

23. यज्ञ इति......सर्वमिदं जगत् (890-896).

24. स भूतं.........इत्युपनिषत् (896-899)

25. तस्यैवंविदुषो to the end. (*Anuvâka* 64).

Before presenting the list of the most important of the various readings obtained from these five MSS., I would notice the extraordinary manner in which Sâyaṇa explains the opening words of the *Upanishad*, अम्भस्यपारे. Nârâyaṇa annotates it thus,—अपारे गंभीरेऽम्भस्युदके सम्प्रविष्टः and one would have supposed that no other interpretation was possible. But here is Sâyaṇa's exegesis, according to the printed text,—अम्भस्य बहुविधसमुद्रमध्यवर्त्तिजलस्य पारे परतीरे ! One is prepared for a good measure of poetic license; but to make अम्भस्य a noun in the genitive case seems to be going beyond even a poet's bounds !

Various readings.

To facilitate reference, I will call MS. No. 10, A; No. 133, B; 134, C; 140, D; and the *Dîpikâ*, E.

1. Page 755. भव्यमानं instead of भव्यमां.— This reading is of great value, inasmuch as it completes the line, and restores the sense. It is supported by B, C, D, and E. The reading of A is भव्यमानं which is simply a clerical error. The *Dîpikâ* explains it thus: आनमिदं अनितीत्यानं प्राणिजातं इदं प्रत्यक्षं ॥ The other reading is very common, however, and I found it in four MSS. which I borrowed in the city of Poona; but how meaningless !

2. Page 756. यदन्तः समुद्रे कवयो वदन्ति instead of यमन्तः समुद्रे कवयो वयन्ति.—A, B, C, D. It is not noticed in E.

3. Same page, विससर्ज for व्यचसर्ज.—A, B, C, D, E.

4. Page 764. धमति for नमति.—A, B, C, D, E.

5. Page 765. स पितुः पिता for सवितुः पिता. —A, B, C, D.

6. Page 768. दिशो दिशः for दिशो दिश. —A, B, C, D.

7. Page 768. हिंसीः for हिंसीत्.—A, B, C, D.

8. Page 769-772. The invocations in imitation of the *Gâyatrî* differ considerably from those in the printed text. The latter has only 12, whilst the *Dîpikâ* gives 18. Their order is as follows :—

1. Mahâdêva.	10. Âditya.
2. Tatpurusha.	11. Vakrapâda.
3. Nandikêśvara.	12. Kâtyâyanî.
4. Vakratuṇḍa.	13. Mahâśûlinî.
5. Shaṇmukha.	14. Subhagâ.
6. Pâvaka.	15. Garuḍa.
7. Agni.	16. Nârâyaṇa.
8. Bhâskara.	17. Nṛisiṁha.
9. Divâkara.	18. Chaturmukha.

9. Page 773. धारिता देवि instead of धारयिष्यामि.—A, B, C, D, E.—शिरसा धारिता शेषेणेति शेषः। E.

10. Page 773. The *Anushtup* line beginning with भूमिर्धेनुः lacks four syllables. They are supplied by A, B, C, D, which read thus :— भूमिर्धेनुर्धरित्री च, &c. The four Poona city MSS. already referred to agree with the printed text; so the omission is evidently of ancient date.

11. Page 774. हर instead of हन.—A, B, C, D.

12. Page 776. सुमित्रियाः...दुर्मित्रियाः instead of सुमित्राः...दुर्मित्राः—A, B, C, D, E.

13. Page 777 and 779. तन्मे instead of तन्नः—A, B, C, D.

14. Page 778. सुमते instead of अप्सुमते.— A, B, C, D.

15. Page 781. एष सर्वस्य भूतस्य भव्ये भुवनस्य गोप्ता । एष पुण्यकृतां लोकानेष मृत्यो हिरण्मयः।—A, C, D, E. B omits सर्वस्य. The *Dîpikâ* annotates thus :— एष सर्वस्येति मृत्युप्रार्थनामन्त्रः । एष त्वं भूतस्योत्पन्नस्य भव्ये भवस्योत्पत्स्यमानस्य विभक्तिव्यत्ययः । ...हे मृत्यो एष त्वं पुण्यकृतां लोकान् संशिशाधि, &c.

16. Page 784. रजो भूमिस्त्वमांरोदयस्व instead of रजोभूमिस्त्वं मां रोदयस्व,—A, B, C, D, E. Sâyaṇa's explanation of this passage is wonderful. Here is Nârâyaṇa's :— रजो मलं भूमिर्भूमेरंशः । हे वरुण त्वमारोदयस्व अङोऽनुनासिकः छन्दसीत्यनुनासिकः म्लान कृथाः रजो नाशयेत्यर्थः ।

17. Page 785. अक्रान्त्समुद्रः instead of आक्रान्त्समुद्रः—B, C, D, E.

18. Page 788. सुतरसिद्धतरसे instead of सुतरसि तरसे,—A, D, E. This is a very interesting reading, and seems far superior to that of the printed text, with which, however, B and C agree. It is thus explained by Nârâyaṇa :— सुष्टुतरमतिशयितं सिद्धं तरो वेगो यस्याः सा तस्यै ॥

19. Page 789. आत्रिवन्नमसा for अत्रिवन्मनसा,—A, B, C, E. हे अग्ने अत्रिवत् अत्रिश्चन्द्रस्य पिता तद्वद्दयालुत्वान्नमसा नमस्कारमात्रेण गृणानः गृ शब्दे उपदिशन् । E.

20. Page 790. मन्नोहि for मन्नोषि,—A, B, C, D, E. मन्न इति मन्नः मगतो याज्ञिकैर्हि कं निश्चितं अध्वरेषु यागेष्वीड्यः स्तुत्यः सनान्नित्यश्च होता । पुरातनोपि नव्यो नूतनश्च सत्सि सीदसि ।—E.

21. *Anuvâka* 6. शक्य for शिक्यः—A, B, C, E. शक्यो ज्ञेयः ...अथवा शक्यो वेदवाच्यः ।—E. इन्द्राय for इन्द्रियाय,—A, B, C.

22. *Anuvâka* 8. उपास्य for उपास्व,—A, B, C. D, E.

23. *Anuvâka* 9. यद्युवेहवेहवा—E. यदि उ वा यद्येव इह वा वामभागे इह वा दक्षिणभागे ।—E. यद्युतेहवा,—A, B, C.

24. Page 802. गुहाशाया निहिताः instead of गुहाशयान्निहिताः—B, C, E.

25. Page 803. भूतिः for भूतः—B, C, D, E.

26. Page 811. मिमिक्षे instead of मिमिक्षिरे,—A, B, C, D, E.

27. Page 818. ब्रह्मलोकेषु,—A, B, C, D, E. परामृताः—B, C, D, E.

28. Page 825. हृदयं तद्विजानीयात् instead of ज्वालमालाकुलं भाती,—A, B, C, D, E.

29. Page 828. पीताभा स्यात्तनूपमा instead of पीता भास्वत्यणूपमा,—A, D, E.

30. Page 836. रुद्रस्तन्महो for रुद्रः सन्महो,—A, B, C, D, E.

31. *Anuvâka* 17. Sâyaṇa's interpretation of कद्रुद्राय as प्रशस्तो रुद्रः तस्मै, and of तव्यसे as meaning स्तव्याय, is very curious. Nârâyaṇa's seems better :—कद्रुद्राय कुत्सितानां रोदकाय ...... तव्यसे पूरकाय ।

32. Page 868. दुरुष्वहा for दुरुष्यह,—A, B, C, D, E. हे दुःस्वप्नहन् हे सोम दुरुष्वहा त्वं दुष्टमुष्वं दाहं हन्ति दुरुष्वहा ।—E.

33. *Anuvâka* 58. चिविटि स्वाहा for विविष्ट्यै स्वाहा,—A, B, C, D, E.

34. *Anuvâka* 59. खखोल्काय for कषोत्काय,—B, C, D, E. खषोल्काय A.

35. Page 896. स भूतं स च भव्यं जिज्ञासासक्तिपूरितं जारयिष्ठाः ।—E. सभूतमिति भूतभव्याभ्यां सहितं पुरुषं जिज्ञास ज्ञातुमिच्छ । आसक्तिपूरितं जारयिष्ठाः आसक्त्या आसंगेन पूरितं बहुलीकृतं जारयिष्ठा जीर्णं कृथाः संगं त्यक्त्वा संसारं तनूकुरु ॥—E.

36. Page 897. वसुरण्यः for वसुरण्वः—A,B, C, D, E. वसुरण्य इति । वसुर्निवासभूमिः अण्यः अण शब्दे स्तुत्यः ।—E. विश्वसृक् for विश्वसृत्,—A, B, C, D, E.

These, then, are some of the most important readings obtained from the College manuscripts. I have said nothing of the passages which they add to the printed text. I am anxious to publish the entire text with Nârâyaṇa's *Dîpikâ*. The five MSS. now in my possession (for I which am indebted to the courtesy and friendly co-operation of Professor Bhâṇḍârkar), would amply suffice for the text of the *Upanishad;* but for that of the *Dîpikâ* at least one more manuscript would be necessary. I trust it may be forthcoming.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(Continued from Vol. XIII. p. 276.)

No. CLI.

BYÂNÂ STONE-INSCRIPTION OF THE ADHIRÂJA VIJAYA.—SAMVAT 1100.

Byânâ,—the 'Byana' of maps; in Lat. 26° 55′ N. and Long. 77° 21′ E.,—is the chief town of the Tahsîl of the same name in the Bharatpur State in Râjputânâ.

About two miles to the south-west, and situated at the junction of the lands of Byânâ and three other villages, there is a large and ancient hill-fort called Bijayagaḍh or Bêjêgaḍh, *i.e.* Vijayagaḍh or 'the hill-fort of victory.'[1] There are several old temples and other remains in the fort,—the principal one being the temple that is called Bijayamandir or Bêjêmandir, *i.e.* 'the temple or hall of victory.' But the chief object of interest is a red sandstone *Lâṭ*, standing inside the walls of the fortress, towards the south-east, which has on it an ancient inscription of the Varika king Vishṇuvardhana, dated on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of the month Phâlguna, in the year 428 of some unspecified era.[2] On the occasion of my visit, my servants discovered, built into the inner side of the fort-wall near this *Lâṭ*, a small stone containing a still more ancient inscription; but, unfortunately it is a mere fragment, and all that it discloses is that it is the commencement of a Sanskrit inscription of a *Mahârâja* and *Mahâsênâpati*, whose name is lost, of the Yaudhêya *gaṇa* or tribe.

Inside the town of Byânâ, there are two old Hindu temples, now used by the Musalmâns as *Masjids*,—each with a Sanskrit inscription in it. The inscription that I now publish, is on a pilaster on the left hand near the entrance of the unnamed temple which is described in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 51ff. and which the inscription shews to have belonged in the eleventh century A.D. to the Jains. The writing covers a space of about 1′ 1¾″ high by 8″ broad, and is well preserved, except for a few letters that have been worn away, apparently by the sharpening of knives, at the sides; the only letters, however, that cannot be restored with certainty are one at the end of line 13, and one at the beginning of line 14. The characters are Nâgarî, of the period to which the inscription refers itself.[3]

Commencing with an invocation of the *Siddhas* or Saints, the inscription proceeds to record that, in the kingdom of the *Adhirâja* Vijaya (line 5), at the city of Śrîpathâ (l. 6), there was the *Sûri* or Jain teacher Mahêśvara (l. 4), a leader of the *Śvêtâmbaras*, and belonging to the Kâmyaka *gachchha* or sect (l 3), who occupied the seat of Vishṇusûri (l. 2), *i.e.* who was the successor, or a successor, of Vishṇusûri. Lines 6 to 11 record that Mahêśvarasûri died when the year one thousand and one hundred was drawing to its close, when the waning fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada was current, and when the second lunar day of the dark fortnight, coupled with the name of the moon, was passing away. Lines 12 to 17 describe how Mahêśvarasûri's fame, like the river Gaṅgâ, flowed through the three worlds. And lines 17 and 18 record that this *praśasti* was engraved by the *Sâdhu* Sarvadêva in the year 1100, on the same day, *viz.* Chandravâra, or Monday, the second day of the bright fortnight of the month Bhâdra.[4]

The *Adhirâja* Vijaya mentioned in this inscription seems, from his title, to be only a local chieftain, whose name is preserved in the local traditions as Vijayapâla, and who is said to have rebuilt and added to the fort, and to have named it after himself.[5]

The mention of the city of Śrîpathâ in this inscription, and of "the little pavilion standing in Śrîpathâ" in the inscription at the 'Ukha-Mandar' which I shall notice below,

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[1] For some reason or other, which I could not ascertain, this fort is entered in maps under the name of 'Badulgurh-Kot.'—The proper name of it is Bijayagaḍh,—not Bijayamandirgaḍh, as Mr. Carlleyle gives it.

[2] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 60 and Plate viii.—The era is probably that of the kings of Mâlava; see *ante* Vol. XIII. p. 163.

[3] For a facsimile, see *Indian Inscriptions* No. 7.

[4] The corresponding English date is Monday the 30th July A.D. 1044.—This is according to the *southern* computation, with the year beginning in Kârttika. According to the *northern* computation, with the year beginning in Chaitra, the corresponding English date would be Wednesday, the 27th July, A.D. 1043.—Unless we assume that this inscription was composed by a visitor from the south, this instance seems to shew that the southern computation was the one in force in, at any rate, this part of Râjputânâ.

[5] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. pp. 54, 55.

point very clearly to the ancient Sanskrit name of Byânâ being Śrîpathâ.

This inscription has been noticed in some detail by Mr. A. C. L. Carlleyle,[6] who deduces from it, "with some diffidence," the following remarkable genealogy of kings :—

Sri Vishṇu Sûryâsano.
(A.D. 970 ?)
|
Sri Nabkâmyaka, or Mat-Kâmyaka ?
(A.D. 995 ?)
|
Sri Mansûri Maheswar.
(A. D. 1020)
|
Sri Vijayâdhi-râja nripatè.
Sri Sri Paghâyâñsuri.
(Samvat 1100.—A.D. 1043)

with an expression of "doubt as to whether the long string of titles last mentioned refer to one or to two individuals." I quote this genealogy as an instance of the utter futility of a certain class of writing, unfortunately invested with the authority of Government publication, which can serve no possible purpose, except to mislead.[7] The name of the first of these imaginary kings, is, in the original, simply a locative case meaning "in the seat of the holy Vishṇusûri." The second name simply comes from a misunderstanding of the word *śrîmat*, 'glorious or holy,' coupled with Kâmyaka, the name of the *gachchha* or sect that is referred to. The third name, which Mr. Carlleyle translates by "the fortunate Mansûri, the great lord," is made up of a mixture of the words *śrîmân=sûri-Mahêśvaraḥ*, 'the glorious, or holy, *Sûri* Mahêśvara.' And the second string of "titles" attached to the fourth name, is, in the original, simply two locative cases in apposition, which mean "at the glorious city of Śrîpathâ." Mr. Carlleyle further deduces, from part of the passage recording the date,—*viz.* from the words *Sôma-sa[hi]tâ kṛishṇâ dvitîyâ*, which mean "the second day of the dark fortnight, coupled with (*the name of*) the moon,"—that the *Adhirâja* Vijaya was "moon-produced, or of the Lunar race, and a second Krishna."

In connection with his account of Byânâ, Mr. Carlleyle has devoted eleven pages of print to the object of shewing that the name is derived from that of the demon Bâṇâsura, who was overthrown by Kṛishṇa. At my visit to the place, I could find out nothing about the derivation of the name Byânâ, except that the fuller and older form of it was Bêhayânâ.[8] But Mr. Carlleyle's derivation of it from Bâṇâsura may be dismissed with the remark that his arguments in support of it are based on nothing except his inability to recognise the difference between *bâṇa*, 'an arrow,' *vana*, 'a forest,' *banh* (for *bâhu*), 'an arm,' *bhaiṁs* (*mahisha*), 'a buffalo,' and *Bais*, the name of a tribe, and between *asura*, 'a demon,' *śûra*, 'a hero,' *sûri*, 'a learned man' or 'a Jain teacher,' and *sûrya*, 'the sun.'

Mr. Carlleyle also states that the ancient name of Bijayagaḍh was 'Śântipur.'[9] The name of Śântipura *may* be connected with the locality; I can only say that, on the occasion of my visit, I could not obtain any information in support of it. But this much is certain,—that the name Śântipura does *not* occur in the other inscription at Byânâ, at the foot of a pillar in the 'Ukha-Mandar.'[10] Of this inscription only the first twenty-seven or so letters of each of the twenty-three lines of which it consists are visible, the rest of the stone being inaccessible through being permanently built in below the bottom of the pillar, and the part that is accessible being a good deal damaged in places. The inscription is in the Sanskrit language, and in Nâgarî characters of the Kuṭila type, probably a century, or perhaps two centuries, older than the inscription of the *Âdhirâja* Vijaya.[11] It is an inscription of a local ruler named M a ṅ g a l a r â j a (line 12); and, being a Vaishṇava *praśasti* (l. 18), composed by the *Karaṇika* Śrîśakti (l. 23), it shews that this temple was originally one of

[6] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. p. 52, with a lithograph, but by no means a facsimile, in Plate vi.

[7] Another similar instance is the genealogical table of "sovereign Rajas" given in *id.* p. 240, and deduced from some inscriptions at 'Bijoli;' the names given here are, in reality, simply those of a succession of Jain *bhaṭṭârakas* or saints.—And,—judging from the extraordinary version of the text, and interpretation of it, given in *id.* p. 79f, of an inscription at 'Mâchâḍi' (see *id.* Plate xi.),—the whole of the genealogy given in *id.* p. 82, and deduced from this and another inscription at 'Mâchâḍi,' must be equally imaginative and misleading.

[8] The name is now dissyllabic, Byânâ ;—not trisyllabic, Baiana, Bayâna, or Biânah, as Mr. Carlleyle writes it.

[9] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. VI. pp. 40 and 54ff.

[10] *id.* p. 50.

[11] The date, if any was recorded, must be in the portion of the stone that is hidden from view.

the god Vishṇu. In line 5, there are the words *kraśita-ripur=abhût*, "having made emaciated his enemies, there was (a king);" and, in line 10, there are the words *praviśad=ari-puraṁ*, "(an army) entering the city of its foes;" it must be in these two passages that Mr. Carlleyle read the name of Śântipura in this inscription, as there is nothing else at all approaching to it. In line 21, there are the words *dramma-ttritayaṁ dattê prati-divasaṁ Śrîpathâ-stha-maṇḍapikâ*, which seem to shew very clearly that the ancient name of Byânâ was Ś r î p a t h â.

TEXT.[12]

[1] Ôm Ôm Namaḥ siddhêbhyaḥ || Âsîn[13]=nirvṛitak-â-
[2] nvay-aika-tilakaḥ śrî-Vishṇusûry-âsanê | śrîma-
[3] t-Kâmyaka-gachchha-târakapatha-śvêtâṁśumân=vi-
[4] śrutaḥ | śrîmân=sûri-Mahêsva(śva)raḥ praśama-bhûḥ śvêtâṁva(ba)-
[5] ra-grâmaṇî | râjyê śrî-Vijay-âdhirâja-nṛipa-
[6] têḥ śrî-Śrîpathâyâṁ puri || Tataś=cha ||(|) Nâśaṁ yâtu
[7] śataṁ sahasra-sahitaṁ saṁvatsarâṇâṁ drutaṁ | myâ-
[8] mâ[14] Bhâdrapadaḥ sa bhadra-padavîṁ mâsaḥ sa-
[9] mârôhatu | s=âsy=aiva kshayam=êtu sôma-sa-
[10] [hi]tâ kṛishṇâ dvitîyâ tithiḥ [|*] paṁcha-śrî-para[m]ê-
[11] [shṭhi]-nishṭha-hṛidayaḥ prâptô divaṁ yatra saḥ || [A]-
[12] [pi] cha ||(|) Kîrttir=dik-kari-kânta-daṁtamuśala[15]-prô[dbhû]-
[13] [ta]-lâsya-kramaṁ | kvâpi kvâpi Himâdri-mu**-
[14] **mahî-sôtprâsa-hâsa-sthiti[ṁ*] | kvâpy=Airâ[va]-
[15] ṇa-nâgarâja-janita-sparddh-ânava(ba)ṁdh-ôddhuraṁ bhr[â]-
[16] [m]yaṁtî bhuvana-trayaṁ tripathag=êv=âdyâpi na śrâmya-
[17] t[i] || Saṁ 1100 Bhâdra va di 2 Chaṁdrê kalyâṇaka-di-
[18] [nê] praśastir=iyaṁ sâdhu-Sarvvadêvên=ôtkîrṇṇ=êti ||

No. CLII.

CHICACOLE PLATES OF THE MAHÂRÂJA SATYAVARMAN.

This is the Gaṅga grant of Satyavarman,[1] of which I have spoken in Vol. XIII. page 274. It is the last of those that were found, together with the grant of Nandaprabhañjanavarman, No. CXXXVIII., Vol XIII. p. 48ff., at 'Chicacole' in the 'Ganjam' District of the Madras Presidency, and were presented by Mr. Grahame to the Madras Museum. I edit it from the original plates, which I obtained through the kindness of Mr. Sewell, C.S.

The plates are three in number, each about 7″ long by 2¾″ broad. The edges of them were raised into rims, to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout; but some of the letters are choked with hard rust to such an extent that it was impossible to clear them out properly, and consequently they shew rather imperfectly in the lithograph. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ⅟₁₆″ thick and 3⅞″ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is circular, about 2¼″ in diameter; it has, in relief on the surface of the seal itself,—in the centre, a bull, *couchant* to the proper right, with the moon above it, an elephant-goad behind it, and a floral device below it. The characters are primarily of what Dr. Burnell has named the South-Indian Nâgarî type. But they present, at the same time, many characteristics of the Grantha alphabet,[2] and also many forms of a still earlier period. There is, in fact, hardly any letter in this grant which does not appear under at least two forms,—compare, for instance, *a* in *amara* line 1, and *ali* l. 26; *u* in *uttarêṇa* l. 26, and *utpala* l. 27; *ka* in *kaliṅga* l. 2, and *aika* l. 4; three forms of *ga* in *nagara* l. 2, and *tyâga* and *guṇa* l. 10; *cha* in *chakra* and *chûḍâmaṇi* l. 8; *ja* in *jaya* l.

[12] From an ink-pression.

[13] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following two verses.

[14] This syllable reads as *mâ*; but it is damaged, and may therefore be really something else. The preceding syllable *myâ* is certainly a mistake. The probability is that the text, before the second syllable was damaged, was *myânô*, by mistake for *mlânô*.

[15] This *la* was at first omitted, and then inserted, rather small, above the line.

[1] No. 159 in Mr. Sewell's published List of Copper-plate grants. Noticed by me, *ante* Vol. X. p. 243, No. 5.

[2] *South-Indian Palæography*, Plate xiv.

1.

III a.

III b.

J. F. Fleet, Bo. C. S.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith.

SEAL.

7, and *raṁjita* l. 8; four forms of *ta*, in *viditam* l. 15, *tilaka* l. 13, *janita* l. 7, and *vijayavataḥ* l. 2; three forms of *na*, in *naya* l. 9, *nagara* l. 2, and *sâmanta* l. 7; three forms of *pa*, in *prabhâ* l. 8, and *pratâpa* l. 7; *ba* in *bahubhir* l. 28, and *byâsa* l. 27; *bha* in *bahubhir* and *âdibhiḥ* l. 28; three forms of *ma* in *amara* l. 1, *praṇâmâd* l. 6, and *kamala* l. 5; *ya* in *vijayavataḥ* l. 2, and *jaya* l. 7; three forms of *ra* in *amara* and *ramaṇîyâd* l. 1, and *âdhâra* l. 11; *la* in *kulâchalô* l. 9; three forms of *va* in *vishayê* l. 14, *sarvva* l. 1, and *bhuvana* l. 4; *śa* in *diśî* l. 24, and in *diśi* at the commencement of the same line; *sa* in *sarvva* l. 1, and *saurya* l. 10; and *ha* in *agrahâra* l. 18, *and mahârâja*, l. 13.

The language is Sanskṛit throughout, and the style is almost the same as that of the grant of Dêvêndravarman, No. CL., Vol. XIII. p. 273ff. The weight of the three plates is 91 tolas, and of the ring and seal, 53⅝ tolas,—total, 144⅝ tolas.

The order recorded in this inscription is issued, as in the three grants of Indravarman and the grant of Dêvêndravarman, from the victorious camp or residence situated at the city of Kaliṅganagara (line 2), by the glorious Satyavarmadêva (l. 14),—who has had the stains of the Kali age removed by performing obeisance to the god Śiva under the name of Gôkarṇasvâmin (l. 5), established on the pure summit of the mountain Mahêndra (l. 2);—who has acquired the supremacy over the whole of Kaliṅga by the edge of his sword (l. 11);—who is a most devout worshipper of the god Mahêśvara (l. 12);—and who is the son of the *Mahârâja* Dêvêndravarman (l. 13), the glory of the family of the Gaṅgas. It is addressed to the *Kuṭumbîs* residing at the village of Târugrâma (l. 14) in the Galela (l. 14) or Galelai (l. 34) *vishaya*; and it records that, on the occasion of an eclipse of the sun (l. 17), the said village was constituted an *agrahâra*, of the *grâmadêva* or tutelary village-god, and was given to Kamalâsana, the son of the *Gurava* Khaṇḍyama. The boundaries of the village are described in lines 22 to 27. Lines 27 to 32 contain three of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. Lines 34 and 35 contain, as in the grant of Dêvêndravarman, the date of the fifty-first (*year*) of the centuries of years of the Gâṅgêya lineage.[3] And line 35 further records that the charter, was both written or composed, and engraved, by Vîrapa, the son of Khaṇḍyama.

TEXT.[4]

First plate.

[1] Ôm || Svasti Amarapur-ânukâriṇa[ḥ*] sarvv-arttu-sukâ(kha)-ramaṇi(ṇî)-
[2] yâd=vijayavata[ḥ*] Kaliṅga-naśa(ga)ra-vâsakâḥ(t) Mahêndr-[â*]chal-âma-
[3] la-si(śi)khara-pratishṭhitasya sacharâchara-gurôḥ saka-
[4] la-bhuvana-nirmmâṇ-aika-sûtradhârasya śasâ(śâ)ṅka-chû-
[5] ḍâmamaṇîr[5]=bhagavatô Gôkarnna(rṇṇa)-svâminaḥ[6] charaṇa-kamala-yu-
[6] gala-pranâ(ṇâ)mâd=vigataḥ-śavda[7]-Kali-kalaṅkô=nêk-âhava-

Second plate; first side.

[7] saṁkshôbha-janita-jayaśavda(bda)-pratâp-â(ô)panata-samasta-sâmanta-
[8] chakra-chûḍâmaṇi-prabhâ-maṇja(ñja)rî-puṇja(ñja)-rajiṁta[8]-vara-charaṇaḥ sita-ku-
[9] muda-kund-êndv-â(a)vadâta-[yaśô*]-dhvast-ârâti-kulâchalô naya-vinaya-dayâ-dâ-
[10] na-dâkshiṇya(ṇya)-sau[9](śau)ryy-audâryya-satya-tyâg-âdi-guṇa-sapaṁd[10]-âdhâ-
[11] ra-bhûtô nija-nistrinsa[11]-dhâr-ôpârjita-sakala-Kaliṅg-â-
[12] dhirâjyaḥ parama-mâhêśvarô mâtâpitru(tṛi)-pâd-ânudhyâtô
[13] Gaṅg-âmala-kula-tilaka-mahârâja-śrîma-Dêvêdraṁ[12]-

Second plate; second side.

[14] varmma-sûnu[ḥ*] śrî-Satyavarmmadêv[ô*] Galela-vishayê Târu-
[15] grâma-vâsinaḥ kuṭumvi(mbi)naḥ samâjñâpayati Viditam=astu
[16] vô yath=âyaṁ mayâ vidita-sakala-paramârttha-tat[t*]vêna abhi-

[3] See *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 274.
[4] From the original plates.
[5] Read *chûḍâmaṇêr*.
[6] First *miḥ* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *minaḥ*.
[7] Read *vigata-sarvva*.
[8] Read *raṁjita*.
[9] This *sau* was at first omitted,—apparently from uncertainty on the part of the engraver as to what the *akshara* was, since a space was left for it,—and was then inserted in much smaller characters than the rest of the inscription, and partly above the line of writing.
[10] Read *saṁpad*.
[11] Read *nistriṁśa*.
[12] Read *śrîmad-Dêvêṁdra*.

[17] mata-dêvatâyai nûṅkavapose-svâmityai sû[r*]y-ô-
[18] parâgê udaka-pûrvakê(kaṁ) Târu-grâmadêv-âgrahâraṁ kri(kṛi)tvâ
[19] sarva-kara-bharai[ḥ*] parihri(hṛi)ty=â-chandra-târakaṁ mâtâpitrôr=âtma-
[20] naś=cha puny(ṇy)-âbhivri(vṛi)ddhayê sampradatta iti [|*] akhaṇḍita-vra-

Third plate; first side.

[21] hmaddhayya[13] Śaiva-sthânakam=idaṁ Khaṇḍyama-gurava-putra-Kamalâ-
[22] sana-bhaṭ[ṭ*]ârakên(ṇ)=ôpârjita[ṁ*] [||*] Idâni(nî)ṁ pradakshiṇaṁ sîmâ-liṁgâni
[23] likhyantê [| *] pûrvasyâṁ diśi(śi) trivri(vṛi)ta-taṭâka svêtu âgnêy[y*]âṁ di-
[24] śî(śi) arjuna-ḍoṁka dakshiṇêna giri-nâśikâ nairi(ṛri)tyâṁ dîśî[14]
[25] parvvata paśchimêna mêru-pâshâṇa vâyabya(vya)syaṁ dîśî[15]
[26] aksha-ḷoṅka uttarêṇa ali-śilâtala i(î)śânyasyâ[ṁ*]
[27] diśî(śi) utpa[16]la-vâpî svêtu [||*] Atra Byâ(vyâ)sa-gîtâni bha-

Third plate; second side.

[28] vanti [| *] Bahubhir=vasudhâ dattâ râjabhis=Sagar-âdibhi[ḥ*] yasya yasya
[29] yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ [||*] Sva-datt[â*]ṁ para-datt[â*]m=vâ yô ha-
[30] rêti(ta) vasundharâ[ṁ*] sa vishṭâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhis=saha pa-
[31] chyatê [||*] Hiranya(ṇya)m=êkaṁ gâm=êk[â*]ṁ bhûmêr=apy=êkam=aṅgulaṁ harâ-(ra)n=na-
[32] rakam=âṁyâti[17] yâvad=â-bhûta-samplavaṁ [||*] Âditya(?) | Puna-
[33] r=api Galelai dhânya-sahashra(sra)kasya bhûmi[ḥ*] tad-vishayê grâm-ânugrâm ê
[34] tâ(ta)ṇḍula-muraya-ghṛita-tâli Galelai polai khâṇḍî [||*] Gâṅgêya-vansa[18]-saṁva-
[35] chhara-śatânâṁ yê(ê)ka-pañchâsa(śa)t [||*] Śrî(?)-rahasya-Khaṇḍyama-putra-Vîrapa-likhit-ôtkîrnna(rṇṇa)m=iti ||

A NOTE ON THE EARLY KADAMBA INSCRIPTIONS.

BY K. B. PÂṬHAK, B.A.; Miraj.

Ten copper-plate grants of this Dynasty have been published by Mr. Fleet,—in Vol. VI. p. 22ff, and in Vol. VII. p. 33ff, of this Journal. They contain two points of interest, as yet unnoticed, which I propose now to discuss.

The first of these points is the occurrence of the phrase *aśvamêdha-yâjinaḥ* in Dêvavarman's grant.[1] The language of this inscription is so clear that it will convince anyone that the grantor, Dêvavarman, was a devout adherent of the Jaina creed. Now it is quite inconsistent with the principles of Jainism that a Jaina king should, as an ordinary thing, speak of his ancestor as a performer of horse-sacrifices.

Those who are acquainted with the less trodden paths of Jaina literature, will know that shortly after the *nirvâṇa* of the *Tîrthaṁkara* Munisuvrata, a fierce dispute arose between the Brâhmaṇs and the Jainas in the matter of sacrifices. The former insisted on the continuance of *yajñas;* while the latter protested against this iniquity, as it was a clear violation of the principle *ahiṁsâ paramô dharmaḥ.* Guṇabhadrâchârya, who lived before Śaka 820,[2] dwells at some length on this subject in the *Uttarapurâṇa.* He says:—

गच्छत्येवं तयोः काले कदाचित्साधुसंसदि
अजैर्होतव्यमित्यस्य वाक्यस्यार्थप्ररूपणे ॥
विवादो भून्महांस्तत्र विगताङ्कुरशक्तिकम्
यवबीजं त्रिवर्षस्थमज इत्यभिधीयते ॥
तद्विकारेण सप्तार्चैर्मुखे देवार्चनं विदः
वदन्ति यज्ञमित्याख्यदनुपद्धति नारदः ॥
पर्वतो प्यजशब्देन पशुभेदः प्रकीर्तितः
यज्ञो मौ तद्विकारेण होत्रमित्यवदद्विधिः ॥

The Gaṅga king Châmuṇḍarâja or Mârasiṁha, who finished his work in Śaka 900, the Îśvara *saṁvatsara*, says:—

Mahâkâḷana vaṁchaneyan=ariyade vihit-Âda(tha)rvvaṇa-vêda-nirûpitamuṁ vividha-

[13] Read *brahmadêyaṁ.* [14] Read *diśi.* [15] Read *diśi.*
[16] The lithograph fails to show completely the lower part of the *p.*

[17] Read *âyâti.* [18] Read *vaṁśa.*
[1] *ante,* Vol. VII. p. 33.
[2] *ante,* Vol. XII. p. 217.

prâṇi-hiṁsâ-lakshaṇamum=appa yâgamaṁ nirvvarttisi narakakke vôgi Sagara-kulam=iṁtu niḥśêshaṁ keṭṭudu.—

"Unable to see through the tricks of Mahâkâḷa, Sagara performed a sacrifice, which is described in the wicked Atharvaṇa-vêda, and which has for its characteristic the killing of various animals, and went to hell; his whole race was thus destroyed."

This will convince the reader that no Jaina could attribute to his father, with any thing like a feeling of pride, the performance of horse-sacrifices. And yet this is precisely what Dêvavarman does in respect of his father, Kṛishṇavarman. This inconsistency on the part of Dêvavarman can only be accounted for by supposing that Kṛishṇavarman had been a follower of Brâhmaṇism in his earlier years, and that he embraced Jainism only in the latter part of his life. His popularity with the people rested on the performance of horse-sacrifices. This important incident in his life could not, of course, be omitted in the grant. Besides it is quite possible that any inconsistency in respect of this point would entirely escape Dêvavarman's notice, as his family had been only recently converted to Jainism.

The second point is the following:—Kâkusthavarman issued his grant "in the 80th year of his victory." This is the literal rendering of the expression,[3] *sva-vaijayikê aśîtitamê saṁvatsarê*. Applied literally, these words would mean that Kâkustha himself won the victory. But, if we suppose that he was only 15 when he gained the victory, he would of course be 95 years old,—and still a *Yuvarâja*, too, according to the inscription,—at the time of issuing the grant; and his father would then be more than 112 years old, at the lowest computation. This can hardly be accepted as possible. Nor, again, as he describes himself as *Yuvarâja* at the time of making the grant, can we suppose that he was crowned when an infant, and that the victory was achieved for him by his generals. The expression is plainly not to be interpreted in this way at all; and we must understand it as referring to a victory won, not by Kâkusthavarman, but by one of his ancestors.

Now in Dêvavarman's grant, ll. 4 and 5, we read:—

[4] Sâmanta-râjaviśêsha-ratnasu(sya) Nâgajânâkramya-dây-ânubhûtasya śarad-amala-

[5] nabhasy=udita- śaśi-sadṛiś-aikâtapatrasya . . . . śrî-Kṛishṇavarmmaṇaḥ.

This is Mr. Fleet's reading, which I adopt as the most correct one. In the interpretation of the fourth line, however, I beg to differ from him. The words in this line may be better separated thus:—*Sâmanta-râjaviśêsha-ratna-su-Nâgajân=âkramya dây-ânubhûtasya*. And the two lines may be better translated thus:—"Of the prosperous Kṛishṇavarman, who possessed the sole umbrella resembling the moon that has risen in the cloudless sky of autumn, and who enjoyed the heritage, after having conquered the good[4] Nâgajas,[5] who were jewels among excellent feudatory kings."

This conquest of the Nâgajas or Nâgas must be the one that is alluded to in the expression *sva-vaijayikê aśîtitamê saṁvatsarê* in Kâkustha's grant. And the result is that Kâkusthavarman and his descendants were subsequent to Kṛishṇavarman and Dêvavarman,—but also that not more than about thirty years can have intervened between Kṛishṇavarman's victory and Kâkusthavarman's grant, and consequently that Kâkusthavarman must have been either of the same generation with, or only very slightly subsequent to, Dêvavarman.

In ancient times the Nâgas were a powerful race. Their sway was by no means confined to the Karnâṭaka. They were the terror of the people of Kâśmîr. Thus we read in the *Râjataraṁgiṇî* I. 179:—

मण्डले विप्लुताचारे विच्छिन्नबलिकर्मभिः ।
नागैर्जनक्षयश्चक्रे प्रभूताहिमवर्षिभिः ॥[6]

After their subjugation by Kṛishṇavarman, the Nâga kings evidently continued to rule as feudatories of the Kadambas. For, many years later we find Bhânuśakti[7] acknowledging the suzereignty of Harivarman. When the confederacy of the Kadambas was destroyed

[3] *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 23.

[4] The correction of *su* into *sya* is not expedient, as it would make Kṛishṇavarmâ at once "a jewel among chieftains" and "lord of the sole umbrella."

[5] The epithet *Bhujagêndr-ânvaya-Sêndr-âvanîndra* is also applied to the Nâgajas.—*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 106.

[6] For other notices of the Nâgas, who are treated as playing a very important part in the early history of Kâśmîr, see *Rajataraṁgiṇî* I. 28ff., 89, 111, 185, and 203ff.—J.F.F.

[7] *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 31.

by Kîrtivarman I., the Nâga kings transferred their allegiance to the Chalukyas. Accordingly we find, as their vassals, Durgaśakti[8] in the time of Satyâśraya, Dêvaśakti[9] in the time of Vikramâditya I., and Pogilli in the time of Vinayâditya I.[10]

AN OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTION AT TÊRDÂḶ.

BY K. B. PÂṬHAK, B.A.; MIRAJ.

Têrdâḷ is a large village belonging to the Sâṅgli State in the Southern Marâṭhâ country. In the Jaina *basti* at this place, there is a stone-tablet, containing an inscription consisting of three separate parts.

The first part, which ends in line 56, records a grant made by the *Maṇḍalika* G o ṅ k i d ê v a r a s a or Goṅka, in Śaka 1045 (A.D. 1123-24), to the god Nêminatha, established by himself, and mentions, as contemporaries of his, the Western Châlukya emperor V i k r a m â d i t y a VI., and his feudatory K â r t a v î r y a II. of the Raṭṭa family of Saundatti and Belgaum. The word *raṭṭa*, according to Trivikrama, is a Prâkṛit form of the Sanskṛit *râshṭra;* and it must have been assumed as a family title by Kârtavîrya and his predecessors, in honour of the Râshṭrakûṭa emperor Krishna II., whose descendants they professed to be. The *Sâmanta* Nimba, mentioned in line 33, is the same person who is spoken of as Nimbarâja in the Kôlhâpur inscriptions and is praised by Padmanandî, the pupil of Śubhachandra, as the "crest-jewel of *Sâmantas*," in the concluding *praśasti* of the *Êkatvasaptati.* Most of the Jaina ascetics mentioned in this inscription are well known as authors among the Jainas, who cherish their memory and read their works to this day.

But the great importance of this part of the inscription lies in this, that it enables us to clear up the mystery that hangs over the authorship of the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya.*

The student of ancient Kanarese literature knows that Abhinava-Pampa speaks of Śrutakîrtti-Traividya as the author of the poem in question. Mr. Rice rightly conjectures that Śrutakîrtti must have been a contemporary of Pampa himself. But neither Mr. Rice nor Mr. Kittel is able to tell us the date of Pampa. At the end of the Kanarese commentary on the *Samâdhiśataka*, however, Mêghachandra says that he wrote his work—*vitata-yaśô-nidhi Paṁpana sutaṁge tiḷiv-aṁtu pochcha-posa-kannaḍadiṁ*—"in very modern Kanarese, so that the son of Pampa, an ocean of fame spread everywhere, could understand it." Mêghachandra, therefore, was a contemporary of Pampa. And Mêghachandra's son, Vîraṇandî, finished his writing of the *Âchârasâra* in Śaka 1076, the Śrîmukha *saṁvatsara*, on Monday the first day of the bright fortnight of Jyaishṭha. From this, it is easy to conclude that Pampa lived shortly before Śaka 1076. The date of our inscription, which mentions Śrutakîrtti-Traividya in line 34, is Śaka 1045. The interval between this and the composition of the *Âchârasâra*, is thirty-one years. Śrutakîrtti-Traividya must have written his work shortly after Śaka 1045. But, as he did not put his real name to the composition, the authorship of the *Râghavapâṇḍavîya* must have been a secret, even to his contemporaries. And Pampa, who, as a Jaina and a poet must have come into contact with him, has done well in preserving this interesting fact about the authorship of it.[1]

[8] *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 106.

[9] *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 10.

[10] Bhânuśakti, Durgaśakti, Dêvaśakti, and Pogilli, were Sêndra or Sêndraka chieftains; but the Lakshmêshwar inscription,—which mentions Durgaśakti, and his father, Kundaśakti, and grandfather, Vijayaśakti,—tells us that the Sêndrakas belonged to the lineage of the Bhujagêndras or Serpent-Kings.—A copper-plate grant, recently brought to my notice by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî, gives us also the name of the Sêndraka chieftain Vallabhasêna-Ânandarâja, who was the maternal uncle of the Western Chalukya king Pulekêśin II.—J.F.F.

[1] There are two Sanskṛit poems called *Râghavapâṇḍavîya.* Colebrooke gives an account of the Brâhmaṇical work of this name, in his *Essays*, Vol. II. p. 98. But the Jaina poem referred to above, the authorship of which is ascribed by Pampa to Śrutakîrtti-Traividya, is much longer than its Brâhmaṇical namesake, and is known as the work of Dhanaṁjaya. At the end of the 8th chapter we read:—

इति धनंजयस्य कृतौ महाकाव्ये राघवपांडवीये रावणपांडव-लंकाद्वारावतीप्रवेशकथनं नामाष्टमः सर्गः

And the concluding verse of the 1st chapter runs thus:—

को वा कविः पुरमिमां परमार्थवृत्त्या
शक्नोति वर्णयितुमत्र विनिर्न(र्ण)येन
नित्यं विधिः सततसंनिहितो विभूतिं
नान्यादृशं सृजति यत्र धनंजयाय ॥ ५२ ॥

From this it is plain that Śrutakîrtti-Traividya and Dhanaṁjaya were names of one and the same writer. Nor is it necessary to mention here that the author of the *Dhanaṁjaya-kôsha* was a Digambara Jaina of the Karṇâṭaka.

The second part of the inscription, commencing in line 56 and ending in line 68, records a grant made by *Svâmins*, of the Vîrabaṇañju sect, to the same god Nêminâtha in Śaka 1104 (A.D. 1182-83). This sect is mentioned in several inscriptions; and its members generally represent themselves as worshippers of the Jaina goddess Padmâvatî. But to this rule there is an exception, in the Ḍambaḷ Buddhist inscription, in which the *seṭṭis* invoke Târâdêvî. From a comparison of this Buddhist inscription with others that mention the Vîrabaṇañju sect, we naturally arrive at the conclusion that, when the Buddhists could not hold their own against rival sects, they must have exchanged the *êkânta* for the *anêkânta* doctrine, as the religion of Pârśva and Mahâvîra was much nearer to that of Śâkyasiṁha than any form of Brâhmaṇism that acknowledged the divine authority of the *Vêdas*. Dr. Burgess correctly points out (*ante*, Vol. X. p. 273), that Târâ is a Buddhist goddess. But, when he asserts that the Bauddhas would go over to the Liṅgâyat religion in preference to Jainism, he falls into an anachronism; for, in the time of Vikramâditya VI., such a thing as Liṅgâyatism did not exist. He further asserts that the Jaina Baṇajigas are joined, in this Ḍambaḷ inscription, with outcasts and Châṇḍâlas. But, in this, he has evidently misunderstood the expression *Baḷañjigaṁ-gôlalu*, which can only mean the staff used by the Vîra-Baḷañjigas in measuring land. There is a third assertion made by him, which will be discussed in a separate paper on Târâdêvî and the interesting part she played in the history of Jainism.

The third part of the inscription, commencing in line 68, records a grant made to the same god by the *Daṇḍanâyaka* Bhâyidêva, in Śaka 1109 (A.D. 1187-88).

In line 64 there occurs the phrase *Koṇḍakuṇḍânvaya*. Koṇḍakuṇḍa, or Kuṇḍakuṇḍa, was one of the most celebrated Jaina authors. The works attributed to him are the *Prâbhṛitasâra*, the *Pravachanasâra*, the *Samayasâra*, the *Rayaṇasâra*, and the *Dvâdaśânuprêkshâ*. These are all written in Jaina Prâkṛit. Bâlachandra, the commentator, who lived before Abhinava-Pampa, says, in his introductory remarks on the *Prâbhṛitasâra*, that Kuṇḍakuṇḍâchârya was also called Padmanandî, and was the preceptor of Śivakumâra-mahârâja. I would identify this king with the Early Kadamba king Śrî-vijaya-Śiva-Mṛigêśa-mahârâja. For, in his time, the Jainas had already been divided into the Nirgranthas and the Śvêtapaṭas. And Kuṇḍakuṇḍa attacks the Śvêtapaṭa sect when he says, in the *Pravachanasâra*, that women are allowed to wear clothes because they are incapable of attaining *nirvâṇa*:—

चि○ते चिंता माया तम्हा तासिं ण णि○वाणं ॥

Another interesting fact that we learn from his works is, that, in the time of this author, Jainism had not spread far and wide in these parts, and that the body of the people worshipped Vishṇu; for he tells us, in the *Samayasâra*:—

लोयसमणाणमेयं सि○धंतं पाडि ण दि○सदि विसेसो ॥
लोग○स कुणदि विण्हू समणाणं अ○पओ कुणदि ॥

"So no difference appears between the people and the *Śramaṇas* in respect of the *siddhânta*; (*in the opinion*) of the people, Vishṇu makes (*every thing*); (*in the opinion*) of the *Śramaṇas*, the soul makes (*every thing*)."

On these circumstances, as well as on the place assigned to him in Jaina *paṭṭâvaḷis* and on the fact that his writings are considered by Jaina scholars, both in Dhârwâḍ and Maisûr, to be the most ancient Jaina works now extant, I base my opinion that Koṇḍakuṇḍâchârya was a contemporary of the Early Kadamba king Śiva-Mṛigêśa-mahârâja.

TEXT.[2]

[1] Śrîmat-parama-gaṁbhîra-syâdvâd-âmôgha-lâṁśchha(chha)naṁ jîyât=[t*]raiḷôkya-nâthasya śâsanaṁ Jina-śâsanam || Śrîman-[n*]amna(mra)-sur-âsur-ôraga-lasan-mâṇikya-mauḷi-

[2] prabhâ-stôm-âḷaṁkri(kṛi)ta-pâda-padma-yugaḷaṁ kaivalya-kântâ-manaḥ-prêmaṁ san-mati-Nêminâtha-Jinanâthaṁ Têridâḷ=âtiśaya[3]-śrîmatu bhavya-ja-

[2] From Mr. Fleet's ink-impression; revised by Mr. Fleet.

[3] By metrical license, the initial *a* of *atiśaya* is lengthened, and the final two syllables are to be pronounced *śai*.

[3] nakke mâḷk=anudinaṁ dîrggh-âyumaṁ śrîyumaṁ ||* Kshiti-bhrit-[t*]râṇa-prabhâv-ôtkara-kari-makar-ôdyat-prayukt-âbdhi-vêḷâ-vṛita-Jambûdvîpa-madhy-ôdbhava-kanaka-nagakk=îkshisalu dakshiṇ-âśâ-kshiti kaṇg=opp-ippud=ettaṁ

[4] Bharata-vishayam=â dêśadoḷu Kuṁtaḷ-ôdya[t*]-kshiti tôrkkuṁ chelviniṁ tad-dharaṇiyoḷ=esegum Kûṁḍi-nâm-ôdgha-dêśam ||* Tad-vishaya-madhy-ôddêśadoḷu || Nirupama-gandhaśâḷi-vanadiṁ ba-

[5] nadiṁ koḷadiṁ taṭâkadiṁ giri-vana-tôya-durgga-kuḷadiṁd=agaḷiṁ Budha-Mâdhav-Ârkk-Śaṁkara-Jina-sadumadiṁ vipha(pa)ṇi-mârggadin=oppuva Têridâḷa paṁneradara chelvanêya pogaḷaluk=Aja-

[6] nuṁ nerayaṁ dharitriyoḷu || Taj-janapada-viḷâsa-vanitâ-vadana-kamaḷakke viśâḷa-nayana-kamaḷam=ene sogayisi || Upam-âtîtam=enalk=agaḷdagaḷa kôṭâ-chakradiṁ kûḍe kûpa-

[7] payôjâkara-kîra-bhri(bhṛi)ṁga-vana-nânâ-dêva-bhûdêva-vaiśya-pavitr-âspada-kôṭiyiṁ suja-nariṁ śrî-Têridâḷ-âbhidhâna-puraṁ tîvi karaṁ sthiraṁ prati-dinaṁ tôrkkuṁ jagach-chakradoḷu || Durvvâr-âtîbha-paṁchânana-nibha-subha-

[8] ṭ-ânîkadiṁ viśva-vidyâ-garvv-ônmatta-prasiddh-âgama-kuśaḷa-budha-brâtadiṁd=âśritargg=Iṁdrôrvvîjât-ôpamân-ôṁnata-chatura-jana-śrêṇiyiṁ tîvi tat-paṁnirvvar=gâvuṁ-ḍariṁ kaṇg=esevud=asadaḷaṁ bhâvisalu

[9] Têridâḷaṁ || Bhû-vinuta-chatsa(tus-sa)mayaman=âvagam=esev=âṛu darśanaṁgaḷumaṁ kaigâv=aggada paṁnirvvar=ggâvuṁḍugaḷ=irddu rakshipar=ttatu-puramaṁ || Dhanadana nêvan=eṁdu koṛachâḍuva kâḍuva taṁma kâṁchana[4]-ni-

[10] chayaṁgaḷiṁ maṇi-gaṇaṁgaḷa râsi(śi)gaḷiṁ navîna-maṇḍana-bahu-vastradiṁ payagaḷiṁ bahu-dhânyadin=oppi tôrppa nachchina paradakkaḷiṁ bharitav=âgi karaṁ sogayikku tat-puraṁ || Antu saṁtamuṁ basaṁtamum=ene

[11] tîvi saṁtataṁ sakaḷa-dharitrig=aḷaṁkâram=âge sogayisuva Têridâḷa paṁneradara maṁneya vallabhargge vallabhar=âda Kuṁtaḷa-mahîtaḷa-chakravarttigaḷ=anvay-âvatâram=eṁt-eṁdaḍe || Vri(vṛi) || Vanaja-kshmâ-

[12] da(dha)ra-padma-sadmajan=Ajaṁ prôdbhûta-Hârîta-naṁdana-Mâṇḍavyanin=âda Paṁcha-śikhaniṁ band=â Chaḷuky-ânvay-âvanipar=mmuṁ-palar=âge matt=ahitaraṁ gelud=urvviyaṁ tâḷda Tailan=ad=oṁd=anvaya-Mêruv=ânta niḷayaṁ śrî-

[13] Râyakôḷâhaḷaṁ || Va || Mattam=â vaṁśadoḷu Jayasiṁhavallabhan=eṁba siṁha-parâkraman=âdaṁ || Âtana tanayaṁ dushṭa-mahîtaḷa-patigaḷan=anêkaraṁ geld=akhiḷ-ôrvvî-taḷamaṁ taḷe-

[14] daṁ vikhyâtaṁ Trailôkyamallan=Âhavamallaṁ || Va || Antu samasta-dhâtrî-vallabhege vallabhan=âd=Âhavamalladêvana priya-tanûjan || Ghana-dôr-vvikrâṁtadiṁ Gûrjjara-nri(nṛi)pa-baḷamaṁ geldu mâṛâṁta Chôḷ-âvanipaṁg=âbhîḷa-kâḷâ-

[15] nana(la)man=osedu saṁgrâmadoḷu[5] tôṛi bhît-âvanipargg=âtaṁkamaṁ puṭṭisad=anunayadiṁ viśva-bhû-chakramaṁ saj-janav=âgalu Rayakôḷâhalan=ene taḷedaṁ râya-Permmâḍirâyaṁ || Va || Antu Kuṁtaḷa-

[16] mahîtaḷa-kâṁtâ-kâṁtan=enisida vîra-Permmâḍirâyana kaṭṭid=alag=enisida Têridâḷada vîra-Goṁka-kshitîśvaran=anvayadoḷ=enebarânuṁ sale nija-jananigaṁ janakargge pûrvva-puṇyav=eṁba kalpâvanijake phalav=udayisuv-aṁ-

[17] te puṭṭi || Kaligaṁ bettida vîrav=âṁt=ahitaraṁ gelud=urkku vidvishṭa-maṇḍaḷa-maṁ chakrige sâdhis=itt=aḷav=ad=êka-chchhatrav=âgaluke nirmmaḷa-kîrtty-aṁganeg=ârttu kûrttu kuḍutuṁ śrî-Têridâḷ-âvanîtaḷa-nâ-

[18] thaṁ negaḷdaṁ nṛipâḷa-tiḷakaṁ Lôkaṁ mahî-lôkadoḷu || Vṛi || Âtana naṁdanaṁ cha(ba)ladoḷ=â Raghunaṁdanan=êka-vâkya-vikhyâtiyoḷ=Arkkanaṁdanan=aniṁdita-śauryyadoḷ=Iṁdranaṁdanaṁ nîtiyo-

[4] The metre is faulty here; two syllables have been omitted.

[5] This syllable, ḷu, was at first omitted and then inserted below the line.

[19] ḷ=Abjanaṁdanan=enippa mahatvaman=appu-keyida(sc.keyda)n=urvvîtaladoḷu budhar=ppogaḷal=iṁt=erag=o(u)rvvi-varaṁ niraṁtaraṁ || Va || Taṁ(n)-nṛip-ôttama-priya-putran || Vṛi || Ballidar=âgi pôgad=idir-ânt-ari-maṁne-

[20] yar=aṁneyarkkaḷaṁ ballahan=ôldu nôḍe raṇa-raṁgadoḷ=ôḍisi Têridâḷadoḷu vallabhan=âgi niṁda jaya-vallabhanaṁ sita-kîrtti-kâminî-vallabhan=endu baṇṇisadan=âvano manneya Mallidêvananu || Ka || Â

[21] vîra-Mallidêva-mahîvallabhan=ardha-nâri guṇa-maṇi-gaṇadiṁ bhû-vadhug=eṇey=ene Bâchaladêvi Mahîṁdrajege Sîteg=ore dorey=alte || Vri(Vṛi) || Avar=irvvarg=anurâgadiṁ Sirigav=â Kaṁjôdara[ṁ*]gaṁ Manô-

[22] bhavan=adri-priya-putrigaṁ Śaśidharaṁgaṁ Śa(sha)ṇmukhaṁ bandu puṭṭuva voḷu puṭṭi virôdhi-maṁneya-gharaṭṭaṁ Têridâḷa-kshitîśa-viḷâsaṁ pariraṁjipaṁ bhuvanadoḷu niśśaṁkeyiṁ Goṁkama[6]n || Vri(Vṛi) || Kantu-viḷâsa-lakshmiy=enip=aggada Bâ-

[23] chaladêvi mâte vikrânta-vibhâsi-Malla-mahipaṁ janakaṁ muni Mâghaṇaṁdi saidhdhâ(ddhâ)ntika-chakravartti guru Nêmijinaṁ manad=ishṭa-dêyvav=ôraṁt-ene Têridâḷada nri(nṛi)p-âgraṇi Goṁkan=id=eṁ kri(kṛi)t-ârtthanô || Aḍasuva

[24] kuttav=ottaripa mri(mṛi)ttu(tyu) kaḍaṁguva mâri koyviniṁ toḍarvva(rva) virôdhi pâyva puli poyva siḍilu piḍiv=ugra-panne(nna)gaṁ suḍuva dav-âgni-bâdhe kaḍegaṁchuvud=eṁdaḍe Têridâḷad=î kaḍu-gali Goṁka-bhûpatiya

[25] bhavyate kêvaḷavê nirîkshisalu || Pasida sit-âhi soṁkidoḍe saṁkisi maṁtrada taṁtrad=âseyiṁd=asuv=aṟey=âgi biṭṭ=irade paṁcha-padaṁgaḷan=ôdi tad-viśa(sha)-prasaraman=eyde piṁgisi Jina-bra(vra)tado-

[26] ḷu dri(dṛi)ḍa(ḍha)n=âda taṁna peṁp=esed-ire Têridâḷad=arasaṁ negaḷdaṁ kali Goṁka-bhûbhujan || Yettisi Têridâḷadoḷag=oppe Jinêśvara-sadmamaṁ samaṁt=ettisidaṁ jaya-dhvajaman=urvvige dig-mukha-daṁti-dantadoḷ=teṭtisidaṁ nij-âṁka-mahim-[â*]-

[27] kshara-mâḷikeyaṁ gaḍuṁdaḍ=ên=uttama-bhavyanô Jina-mat-âgraṇi sad-guṇi Goṁka-bhûbhujan || Satataṁ kîrttisad=irppapa[7]r=âr=bhuvanadoḷu bhavyar=jagat-sêvya-naṁ jita-kâḷêya-kaḷaṁka-paṁka-paṭaha-dhvânt-âṁkanaṁ Goṁkanaṁ

[28] pratipaksha-kshitinâtha-hra(hṛi)t-sarasij-ôdy-âtaṁkanaṁ Goṁkanaṁ kshitiyoḷu raṁjipa Têridâḷad=esav=î niśśaṁkanaṁ Goṁkanaṁ || Ant=enisida Goṁka-mahî-kânta śrî-Mâghaṇaṁdi-saidhdhâ(ddhâ)ntikaraṁ bhrâ-

[29] nt=ento Kôllagiradiṁ[daṁ*] tarisi samasta-bhavyar=abhivarṇṇipinaṁ || Tad-âcharyya-prabhâvav=enteṁdaḍe || Dhare dugdh-âbdhiyin=abdhi chaṁdranin=inaṁ têjô-gniyiṁd=enta[m=a*]nt=iral=î Postaka-gachchha-Dêsiga-gaṇaṁ śrî-Koṇḍakunḍ-ânvayaṁ nirutaṁ śri(śrî)-Kuḷa-

[30] chaṁdradêva-yatip-ôdyat(ch)-si(chhi)sya(shya)riṁ sad-guṇ-âkara-rârddhâ(ddhâ)ntika-Mâghaṇaṁdi-muniyiṁ kang=oppuguṁ dhâtriyoḷu || Ka || Agaṇita-guṇa-jaḷa-dhigaḷ=ene naga-dai(dhai)ryyar=Mâghaṇandi-saiddhântikar=âvagam=e-

[31] sevar=ssanu-matiyiṁ jagadoḷ=sâmanta-Niṁbadêvana gurugaḷu || Vri(vṛi) || Saṁta-tav=anya-chintegaḷan=okku Jin-âsya-vinirggat-âgam-ârtth-ântara-chinteyoḷu neṟedu nillaḍe siddhara sad-guṇaṁ-

[32] gaḷaṁ chintisut=irppa Kollagirad=aggada san-muni Mâghaṇaṁdi saiddhântika-chakravartti jita-manmatha-chakriy=enippan=urvviyoḷu || Vri(vṛi) || Ant=arisir-dda Jaina-samayakk=ogedaṁ Jinan=îgaḷ=orvvan=eṁbante Jina-vrataṁgaḷa-

[33] n=aśêsha-janakk=upadêśaṁ=ittu sâmantan=enippa Niṁban=eṟagalu negaḷd=oppuva Mâghaṇaṁdi saiddhântika-chakravartti Jina-dharmma-sudh-âbdhi-sudhâṁśuv=âgane || Avar=agra-śiśya(shya)ru || Kà || Vâdi-viś(sh)-ôraga-Târksha(kshya)-

[6] This syllable, *ma*, is required by the metre; but it is otherwise superfluous.

[7] This second *pa* is a mistake.

[34] kar=vvâdi-mahâ-gahana-dâva-dahanar=vva(bba)lavadu-vâd-îbha-simhar=esedar=mmêdinîyolu Kanakanandi-pandita-dêvaru || Tatu-para-vâd-îbha-paṁchânanara sa-dharmmaru || Śruta-kîrtti-traividya-bra(vra)tipar=śa(sha)ṭu-tarkka-karkkaśa-

[35] ru para-vâdi(di)-pratibhâ-pradîpa-pavanar=jjita-dôśa(sha)r=negaḷdar=akhiḷa-bhuvan-ânta-radoḷu || Tat-para-vâdi-śikhari-śikhara-nirbhbhê(rbbhê)dan-ôchchaṇḍa-pavi-daṇḍara sa-dharmmaru || Vri(vṛi) || Jita-Kusumâyudh-âstraran=aniṁdita-

[36] Jaina-mata-prasiddha-sâdhita-hita-śâstraraṁ vidaḷit-ônmada-mâna-vimôha-lôbha-bhûbhri-(bhṛi)tu-kuḷiś-âstraraṁ padapiniṁ pogaḷguṁ dhare. Chaṁdrakîrtti-paṁḍitaran=atarkya-târkkika-Chaturmmukharaṁ para-vâdi-

[37] śûlaranu || Tat-para-vâdi-mastaka-śûlara sa-dharmmaru || Vri(vṛi) || Dri(dhṛi)ti bhûbhri(bhṛi)t-patiyaṁ gabhîrav=amri(mṛi)t-âṁbhôrâśiyaṁ sâle san-mati Vâchaspatiyaṁ paḷaṁchalevinaṁm=eyvetta san-mârgga-santatiya(yi)ṁ[daṁ*] negaḷirdda Dêśi-

[38] ga-gaṇ-âdhîśa-Prabhâchaṁdrapaṁḍitadêm(v)-ôjvaḷa-kîrtti-mûrtti vaḍed=âdaṁ varttikuṁ dhâtriyoḷu || Tan-mun-îśvarara sa-dharmmaru || Para-vâdi(di)-prakara-pratâpa-mahibhri(bhṛi)t-va(prâ)gr-ôgra-vajrar=guṇ-âbharaṇar Śrî-va-

[39] sudh-aika-bâṁdhava-Jinêṁdr-âdhîśvar-ôttuṁga-maṁdirad=âchâryya ra(na)g-êṁdra-ruṁdra-rnni(ni)bha-dai(dhai)ryyar=Vvardhamâna-bra(vra)tîśvarar=iṁt=î dhareyoḷu negatte-(ḷte)-vaḍedaṁ traividya-vidyâdhararu || Yintu negaḷtegaṁ pogaḷtegam=adhîśvarar=âda Vardhamâ-

[40] na-traividyadêvar=ajja-gurugaḷ=appa Śrî-Mâghaṇandi-saiddhanti[ka*]-dêvara divya-śrî-pâda-padmaṁgaḷaṁ ||* Svasti Samastabhuvanâśrayaṁ śrîpri(pṛi)thvî-vallabha mahârâjâdhirâjaṁ paramêśvaraṁ paramabhaṭṭârakaṁ Satyâ-

[41] śraya-kuḷa-tiḷakaṁ Châḷuky-âbharaṇaṁ śrîmad-Vikrama-chakravartti-Tribhuvanamalla-dêvara vijaya-râjyam=uttar-ôttar-âbhivri(vṛi)dhdhi(ddhi)-pravarddhamânam=â-chaṁdr-ârkka-târaṁ

[42] baraṁ Kalyâṇa-purada nela(le)-vîḍinoḷu sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ-geyyuttam=ire tat-pâda-padm-ôpajîvi ||* Svasti samadhigatapaṁchamahâśabda-mahâmaṁ(ma)-ṇḍaḷêśvaraṁ Lattanûra-puravarâ-

[43] dhîśvaraṁ trivaḷi-pareghôshaṇaṁ Raṭṭa-kuḷa-bhûshaṇaṁ suvarṇṇa-garuḍa-dhvajaṁ siṁdû(dhû)ra-lâ[ṁ*]chhanaṁ vivêka-Viriṁchanaṁ gaṇḍa-maṇḍaḷika-gaṇḍata(stha)ḷa-prahâri Desakârara-dêva Mûru-râyar=âsthâna kali-birudara-gaṁ-

[44] ḍa nuḍid-aṁte-gaṁḍa sâhas-ôttuṁga Sênana-siṁha nâm-âdi-samasta-prasa(śa)sti-sahitaṁ śri[ma*]n-mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvaraṁ Kârtti(rtta)vîryya-dêv-arasaru sukha-saṁkathâ-vinôdadiṁ râjyaṁ-geyuttaṁ=iraḷu

[45] tad-âjñeyiṁ || Svasti samasta-prasa(śa)sti-sahitaṁ śrîman-maṇḍaḷikaṁ para-baḷa-sâdhakaṁ Jîmûtavâhan-ânvaya-prasûtaṁ śauryya-Raghujâtaṁ samara-jay-ôtyu-(ttu)ṁgaṁ raṇa-raṁga-siṁgaṁ mayûra-piṁchchha(chha)-chaṁcha[d*]-dhvajaṁ rûpa-Makara-

[46] dhvajaṁ Padmâvatî-dêvî-labdha-vara-prasâdaṁ Jina-dharmma-kêḷi-vinôdaṁ bhâvana-kakâra maṇḍaḷika-kêdâra nâm-âdi-samasta-prasa(śa)sti-sahitaṁ śrîmatu Goṁki-dêv-arasaru nija-râjadhâniy=appa Têridâḷada madhya-pradêśa-

[47] doḷu Goṁka-Jinâlayamaṁ nirmni(rmmi)si śrî-Nêmi-Jinanâtha-pratishṭheyaṁ Râsh-ṭrakûṭ-ânvaya-śira[ḥ*]-śikhâmaṇi Kârtti(rtta)vîryya-mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvaraṁ mukhyav=âgi sad-bhaktiyiṁ śubha-dina-muhûrttadoḷu mâḍi taj-Jina-

[48] muni-pradhânar=appa Dêsiga-gaṇa-Potsaka-gachchhada śrî-Koṇḍakuṇḍ-âchâryy-ânvayada Kollâpurada śrî-Rûpa-Nârâyaṇana basadiy=âchâryyaru[ṁ*] maṇḍaḷ-âchâryyarum=enippa śrî-Mâghaṇaṁdi-saiddhântika-

[49] dêvaraṁ barisi Sa(śa)ka-va[r*]sha 1045neya Śubhakri(kṛi)t-saṁvatsarada Vaiśâ-khada puṇṇami Bra(Bṛi)haspati-vâradaḷu Goṁka-Jinâlayakke pannirvvar=ggâvuṁḍugaḷumaṁ samasta-parivâra-prajegaḷumaṁ â sthaḷada seṭṭi-

[50] gutta-mukhya-samasta-nakaraṁgaḷumaṁ barisi Nêmi-tîrtthêśvarana basadiya rish[i*]-yar=âhâra-dânakkaṁ dêvar=ashṭavidh-ârchchanegaṁ khaṇḍa-ppu(sphu)ṭita-jîrṇṇ-ôddhârakkaṁ pesar-ggoṇḍu tanu-mun-îśvarara divya-śrî-pâda-padmaṁ-

[51] gaḷaṁ divya-tîrttha-jaḷaṁgaḷiṁ toḷedu śâtakuṁbha-kuṁbha-saṁbhṛita-jaḷaṁgaḷiṁ dhârâ-pûrba(rva)kaṁ mâḍi Têridâḷada paśchima-bhâgadalu Hârunagêriya baṭṭeyiṁ baḍagalu yippattanâl-geṇa-kôlolu

[52] koṭṭa mattar a(e)ppatt-eraḍu Dêviyaṇa-bâviyîṁ teṁkal=â kôlolu koṭṭa tôṁṭa mattar=ondu antu mat[t*]aru 72 toṁṭa matta[r*] 1 alliya pannirvvar=ggâvuṇḍugaḷuṁ aṟuvatt=okkaluṁ hanni-dhânyakka râsig-oḷage vaṁ biṭṭa-

[53] ru alliya seṭṭigutta-mukhya-nagaraṁgaḷu tâvu mâṟa-koṇḍa bha(cha)ṇḍa-mâṇika-paṭṭa-sûtrav=âdaḍaṁ hoge vîsa lâbh-âyada aḍake hoge han[n*]ondu tâvu tegeda yeleya hêṟiṁgaṁ aga(?)da(?)-

[54] ntaruvattigaru tegeda hêriṁga[ṁ*] nûṟ=eley=iṁt=inituvaṁ biṭṭaru telligaru mânya-sânyav=ennade dêvara saṁje-sodariṁgaṁ dhûp-âritegaṁ gâṇakke sollage horaganiṁ banda eṇṇeya koḍakke sollage yintavaṁ

[55] biṭṭaru gaṇa-kuṁbhâṟaru dêvara ashṭavidh-ârchchane âhâra-dâna naḍavant=âgi dâna-śâlege âvagegaḷana biṭṭaru Halasige-hannirchchhâsirada hebbaṭṭ[e*]yalu naḍeva gâtrigaru dêvarige ashṭavidh-ârchchane naḍevant=âgi hêṟiṁge nûṟu vo-

[56] ḷḷ-eleyaṁ biṭṭaru ||* Svasti samasta-bhuvana-vikhyâta-paṁcha-śata-vîra-śâsana-labdh-ânêka-guṇa-gaṇ-âḷaṁkri(kṛi)ta-satya-śauch-âchâra-châru-châritra-naya-vinaya-vijñâna-vîrabaṇaṁju-dharmma-pratipâḷana-viśuddha-

[57] guḍḍa-dhvaja-virâjit-ânêka-sâhasa-lakshmî-samâliṁgita-vaksha[ḥ*]sthaḷa-bhuvana-parâkram-ônnataruṁ makhapaṭṭi-gur-ûtpatti-Baladêva-Vâsudêva-Khaṇḍaḷi-Mûḷabhadra-vaṁś-ôdbhavaruṁ Padmâvatî-dêvî-labdha-vara-prasâdaru-

[58] m=appa śrîmad-Ayyâvaḷey=aynûrvva[r*]=svâmigaḷu Kuntaḷa-vishayadoḷu grâma-nagara-khêḍa-karvvaḍa-maḍaṁba-drôṇâmukha-pattaṇaṁgaḷiṁdam=anêka-mâṭakûṭa-prâsâda-dêvâyatanaṁgaḷiṁdam=oppu-

[59] v=agrahâra-paṭṭaṇaṁgaliṁdam=atiśayav=appa śrîmatu-Kûṁḍi-mûṟusâsirad-oḷe(ḷa)ge hanneraḍakkaṁ modala-bâḍaṁ baṇaṁju-vaṭṭaṇaṁ naḍaveya-mane Têridâḷadalu Sa(śa)ka-varshaṁ 1104neya Plava-saṁvatsarada Âśvayuja bahuḷa 3 Â-

[60] divâradalu dvâ-triṁsa(śa)tu-vêḷâvuramuṁ[8]m=ashṭâdaśa-paṭṭaṇamuṁ bâsashṭi-yôga-pîṭha-muṁ[9]m=aṟuvattanâlku-ghaṭika-sthânamuṁ nânâ-dêś-âbhyantarada gavare-gâtrigaruṁ seṭṭiyaru[ṁ*] seṭṭiguttaruṁ ma-

[61] hâ-nâḍ=âgi nerad=â sthaḷadalu śrîman-maṁḍalikaṁ Goṁka-dêv-arasaṁ mâḍisida Nêmi-tîrtthêśvarana chaity-âlayamaṁ kaṇḍu balaṁ-goṇḍu poḍevaṭṭu harsha-chittar=âgi dêvar=ashṭavidh-â[r*]chchane [â*]-chaṁdr-ârkka târaṁ baraṁ nadev-ant=â-

[62] gi koṭṭa śâsana-maryyâdiy=ent=eṁdoḍe chatus-samudra-paryyantaṁ baraṁ naḍav-ant=âgi 120 nûṟ-ippatt=et[t*]u-katte-kôṇa-bhaṇḍi-bhaitra-dôṇi-durggi-gala-patham=eṁb=ivaroḷu âne-mâṇika-vastuv=ênan=âdadaṁ pêṟi jaḷa-sthaḷa-yâ-

[63] treyalu naḍevadaṁ suṁka-parihârav=âgi koṭṭaru mattaṁ śâsana-parihârigar=ennade vokkalal=ondu paṇavaṁ biṭṭaru ||* Yint=î keyi-mane-tôṭa-mukhya-samasta-âya-dvâ(dâ)yav=ellamaṁ sarvvâ(rvva)-bâdha(dhâ)-parihârav=â-

[64] gi dhârâ-pûrvvakaṁ mâḍi biṭṭaru ||* Svasti Śrîmatu-Koṇḍakuṇḍ-âchâryy-âṁ[10]nvayada śrî-Mûla-saṁga(gha)da Dêśîya-gaṇada Postaka-gachchhada śrî-Kollâpurada Niṁbadêva-sâvanta mâḍisida śrî-Rûpa-Nârâ-

[65] yaṇa-dêvara basadiya pratibadhdha(ddha)m=appa Têridâḷada Goṁka-Jinêṁdra-maṁdirakke Kol[l*]âpurad=Agastyêśvarada Kaṇagilêśvarada Mahâlakshmî-dêviya Gôkâgeya Mahâliṁga-dêvara yint=î ghaṭika-sthânad=â-

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[8] and [9] In each case, the *anusvâra* is a mistake. [10] This *anusvâra* is, again, a mistake.

[66] châryyaru mukhya êḷ-kôṭi-yuva-saṁkhyâta-gaṇagaḷu mahâ-maṇḍaḷiy=âgi Têridâḷada mûla-sthânada Kalidêva-svâmige pratibadhdha(ddha)ṁ mâḍi â Nêminâtha-svâmiya pratishṭhâ-kâladal=â Goṁka-

[67] Jinâlayad=âchâryyar=appa Prabhâchaṁdra-paṁḍita-dêvarigg(g)=id=emma jôga-vaṭṭigeya sthânam=endu jôga-vaṭṭigeyan=ik[k*]idaru || Basadiya mêle Śûdrakana siṁhada chakrada chihnaṁ=eṁb=ivaṁ tisuḷada ghaṁṭe-

[68] yaṁ paṟeya nâgad=enippavan=êḷu-kôṭi-tâpasargge mahâ-virôdhi-yavan-îśvara-vairiy=enuttav=ikkidar=mmisuguva jôga-vaṭṭigeyan=â muni-saṁkeya kôṭi-tâpasaru ||* Mattaṁ ||* Vîra-Kaṇiṁgarâya-gaja-kêsa-

[69] ri Siṁhaṇarâya-śaiḷa-nirddhâraṇa-vajra mârmmaleva Gûrjjara-râya-bhuja-pratâpa-nîrê-ruha-vanya-daṁ(da)ntiy=ene pêrmmeyan=ommeyum=ântu Gaṇḍa-peṇḍâraṇ=udâran =urbi(rvi)g=esevaṁ vibhu Têjugi-daṁḍa-nâyakan ||* Samad-â-

[70] ri-kshitibhri(bhṛi)t-kadaṁbakadoḷ=aty-âbhîḷa-vajr-âgni-têjaman = unmatta-mahîśa-vaṁśa-vanadoḷu du[r*]vvâra-dâv-âgni-têjaman=any-ôrvvipa-sainya-sâgaradoḷ=udyadu-bâḍav-ôgr-âgni-têjaman=ôraṁt=ire tôṟi viśva-dhareg=iṁ(i)nt=î Gaṁḍa-peṁḍâran=aśra-

[71] madiṁdaṁ meṟevaṁ nija-prabaḷa-bâhû-têjamaṁ Têjaman[11] ||* Bhûri-tyâgaṁ vipaś-chij-jana-janita-vipat-[t]yâgav=ugra-pratâpaṁ krûr-ârati-pratâpaṁ mri(mṛi)du-madhura-vachaḥ-ssa(sa)ṁpadaṁ sâdhu satya-Śrî-râmâ-

[72] saṁpadaṁ tân=enisi jana-nutaṁ Têja-daṁḍâdhinâthaṁ pârâvâr-âvri(vṛi)t-ôrvvî-vaḷa-yadoḷ=ativikhyâti-vett=opputippan ||* Âtana tanayaṁ vinay-ôpêtaṁ vidvishṭa-daṇḍanâtha-kumâra-brât-âchaḷa-pavidaṁḍa-khyâtaṁ

[73] śrî-Bhâyidêvan=esevaṁ jagadoḷ ||* Para-daṇḍâdhipa-nandanar=ppalabaraṁ puṭṭalke muṁ-puṭṭuguṁ guru-gôtrakk=apa-sad-yaśaṁ parijanakk=udvêgam=int=î chamû-vara-Têj-âtmaja-Bhâyipaṁ padapiniṁ puṭṭalke puṭṭittu bandhura-harshaṁ sva-

[74] kulakke tîbra(vra)-paritâpam śatrugaḷug=â kshaṇam ||* Krûr-ârâti-nri(nṛi)pa-pradhâ-na-tanuj ât-ânîkamaṁ gaṇḍa-peṇḍâraṁ Têjugi-daṇḍanâtha-tanayaṁ śrî-Bhâyi-dêvaṁ jagad-vîraṁ tîbra(vra)-kar-âsiyiṁ pugisuvaṁ sva-sthânamaṁ

[75] tân=enalk=âr=âṁpa[r*]=kkadan-aika-vîranan=anêk-âṁbhôdhi-gaṁbhîranan ||* Âsurav=âge tâgid=ahitarkkaḷan=âhava-raṁga-bhûmiyoḷu pêsad=adirbba mikka kiṟu-gaṁṭa-karaṁ murid=ik[k*]i Kûṁḍi-mû-sâsiramaṁ jasaṁ nimire susthiradiṁ nri-(nṛi)pan=îyal=â-

[76] ḷvanê sâsiyâ(ya)-Bhâyidêva-pri(pṛi)tanâ-pati Têjugi-dêva-nandanaṁ ||* Para-bhûbhri-(bhṛi)t-kuḷamaṁ taguḷdu śaraṇ-âyâtarkkaḷaṁ kâdu pûṇḍ=eradargg=ittu samasta-dêva-sadanakkaṁ vipra-saṁghakk=ad=âdaradiṁ bhû-gri(gṛi)ha-dânamaṁ day[ê*] yin=âdaṁ mâḍi

[77] kîrty-aṁganâ-varan=âgalu vibhu-Bhâyidêva-śachivaṁ ballaṁ peṟar=ballarê ||* Kaḍalan=eḍa-galisi Śêshana paḍeyoḷu dik-kuṁbhi-kuṁbhadoḷu sura-sabheyoḷu biḍade kali-Bhâyidêvana toḍav=enisida kîrtti narttipaḷu nalaviṁda ||* Antu da-

[78] śa-diśâ-vaḷaya-vartita-kîrtti-kâṁtaṁ=enisida Kuntaḷa-mahî-vallabhan=îye Kûṁḍi-mûṟu-sâsiramumaṁ niḥkaṁṭakadiṁd=âḷuttaṁ râya-daṇḍanâtha-gaṁḍa-peṁḍâraṁ kumâraṁ Bhâyidêva-daṁḍanâyakaru śrîmat-Têridâḷada Goṁka-Jinâlayada śrî-Nê-

[79] [mi]-tîrtthêśvarana aṁga-raṁga-bhôgakkaṁ rishiyar=âhâra-dânakkaṁ khaṇḍa-sphuṭita-jîrṇṇ-ôddhârakkaṁ Sa(śa)ka-varśa(rsha)ṁ 1109neya Plavaṁga-saṁvatsarada Chaitra su 10 Bri(bṛi)haspati-vâraḍ-aṁdu muṁna Goṁk-arasaru biṭṭa pûrvva-vri(vṛi)ttiy=e-

[80] ppatt-eraḍu â 72ṟim baḍagal=â kôlaḷu sarvvâ(rvva)-bâdha(dhâ)-parihârav=âgi biṭṭa mattaru mûvatt-âṟu 36 mattaṁ dhavaḷârakke aṁgaḍi-gêri-paryyaṁta-nivêśanamaṁ biṭṭu śâsanada kallugaḷaṁ pratishṭheyaṁ mâḍidaru ||

[81] Mad-vaṁśajâḥ=para-mahîpati-vaṁśajâ vâ pâpâd=apêta-manasô bhuvi bhâvi-bhûpâḥ yê pâlayaṁti mama dharmmam=ida(ma)ṁ samastaṁ têshâṁ mayâ virachit=â(ô)ṁjalir=êsha mûrdhniḥ(rdhni) || Idu tân=aihika-pâramârtthika-sukhakk=âvâsa-

[11] This verse consists of five *pâdas*.

[32] v=î dharmmam=iṁt=idan=ullaṁghisiḍ-âtan=ugra-narak-ôdîrṇṇ-ânta-saṁvartta-garttadoḷ= âḷguṁ parirakshe-geydavan=upê[ṁ*]dr-âhîṁdrâ-dêvêṁdra-saṁpadadoḷ=kûduguv(m)= alliyuṁ paḍeguv(m)=â-kalp-âyumaṁ śrîyumaṁ ||* Priyadiṁ-

[33] dam[12]=idan=eyde kâda purushaṁg=âyuṁ mahâ-śrîyuṁ=akkuv=idaṁ kâyada dâ(pâ)takaṁge piriduṁ Gaṁgâ-Gayâ-Vâraṇâśi-Kurukshêtradi putra-gô-dvija-muni-brâtaṁgalaṁ konda pâtakam=akkuṁ biḍad=ikkum=â puru-

[34] shan=eṁduṁ raurava-sthânamaṁ || Śâsanam=id=âvud=elliya śâsanam=âr=ittar=êke salisuven=ân=î śâsanaman=eṁba pâtakan=â sakaḷaṁ rauravakke gaḷagaḷan= iḷiguṁ || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêti(ta) vasuṁdharâṁ shash-ṭhir(shṭi)-vva(va)[r*]sha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyaṁ

[35] jâyatê krimi[ḥ*] ||

TRANSLATION.

May[13] the religion of Jina, the religion of the lord of the three worlds, the unfailing characteristic of which is the glorious and very mysterious *syâdvâda*,[14] prosper! May the *Tîrthakara* Nêminâtha, endowed with good wisdom, the beloved lord of the lady *kaivalya*, whose lotus-like feet were adorned by the excessive brilliancy of the crowns, set with shining jewels, of the venerable gods, demons and *nâgas* bowing before him, ever give long life and prosperity to the very fortunate and good people of Têridâḷa!

(L. 3.)—There shines to the eye a land to the south of the Golden Mountain rising in the midst of Jambûdvîpa surrounded by the shores of the ocean filled with alligators resembling large elephants able to lift up mountains. There, where Bharatakhaṇḍa is situated, appears full of charms the great country of Kuntaḷa; and in that land shines the great district called Kûṇḍi. And, in the heart of this district, the Têridâḷa Twelve shines with incomparable and fragrant rice-fields, forests, lakes, tanks, groups of hill-forts and forts built in the forest and water, and ditches, with the dwellings of the learned and the temples consecrated to Vishṇu, the sun, Śiva, and Jina, and with markets. Brahmadêva is not able to praise sufficiently the beauty of the Têridâḷa Twelve in the world. Shining as the large lotus-eyes of the lotus-face of that district resembling a sportive lady, the town of Têridâḷa appears always peaceful in the whole world, filled with numbers of forts with ditches exceeding all comparison, with wells, tanks, parrots, and black bees, forests, with crores of the holy dwellings of the various gods, Brâhmaṇs, and Vaiśyas, and with virtuous people. The inconceivably charming Têridâḷa ever shines to the eye with a host of good warriors who were lions to their enemies resembling elephants and hard to conquer, with groups of scholars well-versed in sacred lore, famous and elate with the pride of all learning, with numerous persons of cultivated minds, occupying high positions, who are like the tree of Paradise to their dependents, and with those twelve head-men. That town is protected by the twelve headmen, promoting the ever-shining six branches of philosophy and the six observances[15] praised in the world. That town looks very beautiful, being filled with money-changers,[16] adorned with much corn, milk, new ornaments, various cloths, with heaps of jewels and a mass of gold rivalling and laughing at Kubêra, saying "his wealth is nominal."

(L. 10.)—In the same manner, Spring, like a saint, prevailing there incessantly, the Têridâḷa Twelve, an ornament to the whole world, is governed by chiefs who own allegiance to the emperors of the country of Kuntaḷa, whose lineage is as follows:—

(L. 11.)—Brahman sprang from his abode, the lotus of the god Vishṇu, who supports the world and holds a lotus. Maṇḍavya, the son of Hârîta was next born. From Mâṇḍavya sprang Pañchaśikha. Many kings of the Chalukya line, descended from Pañchaśikha, having already passed away, there arose Taila who

[12] The metre is faulty here.

[13] This is the third verse in the Jaina work called *Iryâpatha*, which is written partly in Sanskṛit and partly in Prâkrit.

[14] The *syâdvâda* is the *saptabhaṅgi* doctrine, which views a substance in seven different aspects. It is also called the *anêkânta-mata*, as distinguished from the *êkânta* or *Saugata-mata*.

[15] Bâḷachandra thus enumerates them:—*Dîkshâ*, *śikshâ*, *gaṇa-pôshaṇa*, *âtma-saṁskâra*, *sallêkhana*, and *uttamârtha* or *môksha*.

[16] *Nachchina-paradarkkaḷ* appears to be a mistake for *china-paradarkkaḷ*.

again overthrew his enemies[17] and ruled the earth. This family of Taila, resembling Mount Mêru, was supported by the glorious Râyakôḷâhaḷa[18] resembling the earth. In this family was also born Jayasiṁhavallabha, who was as brave as a lion. His son, who overthrew many wicked kings and assumed the sovereignty of the whole world, was known as Trailôkyamalla and Âhavamalla. The king Permâḍirâya, the beloved son of Âhavamalla who had thus become the lord of the whole earth resembling a lady, defeated the army of the Gûrjara king with the prowess of his great arm; delightfully showed on the battle-field the fire of all-destroying time to the Chôḷa king who opposed him; and, without frightening timid kings, governed the whole world with justice, so as to promote the practice of virtue in it, as though he had been Râyakôḷâhaḷa himself.

(L. 15).—Many kings having passed away in the family of the heroic king Goṅka of Têridâḷa, who is regarded as the sheathed sword of the valiant Permâḍirâya, the lord of the country of Kuntaḷa resembling a fair one,—there was born to his parents, like the fruit yielded by the merit of former births resembling the tree of Paradise,—Lôka, the ornament of kings, the lord of the prosperous district of Têridâḷa, who, endowed with a heroism displayed by the erection of a pillar of triumph, distinguished himself throughout the world, by defeating formidable enemies, conquering the territory of insolent foes and handing it over to his imperial master, thus making the (*Châlukya*) power of one umbrella, and bestowing caresses on fair fame resembling a lady. His son attained to such eminence in the world that he was considered a very Râma in firm determination, a Karṇa in reputation for fulfilment of promises, an Arjuna in blameless heroism, and a Brahmadêva in politics, to the admiration of wise men who thus ever bowed to him. The beloved son of that excellent king. If the hostile kings and aggressors[19] did not wisely flee but encountered him, this powerful king saw them with pleasure and put them to flight on the battlefield and remained the lord of Têridâḷa. Who is there that does not extol the worthy Mallidêva as the lord of victory and of fair fame resembling a lady? Say, is not Bâchaladêvi, who is the beloved queen of the brave king Mallidêva and who rivals the lady earth in her numerous qualities resembling jewels, equal to Sîte and (*Añjanâdêvi*[20]) the daughter of Mahîndra? As the god of love was born to Lakshmi and Vâsudêva, as Kumâra was born to Pârvati and Śiva, so there was born to them both, with affection, Goṅka, who fearlessly shines in the world, the joy of the lord of Têridâḷa and a handmill to hostile chiefs.

(L. 22.)—How blessed is the excellent king Goṅka of Têridâḷa, who has, for his mother, the meritorious Bâchaladêvi, the beauty of the sport of Kâma,—the king Malla, shining with bravery, for his father,—the ascetic Mâghaṇandi, chief of Saiddhântikas, for his preceptor,—and the *Tîrthaṁkara* Nêminâtha, for his favourite god! An infectious disease, a violent death, raging Durgâ, furiously attacking enemies, a springing tiger, the lightning which strikes, a terrible snake which catches, the calamity of a consuming wild fire, vanish at the mere sight of the virtue of the very valiant king Goṅka at Têridâḷa. When, bitten by a fierce and hungry snake, he was filled with fear, he indulged the hope of being cured by spells and enchantments till he was half-dead, and then immediately reciting the names of the five saints,[21] he was perfectly cured of the snake-bite. His pride in the Jaina faith, thus confirmed, being conspicuous, Goṅka, the king of Têridâḷa, gained much distinction. Causing a shining Jaina temple to be erected at Têridâḷa, he raised a triumphant banner, and hung on the tusks of the elephants of the quarters a string of letters announcing to the world the greatness of his prowess. O! how excellent is king Goṅka, the virtuous champion of Jainism! What good people are there in the world, who do not continually praise Goṅka, this fearless and renowned king of Têridâḷa, shining in the world, who has overcome the sin of the Kali age, resembling mud, whose characteristic is the gloom spread by the sound of his

[17] The Râshṭrakûṭas, who eclipsed the glory of the Chalukya power for nearly two centuries.

[18] Kêsirâja says that *râya-kôḷâhaḷa* is an *arisamâsa*, admissible only as a *biruda*.

[19] *Anneyarkkaḷ* means 'aggressors, invaders;' *anneya* is a corruption of *anyâya*, according to Kêsirâja.

[20] Añjanâ was the daughter of Mahîndra. See Mâyaṇṇa's *Añjanâdêvîcharitra*.

[21] These are *arhanta*, *siddha*, *âchârya*, *upâdhyâya*, and *sarvasâdhu*.

war-drum, and who strikes terror into the lotus-like hearts of hostile kings?

(L. 28.)—King Goṅka, endowed with such qualities, sent for the venerable Mâghaṇandi-Saiddhântika from Kollagira,[22] to the admiration of all good people. Oh! how wonderful! To describe the glory of that ascetic;—As the earth is decorated by the milk-ocean, as the ocean by the moon, and as the sun by his fire of brilliancy, so shines to the eye in the world the line of the venerable Koṇḍakuṇḍa, of the Dêsiga-gaṇa and the Sarasvatî-gachchha, ever adorned by the sage Mâghaṇandi, a mine of virtues and the great disciple of the chief ascetic, the venerable Kuḷachandra. Mâghaṇandi-Saiddhântika, who is, as it were, an ocean of innumerable virtues and firm as a mountain, ever shines with good intellect in the world, as the preceptor of the *Sâmanta* Nimbadêva. The great and good sage of Kollagira, Mâghaṇandi-Saiddhântika, who dismissing all other ideas, is absorbed in interpreting the sacred learning that has emanated from the mouths of the *Tîrthaṁkaras*, and who ceaselessly contemplates the virtues of the saints, is renowned in the world as the chief of those who have vanquished the god of love. As though the famous Jaina faith had produced a new *Tîrthaṁkara*, he preached the principles of Jainism to all people, and was saluted by the *Sâmanta* Nimba; is not the distinguished and shining Mâghaṇandi, the chief of Saddhântikas, a moon to the Jaina religion, resembling an ocean of nectar?

(L. 33.)—His chief disciple was Kanakanandipaṇḍitadêva, who shines in the world as an eagle to disputants resembling venomous serpents, as a fire to the great forest of disputants, and as a lion to powerful disputants who are like elephants. He who shares similar religious rites with that ascetic,—the lion to hostile disputants, Śrutakîrtti-Traividya, the chief of ascetics of faultless character, formidable in the six branches of philosophy, is distinguished in the whole world as a wind to the light which is the intelligence of hostile disputants. He who shares similar rites with him, the formidable thunderbolt in breaking the peaks of the mountains which are hostile disputants,—Chandrakîrtti-paṇḍita, who has resisted the weapon of love and studied the principle of mercy, who is conspicuous in the blameless Jaina religion, who is a very Indra to the mountains of insolence, pride, folly, and avarice, who causes pain to hostile disputants, and who is a Brahmadêva among those who excel incomparably in logic, is highly extolled by the world. He who shares similar rites with that ascetic, who causes pain to the heads of hostile disputants,—Prabhâchandrapaṇḍitadêva is very famous throughout the world as an image of brilliant reputation; he is the chief of the Dêśiga-gaṇa, distinguished for the many shining virtuous courses he has adopted, the lord of mountains in courage, and calm as the ocean of nectar. He who shares similar rites with that lord of ascetics,—Vardhamâna, the chief of ascetics, the priest of the lofty temple of the venerable lord, Jinêndra, the sole friend of the earth, is a sharp and deadly thunder-bolt to the mountain which is the power of a group of hostile disputants; he is adorned with virtues; his courage resembles a lofty mountain; and he is a Vidyâdhara among Traividyas.[23] Vardhamâna is thus distinguished in the world. The excellent and prosperous lotus-like feet of the holy Mâghaṇandi-Saiddhântikadêva, the chief preceptor of Vardhamâna-Traividya, the object of so much praise and distinction.

(L. 40.)—Hail! While the victorious reign of the glorious emperor Vikrama-Tribhuvanamalla, the asylum of the whole world, the favourite of the earth, the great king of kings, the supreme king, the most worshipful one, the glory of the family of Satyâśraya, the ornament of the Châḷukyas, was continuing, with the delight of pleasing conversation and with perpetual increase, so as to endure as long as the sun, moon and stars might last, at the capital of Kalyâṇapura:—

(L. 42.)—Subsisting on his lotus-like feet, Hail! the glorious *Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara*, king Kârtavîryadêva,—who has acquired the five great sounds, who is a *Mahâmaṇḍaḷêśvara*, the lord of Lattanûra the best of cities, who has a *trivaḷe* played before him, the ornament of the Raṭṭa family, who has the figure of a

[22] From a comparison of this passage with ll. 32 and 43, it appears that Kollagira was another name of Kollâpura or Kôlhâpur.—As *maṇḍalâchârya* or *paṭṭâchârya*, Mâghaṇandi must have lived at Kollâpura.

[23] Those well-versed in *âgama*, *tarka*, and *vyâkaraṇa*.

golden eagle on his banner, who has the device of an elephant,[24] a Brahmadêva in deliberation, who strikes the temples of brave petty kings, the lord of the Dêsakâras, the lord of those who have won a warrior's distinction at the meeting of the three kings, who is a warrior in the right sense of the word, full of daring, the lion of Sêna; while adorned with all these titles, Kârtavîrya is reigning with the delight of pleasing conversation:—

(L. 45.)—At his command, Hail!—the glorious king Goṅkadêva, adorned with all titles,—who is a prosperous petty king, who has conquered hostile armies, who is sprung from the family of Jîmûtavâhana, who is a Râma in bravery, elate with success in war, a lion in the battle-field, who has a waving banner of peacock-feathers, who is a god of love in beauty, who has won the best favour of the goddess Padmâvatî, who delights in the practice of Jainism, a warrior of Bhâva,[25] a very Kêdâra to petty kings,—adorned with all these and other titles, Goṅka erected, in the centre of his capital of Têriḍâḷa, a temple called Goṅka-Jinâlaya, and established devoutly under the auspices of Kârtavîrya, the head-jewel of the Râshṭrakûṭa family, an image of the glorious *Tîrthaṁkara* Nêminâtha, on an auspicious day and hour, and sent for the holy Mâghaṇandi-Saiddhântikadêva, the priest of the temple of the glorious Rûpa-Nârâyaṇa at Kollâpura, who is descended from Koṇḍakuṇḍâchârya, and belongs to the Dêsiga-gaṇa and the Postaka-gachchha, who is the head of Jaina ascetics, and who has the title of *Maṇḍaḷâchârya*.[26]

(L. 49)—In Śaka 1045, being the Śubhakṛit *saṁvatsara*, on Thursday the full moon of Vaiśâkha, king Goṅka invited to the Goṅka-Jinâlaya the twelve head-men with all their subjects and dependents, the *seṭṭiguttas* and other *nakaras* of that place, to provide for the support of the priests of the temple of Nêminâtha, for the worship of the god with the eight[27] materials, and for the repairing of whatever might be torn, broken, or worn out; he recited[28] the name of the *âchârya*, washed the excellent and holy lotus-like feet of that chief ascetic with excellent and sacred water, poured a stream of water out of a golden vessel, and gave seventy-two *mattars* of land measured by a staff twenty-four *gêṇas*[29] long, in the western part of Têriḍâḷa, to the north of the road leading to Hârunagêri, and one *mattar* of garden land measured by the same staff to the south of the well of Dêviyaṇa; in all, 72 *mattars* of land and 1 *mattar* of garden-land were given. The twelve headmen and sixty tenants of that place gave one measure out of twelve heaps of corn. The *seṭṭiguttas* and other *nakaras* of that place, whether they sold pots, jewels, cloths, or yarn, gave one *vîsa* in a *hon*, and 12 *vîsas* in a *hon* on betel-nuts sold at a profit. On a load of betel-leaves taken by themselves . . . . . . or by those living inside the town, 100 leaves were given. The oil-men, without claiming exemption on account of rent-free lands, gave one *sollage* on a mill, and one *sollage* on a pitcher of oil brought from without, for the evening lamp and the *dhûpârati* of the god . . . . The potters gave earthen pots to the hall of charity, to keep up the worship of the god with the eight materials and the distribution of food. The *gâtrigas*, trading on the great road to the Halasige Twelve-thousand, gave 100 leaves on one load, for the worship of the god with the eight materials. Hail! The Five-hundred of the glorious Ayyâvaḷe, who were adorned with innumerable good qualities acquired by five hundred strict edicts celebrated over the whole world; who were endowed with truth, pure observances, and pleasing conduct, morality, modesty and great learning; who were the protectors of the Vîra-Baṇañju religion, decorated with a pure banner having the device of a hill;[30] whose breasts were embraced by the goddess of innumerable daring acts;

[24] According to Kêśirâja, *sindhura* is changed into *sindura*. The *lâñchhana* of the second *Tîrthaṁkara* is an elephant;—*ante* Vol. II. p. 135.

[25] *Bhâvanakâṛa* may be a mistake for *Bhâvan-aṅka-kâṛa* or *bhuvan-âṅk akâṛa*.

[26] *Maṇḍaḷâchârya* is in a religious sense what *maṇḍaḷêśvara* is in a political one.

[27] These are *jala*, *gandha*, *pushpa*, *akshatâ*, *dhûpa*, *dîpa*, *naivêdya* and *tâmbula*.

[28] Every Jaina is bound to recite the name of his *paṭṭâchârya* during the performance of a religious ceremony.

[29] *Gêṇa* means twelve fingers or a span.

[30] A hill was assumed as a device, because almost all the *Tîrthaṁkaras* entered *nirvâṇa* on the summits of mountains:—

कैलासाद्रौ मुनीन्द्रः पुरुरपदुरितो मुक्तिमाप प्रणूत-
चंपायां वासुपूज्यस्त्रिदशपतिनुतो नेमिरप्यूर्जयन्ते
पावायां वर्धमानस्त्रिभुवनगुरवो विंशतिस्तीर्थनाथाः
संमेदाद्रौ प्रजग्मुर्ददतु विनिमितां निर्वृतिं नो जिनेन्द्राः ॥

Nirvâṇabhakti.

who were ennobled by their prowess throughout the world, who were descended from the original and auspicious lineage of Baladêva, Vâsudêva, and Khaṇḍaḷi; whose origin was great . . . . who had acquired the excellent favour of the goddess Padmâvatî,—

(L. 58.)—At Têridâḷa, a merchant-town situated in the centre and the first in importance among the twelve (*towns*) in the glorious Kûṇḍi Three-thousand, adorned with villages, towns, hamlets, villages surrounded by hills, groups of villages, sea-girt towns, and chief cities, with elegant mansions, palaces and temples, and with shining *agrahâra*-towns in the country of Kuntaḷa,—

(L. 59.)—In the Śaka year 1104, being the Plava *saṁvatsara*, on Sunday, the third day of the dark half of Âśvayuja, the people of the thirty-two sea-side towns,[31] the 18 towns, 62 seats of contemplation, and 64 religious centres, together with *gavare-gâtrigas*, *seṭṭis*, and *seṭṭi-guttas* from various countries, held a convocation there, and, seeing the temple of Nêminâtha erected by the glorious *Maṇḍaḷika* Goṅkadêva, went round it, bowed to it, and, being filled with joy, made for the worship of the god with the eight materials a grant so that it might continue as long as the sun, the moon, and the stars might last. The details of the grant are:—One hundred and twenty oxen, asses, he-buffaloes, carts, rafts,[32] and boats, were given, so that they might carry, by land or water, all things, including elephants and jewels, free from duties, within the limits of the four oceans. The tenants, also, without claiming exemption, gave one *paṇa*. In this way contributions were made in the shape of fields, houses, and gardens, free from all claims, with libations of water.

(L. 64.)—Hail! The Goṅka-Jinâlaya of Têridâḷa was connected with the *basadi* of the glorious Rûpa-Nârâyaṇa, erected by the *Sâvanta* Nimbadêva of Kollâpura, who belonged to the Sarasvatî-gachchha, the Dêśîya-gaṇa, and the Mûla-saṁgha, and who was of the line of the glorious Koṇḍakuṇḍâchârya:—The priests of the religious centres,[33] such as Mahâliṅgadêva of Gôkâge, Mahâlakshmîdêvi of Kaṇagilêśvara, and Agastyêśvara of Kollâpura, and the *gaṇas* as many as seven crores, met together in an assembly and established a connection between the Goṅka-Jinâlaya and Kalidêva of the original place Têridâḷa, and saying, "this is the place of our *jôgavaṭṭige*,"[34] gave *jôgavaṭṭiges* to Prabhâchandra, the priest of the Goṅka-Jinâlaya, at the time of establishing that Nêminâtha. On the top of the *basadi* there were symbols of Śûdraka, a lion, a discus, a trident, a bell, a drum, and a serpent. Saying, "he, who is hostile to the seven crores of sages, is an enemy of God," the ascetics, who were seven crores in number, gave shining *jôgavaṭṭiges*. Têjugi, the *Daṇḍanâyaka*, shone in the world, liberal and warlike, and at once attained to eminence, as if he were a wild elephant to the lotus-like power of the armies of the hostile king of Gûrjara, a thunder-bolt in breaking the mountain Simhaṇarâya, and a lion to the elephant the brave Kaṇiṅgarâya. Têja appeared like the lustre of fire emitted by the most formidable thunder-bolt among the confederacy of furious hostile kings, like the lustre of a resistless wild fire in the forest of proud dynasties, and like the lustre of the dreadful submarine fire in the ocean of hostile armies. In this way this great warrior easily distinguished himself through the whole world with the lustre of his own powerful arms. Têja, the leader of forces and the admiration of the world, won great renown over the earth covered with the ocean, by his great liberality in relieving the distress of learned men, by his great power in overthrowing cruel foes, by his soft and pleasing speech, virtue, truthfulness, prosperity and wealth. His son, the glorious Bhâyidêva, endowed with modesty, was distinguished in the world as a thunder-bolt to the mountains which were the sons of the hostile leaders of forces. Many sons are born to other leaders of forces; but their birth is a forerunner of disgrace to their father and family. When Bhâyidêva, the son of Têja, the leader of forces, was born, it proved, at that very moment, a source of infinite joy to his

[31] *Vêlâvura* is the same as *vêlâ-nagara*:—

बंदरंतु तत्

यद्वेलानगरं ग्रामगणः परगणाभिदः ||—*Râjavyavahârakôśa.*

[32] *Bhaitra*=*bahitra*, or *vahitra*,—Kêśirâja.

[33] *Nijaghaṭikasthâna* is used in this sense in Jaina *paṭṭâvalis*.

[34] *Jôgavaṭṭige* is a corruption of *yôga-paṭṭaka*, a garment worn during contemplation.

family and of great grief to his enemies. The glorious Bhâyidêva, the son of Têjugi, the leader of forces, most heroic and unrivalled as a warrior, chased to their homes, with the sword in his hand, a host of young ministers of cruel hostile kings; who can face, in battle, him who is unsurpassed in fighting and has the serenity of many a sea? The fearless Bhâyidêva, the son of Têjugi, the leader of forces, having bravely defeated those foes who opposed him in the field of battle, and having, without disgust, killed the remaining enemies who were timid and of less note, ruled peacefully over the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand, conferred upon him by the king. Having driven away the confederacy of hostile kings, having protected those who sought refuge with him, and having conferred all things on those who begged of him, the minister, the lord Bhâyidêva, was able to become the husband of the lady Fame, by making grants of land and houses to temples and groups of Brâhmaṇs, with great respect and compassion; could others do the like? Fame, the ornament of the valiant Bhâyidêva, penetrated the ocean and danced joyfully on the hood of Śêsha, on the temples of the elephants of the quarters, and in the assembly of the gods.

(L. 77.)—While peacefully governing the Kûṇḍi Three-thousand, received at the hands of the lord of Kuntaḷa, the husband of Fame, prevailing in all the ten quarters, the young Bhâyidêva, the heroic leader of forces, gave for the *aṅgabhôga* and *raṅgabhôga* of Nêminâthêśvara of the Goṅka-Jinâlaya at the glorious Têridâḷa, for providing food to ascetics, and for repairing whatever might be torn, broken, or worn out, 36 *mattars* free from all claims and measured by the same staff, to the north of the 72 *mattars* formerly granted by king Goṅka, and a site as far as the line of shops, for the erection of a good building,[35] in Śaka 1109, being the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*, on Thursday the 10th day of the bright half of Chaitra. And stones were set up in the ground to mark the boundaries of the land thus granted.

(L. 81.)—To future kings, who will be born in this world, either in my family or in that of others, and who will protect all this grant of mine, I place my joined hands on my forehead and bow! This grant of itself is a source of temporal and spiritual happiness, therefore he who transgresses it will fall into the great abyss of a dreadful hell! He who protects this grant, will attain to the rank of Upêndra, Ahîndra, and Dêvêndra, and obtain life and prosperity, lasting as long as a *kalpa!* He who preserves this cheerfully, will obtain life and great prosperity. The sinful man who does not protect this, will incur the guilt of having killed sons and numerous cows, Brâhmaṇs and ascetics, on the Ganges, and at Gayâ, and Vâraṇâsi, and Kurukshêtra, and will incontinently fall into hell and remain there for ever! The sinful man, who says, "What grant is this? of what place is it? who made it? and why should I preserve it?" will at once descend into hell with all his family! He who appropriates land, whether given by himself or another, will be born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years!

SHARAF THE THIEF,

A CELEBRATED CHARACTER IN KASHMÎR IN THE LAST CENTURY.

BY REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, C.M.S., SRÎNAGAR.

A little before Ranjît Singh's time (born 1780 A.D.) theft and robbery were so very common and were practised with such proficiency in "the Happy Valley," that good and honest folk were put to their wits' end to know how to retain what they, by their industry and economy, had gathered together.

One of the most celebrated of the thieves and robbers in those days was Sharaf Tsûr.[1] So cunning, so daring, and so successful was he, that his name was seldom mentioned without trembling, whilst his character was supposed to be almost supernatural. Whether or not it was that the common people thought that he possessed the evil eye, or else some sort of mesmeric influence, they left him alone to prosecute his plans without let or hindrance. One or two of the more determined dispositions

[35] *Dhavaḷâra* (*dhavaḷa-âgâra*), 'a mansion.'

[1] *Tsûr* is the Kashmîrî word for thief. This man is known in the Panjâb under the name of Ashraf Chor.

are quoted as having brought the thief before the courts, but as nothing could be thoroughly proved, nothing could be really done, and so those bereaved of their property had to submit, their only consolation being in the thought that this was their *qismat* or lot.

Sharaf Tsûr was the son of Kabîr Ghanî, who was a very great and wealthy shawl merchant, and lived near the Zaina Kadal, the fourth of the seven bridges spanning that part of the river Jhelam which flows through the city of Srînagar, and forming the principal means of inter-communication between the two sides of the city. Supposing that he would inherit his father's wealth, Sharaf made no effort to learn his father's business, or to provide himself with any other means of livelihood. Consequently he developed into a lazy, listless and profligate fellow, apparently having as the only objects in life, eating, drinking, and spending money. One is not surprised to find, therefore, that on his father's death he at once appropriated all his goods and money, and had soon squandered everything in magnificent feasts, expensive *nâches*, and bad society. What was he to do now? He could neither beg nor dig, so he determined to cultivate the craft of thieving.

A few native friends have given me the following stories still extant concerning this man, and there is every reason to be assured of their veracity.

(I.)

One day Sharaf visited a certain garden disguised in a dress of great pomp and style. Some children of very respectable parents were playing there in the shade of the beautiful trees. Sharaf noticed that several of the youngsters were wearing nice new shoes, and, going near, told them to sit down. According to custom the boys took off their shoes before doing so, but the thief bade them not to act thus on this occasion, as Sharaf Tsûr might be near, and would certainly take them. The boys laughed at the idea. "Take them," they said. "What would you have us to think? Are we fools or blind? These shoes are placed close by our side. How could they possibly be removed without our noticing it?" The disguised thief, now finding his opportunity, replied, "Wait a moment. I will show you how." Sharaf then went away a little distance to well scan the neighbourhood, and seeing that there was nobody to mind at hand, he returned, took up all the shoes in a cloth, and again went away. A second time, however, he did not return, although the little company of boys shouted for him on all sides, and waited anxiously for his appearance. They had a suspicion that the man was Sharaf Tsûr, and the matter was blazed abroad over the city, but nothing could be discovered.

(II.)

Batmâlun is the name of a big village, situated close to the city of Srînagar. *Bata*,[2] in Kashmîrî, means food, cooked rice, &c., and *mâlun* is probably derived from the word *mâl*, which means desire for food. Hence, perhaps, the meaning of Batmâlun is *faqîr*, *i.e.*, one who kept under his body, and was always more or less in want of food. At any rate there is a famous mosque in this place, sacred to the memory of a celebrated *faqîr*, from whom both the village and the mosque derive their name. The holy man's grave is to be seen close by the mosque. Sharaf entered and assuming the guise of an *imâm*, began to cry the *bâng*, or the Musalmân call to prayer. Many peasants on hearing this went and entered the mosque, and at a given signal arranged themselves for prayer. Before commencing their devotions Sharaf advised them to collect their *tsâdars*,[3] (*i.e.*, sheets or woollen shawls, which they wear very much like English ladies wore 'clouds' when they were in vogue), and place them before him in a heap: "because" said he, "Sharaf Tsûr, I know, is wandering about near this building, and is not at all particular whether he thieves in a mosque, or in the *bâzâr*, or upon the highway." And they did so.

Now everyone who has watched a company of Musalmâns praying, knows with what regularity they go through their genuflexions according as the *imâm* proceeds with the prayers. During one of the long prostrations Sharaf, the pseudo-*imâm*, hastily got up, and quietly seizing the bundle of woollen cloths, left the service by a little side door in the building. All this time, about the space of a minute, the

[2] *Bhatâ* in the plains.

[3] *Chhâdar* or *chadar* in Hindustânî, and *chhâdir* in Persian.

congregation were waiting and wondering what the *imâm* was doing. Perhaps they thought that he was a little faint. However, at last, one worshipper lifted his head, and on discovering that both their priest and wraps had disappeared, shouted to his fellow-dupes, "Sorrow, a hundred sorrows, O brethren! Sharaf Tsûr has met with us. We have been led in prayer by an unbelieving rogue!"

(III.)

On another occasion, it is reported that a weaver was coming from a certain village, and bringing with him some linen cloth to sell in Srinagar. Sharaf chanced to be passing that way, and, saluting the man, asked him for how much he would dispose of his burden. The weaver answered, "Three rupees." After a little flattery and quibbling Sharaf again asked him once and for all to state the proper price. The man, then calling upon the name of God and His Prophet, said that the cloth cost him only eight *ânâs* less than he asked. "Was this too much profit for all his labour?" Sharaf, however, appeared not to believe him even then, but gathering some dust together and smoothing it a little into shape, ordered the man to consider it as the very tomb of Muḥammad, and to swear again accordingly, putting his hands in orthodox fashion upon the little heap.[4] The good weaver, in all confidence, did so, but Sharaf had kept some dust in his hand, and whilst the man was bending in all reverence over the supposed grave, took a good aim at his eyes, and picking up the bundle of cloth ran away. It is not necessary to add that the poor weaver was so blinded and surprised that he was unable to see or to do anything except to roll about in agony lamenting his sad lot.

(IV.)

One day Sharaf sat by a tomb and pretended that he was reading the *fâtiha*, or first chapter of the *Qurân*. Meanwhile a man passed by, whom Sharaf called to come near to him. The man obeyed, and asked what he desired. Sharaf replied, "May God bless you. Please bring me some bread. I will give you the money. I want the bread for distribution among the poor in the name of my deceased father." The man considering this to be a real work for God, gladly consented, and started to fetch the bread. When he had gone a little distance Sharaf again called to him saying, "Come here. Perhaps you will not return. Please to leave your wrap here with me, until you come again with the bread." As there was nothing suspicious about this arrangement, the man unfastened his cloth, and deposited it by the side of the supposed devout man. Alas! No sooner had he got out of sight, than Sharaf, taking the linen cloth, departed in another direction. It was rather a good bargain: a big, strong cloth for a few *paisâs!*

(V.)

A horse-dealer once unluckily happened to cross the path of Sharaf. He was mounted upon a sleek, swift horse. Sharaf in his heart admired the animal, and wished to have it. "How much do you want for the horse?" he asked. "One hundred rupees," was the reply. "Very well," said Sharaf. "I will try him to see if he has any vice or not. Let me get up." No sooner was Sharaf upon the horse, than he dug his heels into the beast's sides, and was soon out of sight, far, far beyond the poor duped horse-dealer's shouts and cries.[5]

(VI.)

A *paṇḍit*[6] walking on the river-side happened to be wearing a new well-made *tsâdar* (blanket). Sharaf seeing this, jumped into an empty boat, which was fastened by a string to a post fixed in the bank, and, pretending that he was a boatman somewhat unwell, asked the *paṇḍit* to come and help him, in return for the short cut and ride in the boat. The *paṇḍit* readily consented.

It was some time before they arrived at their destination, and already darkness had set in; so the boatman, assuming an expression of great gratitude, said to the *paṇḍit*: "It is already late, and your home, you

[4] It is a common ordeal amongst ignorant people to stick a twig into the ground, and suppose it to be the staff of Pîr-i-Dastagîr, the famous saint of Baghdâd, who flourished A.D. 1078—1166, and is better known as 'Abdu'l-Qâdir Jîlânî, or to take a hair and imagine it to be one from the Prophet's own beard, and cause the friends with whom they are bargaining or bantering to swear by it. It is astonishing the influence this exercises over the people.

[5] This very trick was played upon an official at Firozpûr in 1880, the horse being eventually recovered by the police at Jammû.—(R.C.T.)

[6] The term *paṇḍit* in Kashmîr does not necessarily mean a learned man. All Kashmîrî Hindûs, on the assumption that they all belong to the Brâhman caste, are called *paṇḍits*.

say, is yet distant; will you not take dinner here at my expense, and sleep in the boat, and then in the freshness of the morning go to your house? Take this rupee, friend, which I willingly offer you and go and buy food." The *paṇḍit* took the money and was going to purchase some dinner with it, when Sharaf called him saying, "Come here. You must be tired. I am quite recovered now and can arrange for your dinner. Sit here in the boat, whilst I go and hire a servant to cook your dinner. And you had better give me your blanket, so that the cook may bring the dinner in it." The *paṇḍit*, nothing suspecting and nothing loth, gave up his blanket and patiently waited in the boat for some time; but at last, cold for the want of his blanket, and hungry for want of his dinner, he got low-spirited, and after a little time longer wept aloud exclaiming, "I must have met with Sharaf Tsûr."

(VII.)

The next is the story of another weaver, who also, like the weaver before mentioned, was on his way to Srînagar to try and sell his cloth. We have noticed that Sharaf had a special liking for cloth. Accordingly, like the cunning fellow he was, he ran forward a little way, and then lay down upon the path puffing and groaning, apparently in great pain. Some men, who were travelling in that direction, collected round him, and expressed their sympathy. The weaver, too, came up and looked on.

Sharaf gradually became a little better. He opened his eyes and seemingly for the first time noticing the weaver's bundle, he begged him in the name of God to lend it to him, so that he might bind his loins therewith.[7] The weaver had compassion upon the man and lent him the cloth. The effect of the bandage was marvellous. Only a few minutes after he had tied it Sharaf said that he was better, and begged the lookers-on to go, that he might have more air. They all left except the weaver, to whom Sharaf spoke in a most earnest tone, "God bless you for all your kindness. Please do one thing more for me. Bring me some water from the well of yonder mosque, that I may quench my thirst. This pain has dried-up my very soul." The man went for the water, doubting nothing, and meanwhile Sharaf went also, so that when the poor weaver returned he was nowhere to be seen.

(VIII.)

The natives are accustomed to keep their money and little valuables either tied up in the waist-cloth, or fastened in a knot at the end of the *tsâdar*, or else secreted within the turbans. The *pîr*, or Musalmân holy man, of whom we are now going to write, followed the latter plan. He had bought a piece of gold from a certain goldsmith and was on his way home, tired and weary, because of his hot and long journey.

Sharaf got to know that this *pîr* was carrying a piece of gold in his turban, and racked his brains to find means of depriving the good man of it. He walked fast, and when he had got well ahead, he sat down by the wayside and began to weep.[8] When the *pîr* had reached the spot, he requested him to sit down and rest and take some refreshment which he offered him in the name of his father. The *pîr* was very glad to do so, and was very soon enjoying the meal and the exceedingly pleasant conversation of his chance host.

Whether it was from eating some drugged bread, or because of his long and trying walk, we do not know, but it is certain that presently he began to feel drowsy, and yielding to Sharaf's advice, soon lay down and slept. Sharaf took off his turban for him, and in various other ways soothed the *pîr* until he was fast asleep. Now was the opportunity for Sharaf. He took up the turban, and, with a look of contempt for his sleeping guest, walked off quietly to some secret place, and there lay down himself to sleep, exceedingly pleased with the day's business. The piece of gold was worth at least one hundred rupees.

(IX.)

Another of Sharaf's dupes was a poor fellow who was wont to go every day to the

[7] Natives are very fond of binding their heads or arms or feet or legs just above the spot where the pain is, as a good strong binder has the effect of checking the blood and so lessening the pain. All nations seem to have discovered this way of obtaining relief. We English were much addicted to tight bandages in cases of operation before the discovery of chloroform.

[8] He sat down by the side of a grave: Musalmâns prefer to bury their dead as close to the public way as possible, in order that the devout passers-by may offer up a prayer for them.

celebrated mosque of Bahâu'd-dîn and there to pray for treasure. Like many others he supposed that the great God through Shekh Bahâu'd-dîn's intercessions would grant him the desire of his heart, and so he went time after time praying with all sincerity, "O Bahâu'd-dîn, give me some–treasure, give me some treasure." One day Sharaf was walking past the mosque and overheard the man at his devotions. He thought that he might not only deceive him, but probably also make some profit out of him.

Accordingly early on the following morning he went to this mosque, and secreted himself in a very dark corner. He waited till the man came as usual, and when he uttered his request for treasure, Sharaf, from out of the darkness, replied, "O holy man, you have certainly been most assiduous in your devotions and have been most persistent in your request. Now understand that I am well pleased with you, and am quite ready, yea willing, to comply with your wishes." The man, thinking this to be none other than Bahâu'd-dîn himself again pleaded, and now with bolder voice, his request. Sharaf told him to come at an appointed time with the tools and implements necessary for unearthing the treasure. He was to bring one hundred rupees also, and two *tsâdars* for taking home the treasure, and to be very careful not to broach the matter to anyone. The man returned to his house with great joy, and could not sleep for the thought of the great treasure which would be discovered to him on the morrow. He was a very poor man, and not having one hundred rupees at hand was obliged to sell his property to get the money.

On the morrow at the dead of night, he was at the place of meeting, tools on his shoulder and money in his blanket, while another blanket was thrown over his other shoulder. Sharaf came forth to greet him. After the usual salutation he led the way into a little jungle, whither man seldom wandered, and showed the treasure-seeker the place where he would find the answer to his prayers. He ordered him to dig two yards deep. The man soon accomplished half of his task, but the sweat drops were upon his brow. Sharaf noticed them and told the man to take off his clothes and lay them on one side, and then he would be able to work easily. The man did so, and in a short while had dug so deep, that he could not be seen at a short distance from the hole, nor could he see anything outside.

Now his clothes had been laid well aside. Sharaf had seen to this arrangement. So when the man had almost dug the two yards and was at the pitch of excitement, expecting every moment that his spade would strike something hard, either gold or silver or some other precious thing, Sharaf carefully took up the clothes, blankets, and one hundred rupees, and was soon lost in the darkness and intricacies of the jungle.

It is said that the poor treasure-seeker worked on until he had only just sufficient strength to draw himself up to the top of the pit, and that then on seeing that his money, wraps, blankets, and saint were not there he loosened his hold and fell back insensible into the pit.

(X.)

One day Sharaf met a poor peasant, who was pushing along a sheep to the market. Sharaf enquired the price of the animal. The peasant replied, "four rupees." After a little wrangling the price was finally fixed at three rupees, and Sharaf told the man to bring the sheep to his house, where he would give him the money. The man consented, glad to get rid of his burden so quickly. They had not proceeded far before Sharaf noticed an empty house, having a door in front and a door at the back. He told the man that this was his humble abode, and, taking the sheep, swung it over his shoulders, and walked inside. He then shut the front door and bade the man to wait whilst he went for the money. As will be imagined, while the peasant was most patiently and happily squatting outside the door, Sharaf had gone out by the back door and knowing every yard of the neighbourhood, and being swift of foot also, he soon managed to elude all possibility of being taken. After an hour or so another man, in order to cut his journey short, had entered the same dwelling by the back door, and was coming out by the front door, when the peasant seized him and demanded his sheep. The traveller was rather annoyed at this sudden and unwelcome interruption to his journey, and showed his displeasure in a rather practical way.

The poor peasant, when he had recovered from the beating which the traveller had given him, tried the neighbours' houses, but alas! no sheep and no purchaser of the sheep, only blows and insults, until at length he was obliged to depart, a sadder but wiser man, back to his village.

(XI.)

The following story will show that Sharaf's heart was in his profession, and that he followed it not so much for the gain which it brought to him, as for the sport which it afforded.

One day he noticed a very poorly-dressed man pick up a dead dove which was lying on the road. He pitied the man's distressed look and state, and followed him, curious to see what he would do with the dead bird. As soon as the man had reached his house, and had shut the door, Sharaf rushed up and bent down to see and listen. He saw the little hungry-looking children standing, or rather dancing, round their father, pulling at his ragged garments, and asking whether he had brought them anything to eat. The history of the family was a very sad one. They had once been in affluent circumstances, but a change in the government had not been in their favour, and they had succumbed to their lot.

The man told the little ones, "Yes, I have got a dead dove. Take it and roast it for dinner." Sharaf Tsûr heard and saw everything, and his heart was moved with compassion for the poor people. He shouted to be allowed to come in, and, on being permitted to do so, he gave the man five rupees saying, "Procure some food with this money, and throw the dead bird away. I am Sharaf Tsûr. Up to this time I have stolen and robbed for my own aggrandisement, but henceforth I will rob and steal for the great God. I promise you that I will visit you again the day after to-morrow and will hand over to you, for your own use, as many rupees as I may get by that time. Fear not, but hope with gladness. Your adversity shall be turned into prosperity." The poor man thanked him, and falling upon his knees before him, said, "Your honour's pleasure: God bless you abundantly."

On the following day Sharaf visited the mosque near to this man's dwelling, and spent much time in earnest prayer. Prayer over, he sat to rest awhile. Presently the *imâm* came in. Sharaf at once commenced conversation with him, and spent the remainder of the day and part of the succeeding night with him in the mosque. Sharaf thought that he was never going to leave. At last, about one in the morning the *imâm* went to his home. No sooner had he departed than Sharaf, who had previously hired a swift and strong horse, started at post-haste for Sopûr.[9]

On arriving at Sopûr Sharaf made straight for the treasury, and thence stole many bags of rupees. He fastened these bags round his waist, and then again mounting his horse, returned to the place whence he had first started as quickly as he came. The bags of rupees he at once took to the poor man, whom he had promised to help, and then went and laid down again in the mosque. He slept soundly the remaining half hour of the night.

The next morning the treasurer discovered that a robbery had taken place. "Some bags have been taken," he said. A report was at once sent to the Viceroy at Srînagar with a hint that it was Sharaf Tsûr's work.

The Viceroy instantly summoned Sharaf to appear before him. When he was brought, he was at once ordered to speak the truth and deliver up the money.

Sharaf assumed a look of intense surprise, and did not appear in the least frightened. "When was the money stolen?" he asked. "Yesterday night," was the reply. Sharaf then quietly asked them to allow the *imâm*, with whom he spent the greater part of yesterday and yesterday night to be sent for. "Send for the *imâm* please, and enquire from him whether I was not with him at the time of the robbery. How could I be here and at Sopûr at one and the same time?" The *imâm* was brought and testified to the truth of Sharaf's words, and so the thief and robber was set at liberty.

(XII).

Another time Sharaf, arrayed in the dress of a great man, went to pay his respects to a very

[9] Sopûr is a moderate sized town, midway between Srînagar and Bâṛâmûlâ, the town where visitors exchange mules and coolies for the boats on their way to "the Happy Valley."

famous *pîr*. He sat down in the presence of the holy man with an air of much dignity. The *pîr* asked him whence he came and what he wanted. Sharaf, after a little hesitation, informed him that he was the son of a most respectable man, and knowing the *pîr* to be a holy man and well-instructed in the faith, desired to be taught by him. The *pîr* was exceedingly pleased, and then and there began to teach him. For three days Sharaf stayed in the *pîr's* quarters, and then apparently overflowing with gratitude for the good professedly received, he told the good man how happy he was, and how much he desired to make a feast for his benefactor. "Send for a skilful cook," said he, "and please order him to prepare various dishes. I will spend thirty rupees on a really good dinner, and make the cook a present besides."

The cook promised to do his very best and asked for the loan of some of the *pîr's* saucepans and rice-pots, which were at once handed over to him.

After some time had elapsed and Sharaf knew that the feast must be ready, he asked permission from the *pîr* to go and see to the arrangements. The cook's house was a little distance off. On arriving at the place Sharaf upbraided him because of the delay, and ordered that, on account of this, he should send the feast with him to the Zaina Kadal, where he called a boatman and had the things placed in the boat. He himself then entered the boat and sent the coolies, who had brought the dinner, away.

On the promise of a good dinner the boatmen paddled right lustily, and were soon beyond all hope of discovery. After a short time the *pîr*, whose appetite had been somewhat increased by expectation and delay, went to the cook's shop, and was terribly astonished to find that his friend and pupil had taken the dinner and utensils, and left him to pay the expenses.

This *pîr*, however, was an obstinate character. He made quite sure in his own mind, that the deceiver was Sharaf Tsûr, and in revenge he determined to bring the matter before the Viceroy, at that time 'Âtâ Muḥammad Khâṅ,[10] and get the thief punished. The Viceroy listened with great interest to the *pîr's* story, and at once issued a warrant for Sharaf's arrest. A day or two after this Sharaf was brought before the Viceroy, and charged with having stolen the saucepans, spoons, &c., of the *pîr*, and in other ways deceived him. The *pîr* eyed Sharaf with such a look, that the thief at length pleaded guilty and begged for pardon, promising to supply the Viceroy with enormous wealth if he would let him go free. 'Âtâ Muhammad Khâṅ, however, was immoveable. He would not listen to his pleadings for a moment, but gave strict orders that his right hand should be cut off, so that he might be hindered from carrying on his wicked profession in the future.

This was done; but it is said that Sharaf got an iron hand made with sharp-pointed fingers, and that he would strike anyone on the neck with this hand, who would not consent to give up his money or valuables. He killed three or four people in this way.

There are many other stories extant in Srînagar and in the villages concerning the cruelty and cunning of this man, too numerous to note here.

Some readers may wish to know something of Sharaf's latter days. A great *pîr*, named Buzurg Shâh, sent for him one day, and advised him to desist from such works, and give his mind a little to heavenly things. He promised that, if he would do this, he would allow him to reside in his house as a companion and help. Sharaf's heart was touched by the kind offer and manner of the *pîr*, and being thoroughly weary of doing wrong, he accepted the proposal.

He remained in Buzurg Shâh's house until his death, and proved himself in every way worthy of the confidence and esteem bestowed upon him by his benefactor.

It is not known when Sharaf Tsûr died, or where he was buried.

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[10] 'Âtâ Muḥammad Khâṅ was one of the fourteen Governors or Viceroys, during the sixty-six years (1753—1819) the country remained a portion of the Durrânî empire.

THE STUDY OF HINDU GRAMMAR AND THE STUDY OF SANSKṚIT.[1]

BY PROF. W. D. WHITNEY.

To the beginning study of Sanskṛit it was an immense advantage that there existed a Hindu science of grammar, and one of so high a character. To realize how great the advantage, one has only to compare the case of languages destitute of it—as for instance the Zend. It is a science of ancient date, and has even exercised a shaping influence on the language in which all or nearly all the classical literature has been produced. It was an outcome of the same general spirit which is seen in the so careful textual preservation and tradition of the ancient sacred literature of India, and there is doubtless a historical connection between the one and the other, though of just what nature is as yet unclear.

The character of the Hindu grammatical science was, as is usual in such cases, determined by the character of the language which was its subject. The Sanskṛit is above all things an analyzable language, one admitting of the easy and distinct separation of ending from stem, and of derivative suffix from primitive word, back to the ultimate attainable elements, the so-called roots. Accordingly, in its perfected form (for all the preparatory stages are unknown to us), the Hindu grammar offers us an established body of roots, with rules for their conversion into stems and for the inflection of the latter, and also for the accompanying phonetic changes—this last involving and resting upon a phonetic science of extraordinary merit, which has called forth the highest admiration of modern scholars. Nothing at all approaching it has been produced by any ancient people, and it has served as the foundation in no small degree of our own phonetics, even as our science of grammar and of language has borrowed much from India. The treatment of syntax is markedly inferior—though, after all, hardly more than in a measure to correspond with the inferiority of the Sanskṛit sentence in point of structure, as compared with the Latin and the Greek. Into any more detailed description it is not necessary to our present purpose to enter, and the matter is one pretty well understood by the students of Indo-European language. It is generally well known also that the Hindu science, after a however long history of elaboration, became fixed for all future time in the system of a single grammarian, named Pâṇini (believed, though on grounds far from convincing, to have lived two or three centuries before the Christian era). Pâṇini's work has been commented without end, corrected in minor points, condensed, re-cast in arrangement, but never rebelled against or superseded, and it is still the authoritative standard of good Sanskṛit. Its form of presentation is of the strangest: a miracle of ingenuity, but of perverse and wasted ingenuity. The only object aimed at in it is brevity, at the sacrifice of everything else—of order, of clearness, of even intelligibility except by the aid of keys and commentaries and lists of words, which then are furnished in profusion. To determine a grammatical point out of it is something like constructing a passage of text out of an *index verborum*. If you are sure that you have gathered up every word that belongs in the passage, and have put them all in the right order, you have got the right reading; but only then. If you have mastered Pâṇini sufficiently to bring to bear upon the given point every rule that relates to it, and in due succession, you have settled the case; but that is no easy task. For example, it takes nine mutually limitative rules, from all parts of the text-book, to determine whether a certain aorist shall be *ajâgarisham* or *ajâgârisham*: (the case is reported in the preface to Müller's grammar). There is lacking only a tenth rule, to tell us that the whole word is a false and never-used formation! Since there is nothing to show how far the application of a rule reaches, there are provided treatises of laws of interpretation to be applied to them; but there is a residual rule underlying and determining the whole, that both the grammar and the laws of interpretation must be so construed as to yield good and acceptable forms, and not otherwise,—and this implies (if that were needed) a condemnation of the whole mode of presentation of the system as a failure.

Theoretically, all that is prescribed and allowed by Pâṇini and his accepted commen-

[1] Reprinted from the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. V. No. 3.

tators is Sanskṛit, and nothing else is entitled to the name. The young *paṇḍit*, then, is expected to master the system and to govern his Sanskṛit speech and writing by it. This he does, with immense pains and labour, then naturally valuing the acquisition in part according to what it has cost him. The same course was followed by those European scholars who had to make themselves the pupils of Hindu teachers, in acquiring Sanskṛit for the benefit of Europe, and (as was said above) they did so to their very great advantage. Equally as a matter of course, the same must still be done by any one who studies in India, who has to deal with the native scholars, win their confidence and respect, and gain their aid. They must be met upon their own ground. But it is a question, and one of no slight practical importance, how far Western scholars in general are to be held to this method: whether Pâṇini is for us also the law of Sanskṛit usage; whether we are to study the native Hindu grammar in order to learn Sanskṛit.

There would be less reason for asking this question, if the native grammar were really the instrumentality by which the conserving tradition of the old language had been carried on. But that is a thing both in itself impossible and proved by the facts of the case to be untrue. No one ever mastered a list of roots with rules for their extension and inflection, and then went to work to construct texts upon that basis. Rather, the transmission of Sanskṛit has been like the transmission of any highly cultivated language, only with differences of degree. The learner has his models which he imitates. He makes his speech after the example of that of his teacher, only under the constant government of grammatical rule, enforced by the requirement to justify out of the grammar any word or form as to which a question is raised. Thus the language has moved on by its own inertia, only falling, with further removal from its natural vernacular basis, more and more passively and mechanically into the hands of the grammarians. All this is like the propagation of literary English or German; only that here there is much more of a vernacular usage that shows itself able to override and modify the rules of grammar. It is yet more closely like the propagation of Latin; only that here the imitation of previous usage is frankly acknowledged as the guide, there being no iron system of grammar to assume to take its place. That such has really been the history of the later or classical Sanskṛit is sufficiently shown by the facts. There is no absolute coincidence between it and the language which Pâṇini teaches. The former, indeed, includes little that the grammarians forbid; but, on the other hand, it lacks a great deal that they allow or prescribe. The difference between the two is so great that Benfey, a scholar deeply versed in the Hindu science, calls it a grammar without a corresponding language, as he calls the pre-classical dialects a language without a grammar.[3] If such a statement can be made with any reason, it would appear that there is to be assumed, as the subject of Hindu grammatical science, a peculiar dialect of Sanskṛit, which we may call the grammarians' Sanskṛit, different both from the pre-classical dialects and from the classical, and standing either between them or beside them in the general history of Indian language. And it becomes a matter of importance to us to ascertain what this grammarians' Sanskṛit is, how it stands related to the other varieties of Sanskṛit, and whether it is entitled to be the leading object of our Sanskṛit study. Such questions must be settled by a comparison of the dialect referred to with the other dialects, and of them with one another. And it will be found, upon such comparison, that the earlier and later forms of the Vedic dialect, the dialects of the *Brâhmaṇas* and *Sûtras*, and the classical Sanskṛit, stand in a filial relation, each to its predecessor; are nearly or quite successive forms of the same language: while the grammarians' Sanskṛit, as distinguished from them, is a thing of grammatical rule merely, having never had any real existence as a language, and being on the whole unknown in practice to even the most modern *paṇḍits*.

The main thing which makes of the grammarians' Sanskṛit a special and peculiar language is its list of roots. Of these there are reported to us about two thousand, with

[3] *Einleitung in die Grammatik der vedischen Sprache*, 1874, pp. 3, 4.

no intimation of any difference in character among them, or warning that a part of them may and that another part may not be drawn upon for forms to be actually used;—all stand upon the same plane. But more than half—actually more than half—of them never have been met with, and never will be met with, in the Sanskṛit literature of any age. When this fact began to come to light, it was long fondly hoped, or believed, that the missing elements would yet turn up in some corner of the literature not hitherto ransacked, but all expectation of that has now been abandoned. One or another does appear from time to time; but what are they among so many? The last notable case was that of the root *stigh,* discovered in the *Maitrâyaṁî-Saṁhitâ,* a text of the Brâhmaṇa period, but the new roots found in such texts are apt to turn out wanting in the lists of the grammarians. Beyond all question, a certain number of cases are to be allowed for, of real roots, proved such by the occurrence of their evident cognates in other related languages, and chancing not to appear in the known literature, but they can go only a very small way indeed toward accounting for the eleven hundred unauthenticated roots. Others may have been assumed as underlying certain derivatives or bodies of derivatives—within due limits, a perfectly legitimate proceeding, but the cases thus explainable do not prove to be numerous. There remain then the great mass, whose presence in the lists no ingenuity has yet proved sufficient to account for. And in no small part, they bear their falsity and artificiality on the surface, in their phonetic form, and in the meanings ascribed to them. We can confidently say that the Sanskṛit language, known to us through a long period of development, neither had nor could have any such roots. How the grammarians came to concoct their list, rejected in practice by themselves and their own pupils, is hitherto an unexplained mystery. No special student of the native grammar, to my knowledge, has attempted to cast any light upon it, and it was left for Dr. Edgren, no partisan of the grammarians, to group and set forth the facts for the first time, in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (Vol. XI. 1882 [but the article printed in 1879], pp. 1-55), adding a list of the real roots, with brief particulars as to their occurrence.[3] It is quite clear, with reference to this fundamental and most important item, of what character the grammarians' Sanskṛit is. The real Sanskṛit of the latest period is, as concerns its roots, a true successor to that of the earliest period, and through the known intermediates. It has lost some of the roots of its predecessors, as each of these some belonging to its own predecessors or predecessor; it has, also like these, won a certain number not earlier found: both in such measure as was to be expected. As for the rest of the asserted roots of the grammar, to account for them is not a matter that concerns at all the Sanskṛit language and its history; it only concerns the history of the Hindu science of grammar. That, too, has come to be pretty generally acknowledged.[4] Every one who knows anything of the history of Indo-European etymology knows how much mischief the grammarians' list of roots wrought in the hands of the earlier more incautious and credulous students of Sanskṛit: how many false and worthless derivations were founded upon them. That sort of work, indeed, is not yet entirely a thing of the past: still, it has come to be well understood by most scholars that no alleged Sanskṛit root can be accepted as real unless it is supported by such a use in the literary records of the language as authenticates it—for there are such things in the later language as artificial occurrences, forms made for once or twice from roots taken out of the grammarians' list, by a natural license, which one is only surprised not to see oftener availed of: (there are hardly more than a dozen or two of such cases quotable). That they appear so seldom is the best evidence of the fact already pointed out above, that the grammar had, after all, only a superficial and negative influence upon the real tradition of the language.

It thus appears that a Hindu grammarian's statement as to the fundamental elements of

[3] I have myself now in press a much fuller account of the quotable roots of the language, with all their quotable tense-stems and primary derivatives—everything accompanied by a definition of the period of its known occurrence in the history of the language.

[4] Not, indeed, universally; one may find among the selected verbs that are conjugated in full at the end of F. M. Müller's *Sanskṛit Grammar*, no very small number of those that are utterly unknown to Sanskṛit usage ancient or modern.

his language is without authority until tested by the actual facts of the language, as represented by the Sanskṛit literature. But the principle won here is likely to prove of universal application, for we have no reason to expect to find the grammarians absolutely trustworthy in other departments of their work, when they have failed so signally in one. There can be nothing in their system that will not require to be tested by the recorded facts of the language, in order to determine its true value. How this is, we will proceed to ascertain by examining a few examples.

In the older language, but not in the oldest, (for it is wanting in the Veda), there is formed a periphrastic future tense active by compounding a *nomen agentis* with an auxiliary, the present tense of the verb *as* 'be': thus, *dâtâ 'smi*, (literally *dator sum*), 'I will give,' etc. It is quite infrequent as compared with the other future, yet common enough to require to be regarded as a part of the general Sanskṛit verb-system. To this active tense the grammarians give a corresponding middle, although the auxiliary in its independent use has no middle inflection. It is made with endings modified so as to stand in the usual relation of middle endings to active, and further with conversion in 1st sing. of the radical *s* to *h*—a very anomalous substitution, of which there is not, I believe, another example in the language. Now what support has this middle tense in actual use? Only this: that in the *Brâhmaṇas* occur four sporadic instances of attempts to make by analogy middle forms for this tense: (they are all reported in my *Sanskṛit Grammar*, § 947; further search has brought to light no additional examples). Two of them are 1st sing., one having the form *se* for the auxiliary, the other *he*, as taught in the grammar; and in the whole later literature, epic and classical, I find record of the occurrence of only one further case, *darśayitâhe* (in Nâish. V. 71.)! [5] Here also, the classical dialect is the true continuator of the pre-classical. It is only in the grammarians' Sanskṛit that every verb conjugated in the middle voice has also a middle periphrastic future.

There is another and much more important part of verbal inflection—namely, the whole aorist-system, in all its variety—as to which the statements of the grammarians are to be received with especial distrust, for the reason that in the classical language the aorist is a decadent formation. In the older dialects, down to the last *Sûtra*, and through the entire list of early and genuine *Upanishads*, the aorist has its own special office, that of designating the immediate past, and is always to be found where such designation is called for. Later, even in the epos, it is only another preterit, equivalent in use to imperfect and perfect, and hence of no value, and subsisting only in occasional use, mainly as a survival from an earlier condition of the language. Thus, for example, of the first kind of aorist, the root-aorist, forms are made in pre-classical Sanskṛit from about 120 roots. Of these, 15 make forms in the later language also, mostly sporadically, (only *gâ*, *dâ*, *dhâ*, *pâ*, *sthâ*, *bhû* less infrequently), and 8 more in the later language only, all in an occurrence or two, (all but one, in active precative forms, as to which see below). Again, of the fifth aorist-form, the *ish*-aorist, (rather the most frequent of all), forms are made in the older language from 140 roots, and later from only 18 of these (and sporadically, except in the case of *grah*, *vad*, *vadh*, *vid*), with a dozen more in the later language exclusively, all sporadic except *śaṅk*, (which is not a Vedic root). Once more, as regards the third or reduplicated aorist, the proportion is slightly different, because of the association of that aorist with the causative conjugation, and the frequency of the latter in use. Here, against about 110 roots quotable from the earlier language, 16 of them also in the later, there are about 30 found in the later alone, (nearly all of them only sporadically, and none with any frequency). And the case is not otherwise with the remaining forms. The facts being such it is easily seen that general statements made by the grammarians as to the range of occurrence of each form, and as to the occurrence of one form in the active and a certain other one in the middle from a given root, must be of very doubtful authority; in fact, as regards the latter

[5] Here, as elsewhere below, my authority for the later literature is chiefly the Petersburg Lexicon (the whole older literature I have examined for myself), and my statements are, of course, always open to modification by the results of further researches. But all the best and most genuine part of the literature has been carefully and thoroughly excerpted for the Lexicon; and for the *Mahâbhârata* we have now the explicit statements of Holtzmann, in his *Grammatisches aus dem Mahabharata*, Leipzig, 1884.

point, they are the more suspicious as lacking any tolerable measure of support from the facts of the older language. But there are much greater weaknesses than these in the grammarians' treatment of the aorist.

Let us first turn our attention to the aorist optative, the so-called precative (or benedictive). This formation is by the native grammarians not recognised as belonging to the aorist at all—not even so far as to be put next the aorist in their general scheme of conjugation; they suffer the future-systems to intervene between the two. This is in them fairly excusable as concerns the precative active, since it is the optative of the root-aorist, and so has an aspect as if it might come independently from the root directly. Nor, indeed, can we much blame them for overlooking the relation of their precative middle to the sibilant or sigmatic aorist, considering that they ignore tense-systems and modes; but that their European imitators, down to the very latest, should commit the same oversight is a different matter. The contrast, now, between the grammarians' dialect and the real Sanskṛit is most marked as regards the middle forms. According to the grammar, the precative middle is to be made from every root, and even for its secondary conjugations, the causative, etc. It has two alternative modes of formation, which we see to correspond to two of the forms of the sibilant aorist: the *s*-aorist, namely, and the *ish*-aorist. Of course, a complete inflection is allowed it. To justify all this, now, I am able to point to only a single occurrence of a middle precative in the whole later literature, including the epics: that is *rîrishîshṭa* in the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* (III. 9, 24), a text notable for its artificial imitation of ancient forms (the same word occurs also in the *Ṛig-Veda*). It is made, as will be noticed, from a reduplicated aorist stem, and so is unauthorized by grammatical rule. A single example in a whole literature, and that a false one! In the pre-classical literature also, middle precative forms are made hardly more than sporadically, or from less than 40 roots in all, (so far as I have found): those belonging to the *s* and *ish*-aorists are, indeed, among the most numerous (14 each), but those of the root-aorist do not fall short of them (also 14 roots), and there are examples from three of the other four aorists. Except a single 3rd pl., (in *îrata*, instead of *îran*), only the three singular persons and the 1st pl. are quotable, and forms occur without, as well as with, the adscititious *s* between mode-sign and personal ending which is the special characteristic of a precative as distinguished from a simply optative form. Here, again, we have a formation sporadic in the early language and really extinct in the later, but erected by the grammarians into a regular part of every verb-system.

With the precative active the case is somewhat different. This also, indeed, is rare even to sporadicalness, being, so far as I know, made from only about 60 roots in the whole language—and of these, only half can show forms containing the true precative *s*. But it is not quite limited to the pre-classical dialects: it is made also later from 15 roots, 9 of which are additional to those which make a precative in the older language. Being in origin an optative of the root-aorist, it comes, as we may suppose, to seem to be a formation from the root directly, and so to be extended beyond the limits of the aorist. From a clear majority (about three fifths) of all the roots that make it, it has no other aorist forms by its side. And this begins even in the earliest period, (with half-a-dozen roots in the Veda, and toward a score besides in the Brâhmaṇa and Sûtra); although there the precative more usually makes a part of a general aorist-formation: for instance, and especially, from the root *bhû*, whose precative forms are oftener met with than those of all other roots together, and which is the only root from which more than two real precative persons are quotable. How rare it is even in the epos is shown by the fact that Holtzmann[6] is able to quote only six forms, (and one of these doubtful, and another a false formation), from the whole *Mahâbhârata*, one of them occurring twice; while the first book of the *Râmâyaṇa* (about 4500 lines) has the single *bhûyât*. Since it is not quite extinct in the classical period, the Hindu grammarians could not, perhaps, well help teaching its formation, and, considering the general absence of perspective

[6] In his work already cited, at p. 32.

from their work, we should hardly expect them to explain that it was the rare survival of an anciently little-used formation; but we have here another striking example of the great discordance between the real Sanskṛit and the grammarians' dialect, and of the insufficiency of the information respecting the former obtainable from the rules for the latter.

Again, the reduplicated or third form of aorist, though it has become attached to the causative secondary conjugation, (by a process in the *Veda* not yet complete), as the regular aorist of that conjugation, is not made from the derivative causative stem, but comes from the root itself, not less directly than do the other aorist-formations—except in the few cases where the causative stem contains a *p* added to *â*: thus, *atishṭhipat* from stem *sthâpaya*, root *sthâ*. Perhaps misled by this exception, however, the grammarians teach the formation of the reduplicated aorist from the causative stem, through the intermediate process of converting the stem back to the root, by striking off its conjugation-sign and reducing its strengthened vowel to the simpler root-form. That is to say, we are to make, for example, *abûbhuvat* from the stem *bhâvaya*, by cutting off *aya* and reducing the remainder *bhâv* or *bhau* to *bhû*, instead of making it from *bhû* directly! That is a curious etymological process; quite a side-piece to deriving *varîyas* and *varishṭha* from *uru*, and the like, as the Hindu grammarians and their European copyists would likewise have us do. There is one point where the matter is brought to a crucial test: namely, in roots that end in *u* or *û*; where, if the vowel on which the reduplication is formed is an *u*-vowel, the reduplication-vowel should be of the same character; but, in any other case, an *i*-vowel. Thus, in the example already taken, *bhâvaya* ought to make *abîbhavat*, just as it makes *bibhâvayishati* in the case of a real derivation from the causative stem, and such forms as *abîbhavat* are, in fact, in a great number of cases either prescribed or allowed by the grammarians; but I am not aware of their having been ever met with in use, earlier or later, with the single exception of *apiplavam*, occurring in the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* (VI. ii. 1, 8).

Again, the grammarians give a peculiar and problematic rule for an alternative formation of certain passive tenses (aorist and futures) from the special 3rd sing. aor. pass.; they allow it in the case of all roots ending in vowels, and of *grah, dṛiś, han*. Thus, for example, from the root *dâ* are allowed *adâyishi, dâyishyate, dâyitâ*, beside *adishi, dâsyate, dâtâ*. What all this means is quite obscure, since there is no usage, either early or late, to cast light upon it. The *Ṛig-Veda* has once (I. 147, 5) *dhâyîs*, from root *dhâ*; but this, being active, is rather a hindrance than a help. The *Jâim.-Brâhmaṇa* has once (I. 321) *âkhyâyishyante*; but this appears to be a form analogous with *hvayishyate*, &c., and so proves nothing. The *Bhâg.-Purâṇa* has once (VIII. 13, 36) *tâyitâ*, which the Petersburg Lexicon refers to root *tan*; but if there is such a thing as the secondary root *tây*, as claimed by the grammarians, it perhaps belongs rather there. And there remain, so far as I can discover, only *asthâyishi* (*Daśak.* [Wilson], p. 117, l. 6) and *anâyishata* (*Ind. Sprüche*, 6187, from the *Kuvalayânanda*); and these are with great probability to be regarded as artificial forms, made because the grammar declares them correct. It seems not unlikely that some misapprehension or blunder lies at the foundation of these rules of the grammar; at any rate, the formation is only grammarians' Sanskṛit, and not even *paṇḍits*', and it should never be obtruded upon the attention of beginners in the language.

Again, the secondary ending *dhvam* of 2nd pl. mid. sometimes has to take the form *ḍhvam*. In accordance with the general euphonic usages of the language, this should be whenever in the present condition of Sanskṛit there has been lost before the ending a lingual sibilant; thus: we have *aneḍhvam* from *anesh* + *dhvam*, and *apaviḍhvam* from *apavish* + *dhvam*; we should further have in the precative *bhavishîḍhvam* from *bhavishî-sh-dhvam*, if the form ever occurred, as, unfortunately, it does not. And, so far as I know, there is not to be found, either in the earlier language or the later (and as to the former I can speak with authority, a single instance of *ḍhvam* in any other situation—the test-cases, however, being far from numerous. But the Hindu grammarians, if they are reported rightly by their European pupils (which in this instance is hard to believe), give rules as to the change of the ending upon this basis only for the *s*-aorist. For the *ish*-aorist and its

optative (the precative), they make the choice between ḍhvam and dhvam to depend upon whether the *i* is or is not "preceded by a semivowel or *h*:" that is, *apavish* + *dhvam* gives *apaviḍhvam*, but *ajanish* + *dhvam* gives *ajanidhvam*, and so likewise we should have *janishî-dhvam*. It would be curious to know what ground the grammarians imagined themselves to have for laying down such a rule as this, wherein there is a total absence of discoverable connection between cause and effect; and it happens that all the quotable examples—*ajaniḍhvam, artiḍhvam, aindhiḍhvam, vepiḍhvam*—are opposed to their rule, but accordant with reason. What is yet worse, however, is that the grammar extends the same conversion of *dh* to *ḍh*, under the same restrictions, to the primary ending *dhve* of the perfect likewise, with which it has nothing whatever to do—teaching us that, for instance, *cakṛi* and *tushṭu* + *dhve* make necessarily *cakṛiḍhve* and *tushṭuḍhve*, and that *dadhṛ-i* + *dhve* makes either *dadhṛiḍhve* or *dadhṛidhve*, while *tutud-i* + *dhve* makes only *tutudidhve!* This appears to me the most striking case of downright unintelligent blundering on the part of the native grammarians that has come to notice. If there is any way of relieving them of the reproach of it, their partisans ought to cast about at once to find it.

A single further matter of prime importance may be here referred to, in illustration of the character of the Hindu grammarians as classifiers and presenters of the facts of their language. By reason of the extreme freedom and wonderful regularity of word-composition in Sanskṛit, the grammarians were led to make a classification of compounds in a manner that brought true enlightenment to European scholars; and the classification has been largely adopted as a part of modern philological science, along even with its bizarre terminology. Nothing could be more accurate and happier than the distinction of dependent, descriptive, possessive and copulative compounds; only their titles—'his man' (*tatpurusha*), 'act-sustaining' (? *karmadhâraya*), 'much-rice' (*bahuvrîhi*), and 'couple' (*dvandva*), respectively—can hardly claim to be worth preserving. But it is the characteristic of Hindu science generally not to be able to stop when it has done enough, and so the grammarians have given us, on the same plane of division with these four capital classes, two more, which they call *dvigu* ('two-cow') and *avyayîbhâva* ('indeclinable-becoming'); and these have no *raison d'être*, but are collections of special cases belonging to some of the other classes, and so heterogeneous that their limits are hardly capable of definition. The *dvigu*-class are secondary adjective compounds, but sometimes, like other adjectives, used as nouns; and an *avyayîbhâva* is always the adverbially-used accusative neuter of an adjective compound. It would be a real service on the part of some scholar, versed in the Hindu science, to draw out a full account of the so-called *dvigu*-class and its boundaries, and to show if possible how the grammarians were misled into establishing it. But it will probably be long before these two false classes cease to haunt the concluding chapters of Sanskṛit grammars, or writers on language to talk of the six kinds of compounds in Sanskṛit.[7]

Points in abundance, of major or minor consequence, it would be easy to bring up in addition, for criticism or for question. Thus, to take a trifle or two: according to the general analogies of the language, we ought to speak of the root *gṛih*, instead of *grah*. Probably the Hindu science adopts the latter form because of some mechanical advantage on the side of brevity resulting from it, in the rules prescribing forms and derivatives. The instances are not few in which that can be shown to have been the preponderating consideration, leading to the sacrifice of things more important. One may conjecture that similar causes led to the setting up of a root *dîv* instead of *div*, 'play, gamble': that it may have been found easier to prescribe the prolongation of the *i* than its irregular gunation, in *devana*, etc. This has unfortunately misled the authors of the Petersburg Lexicons into their strange and indefensible identification of the asserted root *div*, 'play,' with the so-called root *div*, 'shine.' The combination of meanings is forced and unnatural; and then especially

[7] Spiegel, for example (*Altiranische Grammatik*, p. 229), thinks it necessary to specify that *dvigu*-compounds do, to be sure, occur also in the Old Persian dialects, but that they in no respect form a special class; and a very recent Sanskṛit grammar in Italian (Pulle, Turin, 1883) gives as the four primary classes of compounds the *dvandva, tatpurusha, bahuvrîhi* and *avyayîbhâva*—as if one were to say that the kingdoms in Nature are four: animal, vegetable, mineral, and cactuses.

the phonetic form of the two roots is absolutely distinct, the one showing only short *i* and *u* (as in *divam, dyubhis*), the other always and only long *î* and *û* (as in *dîvyati*, *-dîvan*, and *-dyû*, *dyûta*). The one root is really *diu*, and the other *dîû*: (it may be added that the Petersburg Lexicon, on similar evidence, inconsistently but correctly writes the roots *sîv* and *srîv*, instead of *siv* and *sriv*).

It would be easy to continue the work of illustration much further; but this must be enough to show how and how far we have to use and to trust the teachings of the Hindu grammarians. Or, if one prefer to employ the Benfeyan phrase, we see something of what this language is which has a grammar but not an existence, and in what relation it stands to the real Sanskṛit language, begun in the Veda, and continued without a break down to our own times, all the rules of the grammar having been able only slightly to stiffen and unnaturalize it. Surely, what we desire to have to do with is the Sanskṛit, and not the imaginary dialect that fits the definitions of Pâṇini. There is no escaping the conclusion that, if we would understand Sanskṛit, we may not take the grammarians as authorities, but only as witnesses. Not a single rule given or a fact stated by them is to be accepted on their word, without being tested by the facts of the language as laid down in the less subjective and more trustworthy record of the literature. Of course, most of what the native grammar teaches is true and right; but, until after critical examination, no one can tell which part. Of course, also, there is more or less of genuine supplementary material in the grammarians' treaties—material especially lexical, but doubtless in some measure also grammatical—which needs to be worked in so as to complete our view of the language; but what this genuine material is, as distinguished from the artificial and false, is only to be determined by a thorough and cautious comparison of the entire system of the grammar with the whole recorded language. Such a comparison has not yet been made, and is hardly even being made: in part, to be sure, because the time for it has been long in coming; but mainly because those who should be making it are busy at something else. The skilled students of the native grammar, as it seems to me, have been looking at their task from the wrong point of view, and labouring in the wrong direction. They have been trying to put the non-existent grammarians' dialect in the place of the genuine Sanskṛit. They have thought it their duty to learn out of Pâṇini and his successors, and to set forth for the benefit of the world, what the Sanskṛit really is, instead of studying and setting forth and explaining (and, where necessary, accounting for and excusing) Pâṇini's system itself. They have failed to realize that, instead of a divine revelation, they have in their hands a human work—a very able one, indeed, but also imperfect, like other human works, full of the prescription in place of description that characterizes all Hindu productions, and most perversely constructed; and that in studying it they are only studying a certain branch of Hindu science: one that is, indeed, of the highest interest, and has an important bearing on the history of the language, especially since the *dicta* of the grammarians have had a marked influence in shaping the latest form of Sanskṛit—not always to its advantage. Hence the insignificant amount of real progress that the study of Hindu grammar has made in the hands of European scholars. Its career was well inaugurated, now nearly forty-five years ago (1839-40), by Böhtlingk's edition of Pâṇini's text, with extracts from the native commentaries, followed by an extremely stingy commentary by the editor; but it has not been succeeded by anything of importance,[8] until now that a critical edition of the *Mahâbhâshya*, by Kielhorn, is passing through the press, and is likely soon to be completed: a highly meritorious work, worthy of European learning, and likely, if followed up in the right spirit, to begin a new era in its special branch of study. Considering the extreme difficulty of the system, and the amount of labour that is required before the student can win any available mastery of it, it is incumbent upon the representatives of the study to produce an edition of Pâṇini accompanied with a version, a digest of the leading comments on each rule, and an index that shall

[8] For the photographic reproduction, in 1874, of a single manuscript of Patañjali's *Mahâbhâshya* or 'Great Comment' (on Pâṇini), with the glosses upon it, was but a costly piece of child's play; and the English government, as if to make the enterprise a complete *fiasco*, sent all the copies thus prepared to India, to be buried there in native keeping, instead of placing them in European libraries, within reach of Western scholars.

कचितवदगाविसावा गुविजय यात्रे विजयं कम
बनकोवेजुरदै वा अंनि कटक मुकुलितामिवि
त्रेर्द पगा ३०० सेत त से सेल गरं माम
माने याकुल विसु देव पगुमवदत्रो पा
दचदपालकनपलो वह विक्तिसेमालपा
चैप सुवचादि चाते मावना वक० से है प मासेकि प
वदेसवि वा बेसर ति यातया के
लिद्वाकगाया मासेवा वावे वपिस तसैव
वदैतें सेल गा न गामामने या लविवित्री गा मा
व ३००० मवि लुविदेदसे ४० नागाद
जावडिय दे पाविदा पृसोगा
मृत्तिका भूमि २०० विदेश सत्र ४० नाग भूमि
२००० मिदेदस ४० मलजान दे वा भूमि ३००
गा १ वडियदे १ ध द्रा १ मला १ विदेसत्र २ ०६ सि० भूमि
४०० रगागो भूमि ३०० मला गी भूमि २०० मे वि

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make it possible to find what the native authorities teach upon each given point: that is to say, to open the grammatical science to knowledge virtually at first hand without the lamentable waste of time thus far unavoidable—a waste, because both needless and not sufficiently rewarded by its results.

A curious kind of superstition appears to prevail among certain Sanskṛit scholars. They cannot feel that they have the right to accept a fact of the language unless they find it set down in Pâṇini's rules. It may well be asked, on the contrary, of what consequence it is, except for its bearing on the grammatical science itself, whether a given fact is or is not so set down. A fact in the pre-classical language is confessedly quite independent of Pâṇini; he may take account of it and he may not; and no one knows as yet what the ground is of the selection he makes for inclusion in his system. As for a fact in the classical language, it is altogether likely to fall within the reach of one of the great grammarian's rules—at least, as these have been extended and restricted and amended by his numerous successors: and this is a thing much to the credit of the grammar; but what bearing it has upon the language it would be hard to say. If, however, we should seem to meet with a fact ignored by the grammar, or contravening its rules, we should have to look to see whether supporting facts in the language did not show its genuineness in spite of the grammar. On the other hand, there are facts in the language, especially in its latest records, which have a false show of existence, being the artificial product of the grammar's prescription or permission; and there was nothing but the healthy conservatism of the true tradition of the language to keep them from becoming vastly more numerous. And then, finally, there are the infinite number of facts which, so far as the grammar is concerned, should be or might be in the language, only that they do not happen ever to occur there; for here lies the principal discordance between the grammar and the language. The statement of the grammar that such a thing is so and so is of quite uncertain value, until tested by the facts of the language : and in this testing, it is the grammar that is on trial, that is to be condemned for artificiality or commended for faithfulness; not the language, which is quite beyond our jurisdiction. It cannot be too strongly urged that the Sanskṛit, even that of the most modern authors, even that of the *paṇḍits* of the present day, is the successor, by natural processes of tradition, of the older dialects; and that the grammar is a more or less successful attempt at its description, the measure of the success being left for us to determine, by comparison of the one with the other.

To maintain this is not to disparage the Hindu grammatical science; it is only to put it in its true place. The grammar remains nearly if not altogether the most admirable product of the scientific spirit in India, ranking with the best products of that spirit that the world has seen. We will scant no praise to it, if we only are not called on to bow down to it as authoritative. So we regard the Greek science of astronomy as one of the greatest and most creditable achievements of the human intellect since men first began to observe and deduce; but we do not plant ourselves upon its point of view in setting forth the movements of the heavenly bodies—though the men of the Middle Ages did so, to their advantage, and the system of epicycles maintained itself in existence, by dint of pure conservation, long after its artificiality had been demonstrated. That the early European Sanskṛit grammars assumed the basis and worked in the methods of the Hindu science was natural and praiseworthy. Bopp was the first who had knowledge and independence enough to begin effectively the work of subordinating Hindu to Western science, using the materials and deductions of the former so far as they accorded with the superior methods of the latter, and turning his attention to the records of the language itself, as fast as they became accessible to him. Since his time, there has been in some respects a retrogression rather than an advance. European scholars have seemed to take satisfaction in submitting themselves slavishly to Hindu teachers, and the grammarians' dialect has again been thrust forward into the place which the Sanskṛit language ought to occupy. To refer to but a striking example or two : in Müller's grammar the native science is made the supreme rule after a fashion that is sometimes amusing in its *naïveté*, and the genuine and the fictitious are mingled inextricably, in his

rules, his illustrations, and his paradigms, from one end of the volume to the other. And a scholar of the highest rank, long resident in India, but now of Vienna, Professor Bühler, has only last year put forth a useful practical introduction to the language, with abundant exercises for writing and speaking,[9] in which the same spirit of subservience to Hindu methods is shown in an extreme degree, and both forms and material are not infrequently met with which are not Sanskṛit, but belong only to the non-existent grammarians' dialect. Its standpoint is clearly characterized by its very first clause, which teaches that "Sanskṛit verbs have ten tenses and modes"—that is to say, because the native grammar failed to make the distinction between tense and mode, or to group these formations together into systems, coming from a common tense-stem, Western pupils are to be taught to do the same. This seems about as much an anachronism as if the author had begun, likewise after Hindu example, with the statement that "Sanskṛit parts of speech are four: name, predicate, preposition, and particle." Further on, in the same paragraph, he allows (since the Hindus also do so) that "the first four [tenses and modes] are derived from a special present stem;" but he leaves it to be implied, both here and later, that the remaining six come directly from the root. From this we should have to infer, for example, that *dadâti* comes from a stem, but *dadâtha* from the root; that we are to divide *naśya-ti* but *dâsyati*, *a-viśa-t* but *a-sic-at*, and so on; and (though this is a mere oversight) that *ayât* contains a stem, but *adât* a pure root. No real grammarian can talk of present stems without talking of aorist stems also; nor is the variety of the latter so much inferior to that of the former. It is only the vastly greater frequency of occurrence of present forms that makes the differences of their stems the more important ground of classification. These are but specimens of the method of the book, which, in spite of its merits, is not in its present form a good one to put in the hands of beginners, because it teaches them so much that they will have to unlearn later, if they are to understand the Sanskṛit language.

One more point, of minor consequence, may be noted, in which the habit of Western philology shows itself too subservient to the whims of the Sanskṛit native grammarians: the order of the varieties of present stems, and the designation of the conjugation classes as founded on it. We accept the Hindu order of the cases in noun-inflection, not seeking to change it, though unfamiliar, because we see that it has a reason, and a good one; but no one has ever been ingenious enough even to conjecture a reason for the Hindu order of the classes. Chance itself, if they had been thrown together into a hat, and set down in their order as drawn out, could not more successfully have sundered what belongs together, and juxtaposed the discordant. That being the case, there is no reason for our paying any heed to the arrangement: in fact, the heed that we do pay is a perversion. The Hindus do not speak of first class, second class, &c., but call each class by the name of its leading verb as, *bhû*-verbs, *ad*-verbs, and so on; and it was a decided merit of Müller, in his grammar, to try to substitute for the mock Hindu method this true one, which does not make such a dead pull upon the mechanical memory of the learner. As a matter of course, the most defensible and acceptable method is that of calling each class by its characteristic feature—as, the reduplicating class, the *ya*-class, and so on. But one still meets, in treatises and papers on general philology, references to verbs "of the fourth class," "of the seventh class," and so on. So far as this is not mere mechanical habit, it is pedantry—as if one meant to say: "I am so familiar with the Sanskṛit language and its native grammar that I can tell the order in which the bodies of similarly-conjugated roots follow one another in the *dhâtupâṭhas*, though no one knows any reason for it, and the Hindu grammarians themselves lay no stress upon it." It is much to be hoped that this affectation will die out, and soon.

These and such as these are sufficient reasons why an exposition like that here given is timely and pertinent. It needs to be impressed on the minds of scholars that the study of the Sanskṛit language is one thing, and the study of the Hindu science of grammar another and a

[9] This work, somewhat recast grammatically, is about to be reproduced in English by Professor Perry, of Columbia College, New York.

very different thing; that while there has been a time when the latter was the way to the former, that time is now long past, and the relation of the two reversed; that the present task of the students of the grammar is to make their science accessible, account if possible for its anomalies, and determine how much and what can be extracted from it to fill out that knowledge of the language which we derive from the literature; and that the peculiar Hindu ways of grouping and viewing and naming facts familiar to us from the other related languages are an obstacle in the way of a real and fruitful comprehension of those facts as they show themselves in Sanskrit, and should be avoided. An interesting sentimental glamour, doubtless, is thrown over the language and its study by the retention of an old classification and terminology; but that attraction is dearly purchased at the cost of a tittle of clearness and objective truth.

THE NUMBER OF STARS CONSTITUTING THE SEVERAL NAKSHATRAS ACCORDING TO BRAHMAGUPTA AND VRIDDHA-GARGA.

BY G. THIBAUT, PH.D.

The question as to the number of stars comprised in the different *Nakshatras* is known to possess some importance, in connexion with the history of the *Nakshatra* system as elaborated by the Hindûs, and its presumptive original identity with the corresponding systems of other nations. The fullest accounts of the various opinions held with regard to that question by the different Hindû authorities, are to be found in Burgess and Whitney's translation of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, p. 325 ff., and in Weber's second paper on the *Nakshatras*, p. 380 ff. The astronomical works quoted there, are the *Nakshatra-Kalpa* (a *Pariśishṭa* of the *Atharva-Vêda*,) the *Śâkalya-Saṁhitâ*, some books belonging to a comparatively late period, as the *Muhûrtachintâmaṇi* and the *Ratnamâlâ*, and finally the *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka* by the famous Brahmagupta. The last-mentioned work, however, the original of which was hitherto unknown to European scholars, is quoted second-hand, *viz.* on the authority of the great Arabian scholar Albîrûnî, who, in the eleventh century, travelled in India, and there studied with especial care the astronomy of the Hindûs. The statements regarding the number of stars composing each *Nakshatra*, which Albîrûnî takes from the *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka*, differ in many items from what the *Śâkalya-Saṁhitâ* and other Hindû authorities have to say on the same subject; in some points so much so that Whitney is inclined to assume errors on the part of the Arab traveller. It will therefore be worth while to quote from the *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka* itself—manuscripts of which have recently become available—the passage referring to the subject mentioned.

It is found there in the *Târâgrahavikshêpâdhyâya*, and runs as follows:

मूलाजाहिर्बुध्न्याश्वयुगादित्येन्द्राग्नी[1]फल्गुणीद्वितयं[2] ।
त्वाष्ट्रगुरुवारुणार्द्रानिलपौष्णान्येकताराणि ॥
ब्रह्मेन्दु[3]यमहरीन्द्रत्रितयं षड् वह्निभुजगापित्र्याणि ।
मैत्राषाढचतुष्कं वसुरविरोहिण्य इति पञ्च ॥

"Mûla, Aja (Pûrvabhadrapadâ) Ahirbudhnya (Uttarabhadrapadâ), Aśvayuj (Aśvinî), the constellation of Aditi (Punarvasû), Indrâgnî (Viśâkhâ) and the two Phalguṇî, consist of two stars each; the constellation of Tvashṭar (Chitrâ), that of Guru (Pushya), that of Varuṇa (Śatabhishaj), Ârdrâ, the constellation of Vâyu (Svâtî) and that of Pûshan (Rêvatî) have one star each.

Brahma (Abhijit), Indu (Mṛigaśiras), Yama (Bharaṇî), Hari (Śravaṇa) and Indra (Jyêshṭhâ) have three stars each. Vahni (Kṛittikâ), the Sarpas (Âślêshâ) and the constellation of the Fathers (Maghâ) have six stars each. The constellation of Mitra (Anurâdhâ) and the two Ashâḍhâ have four each; Vasu (Śravishṭhâ), Ravi (Hasta), and Rôhiṇî, have five stars each."

The numbers, given in the preceding verses, confirm throughout those stated by Albîrûnî.

There remains the question if the numbers of stars given by Brahmagupta can claim to represent a nearer approximation to the numbers exhibited by the original Hindû system than the corresponding statements made by the *Śâkalya-Saṁhitâ* and other books. This appears really to be the case, because, in several

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[1] A. B. °ध्यायुगादितीन्द्राणि फ° (A. B. denote the two MSS. of the *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka* at my disposal.)

[2] A. द्वितीयं

[3] A. B. °न्द्र°

instances where the *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka* diverges from the later authorities on the subject, it agrees—not only with the *Nakshatra-Kalpa* (about which see Weber's paper referred to above), but likewise, and even more closely, with another old authority of great weight, the *Vṛiddhagârgîya-Saṁhitâ*. The latter work (of which two complete manuscripts are at my disposal, one belonging to the Bombay Government, the other forming part of the Bhau Dâjî Library) refers to the matter in two different places, in the fourth chapter—*Nakshatrakarmaguṇa*—which treats of the works to be done under the different *nakshatras*, and mentions in passing how many stars belong to each, and then again in the so-called *Nakshatrakêndrabha-adhyâya* (if this reading of the MSS. is the right one) where among other matters the numbers of the *Nakshatra* stars, are connectedly stated in three *ślôkas*. The text of the latter is, in both manuscripts, very corrupt, but may, with the assistance of the information derived from the fourth chapter, be restored with tolerable certainty. They run as follows :—

एकतारं शतभिषक् पुष्यार्द्रा त्वाष्ट्रमानिलं ।
राधा भंद्रे सफाल्गुन्यौ द्वितारमौर्वमाश्विनम्[4] ॥
त्रितारमिल्विका[5] याम्यं ज्येष्ठा ब्राह्मं सवैष्णवं ।
चतुस्ताराण्याषाढे [द्वे?][6] मैत्रं पौष्णं सवासवम् ॥
पञ्चतारं भवेद्धस्तः[7] प्राजापत्यं तथैव च ।
षट्तारं कृत्तिका मूलमाश्लेषा पैत्र्यमेव[8] च ॥

"One star have Śatabhishaj, Pushya, Ârdrâ, Chitrâ, and Svâtî. Two stars have Râdhâ (*i.e.* Viśâkhâ), the two Bhadrapadâs, the two Phâlguṇî, Punarvasu (Aurva, the constellation of Urvî, the latter being taken as synonymous with Aditi according to *Naigh.* I. 1) and Aśvinî.

Three stars have the Ilvikâs,[9] Bharaṇî, Jyêshṭhâ, Abhijit, Śravaṇa. Four stars have the two Âshâḍhâs, Anurâdhâ, Rêvatî and Śravishṭhâ.

Five stars have Hasta and Rohiṇî. Six stars have Kṛittikâ, Mûla, Âślêshâ and Maghâ."

The statements made in the fourth chapter agree with the above in all points; only they do not give any information about Abhijit.

Comparing now the account given by Brahmagupta with that due to Vṛiddha-Garga, we find that they agree with regard to all *Nakshatras* excepting Aśvinî, Mûla and Śravishṭhâ.

It will moreover be of interest to compare the information furnished by Garga and the *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka* with the statements made on the same matter by the other old authorities. A comparison of the kind was instituted by Professor Weber in the paper referred to, p. 380 ff., the authorities taken into account being the *Nakshatra-Kalpa*, Albîrûnî's account of the *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka*, the *Śâkalya-Saṁhitâ*, Śrîpati, and others. In the following I limit myself to the older and therefore weightier authorities, *viz.* the *Nakshatra-Kalpa* which stands on the confines of Vedic literature, the *Vṛiddha-Gârgîya*, which is anterior to the scientific Hindû works on astronomy evincing Greek influence, and the *Khaṇḍakhâdyaka*, whose exact date is known, and shows the work to belong to the early period of scientific Hindû astronomy. Comparing these three, we find a general agreement with regard to the number of stars constituting Bharaṇî, Kṛittikâ, Mṛigaśiras, Ârdrâ, Punarvasû, Pushya, Âślêshâ, Maghâ, the two Phalguṇî, Hasta, Chitrâ, Svâtî, Viśâkhâ, Anurâdhâ, the two Âshâḍhâ, Śravaṇa, Śatabhishaj, the two Bhadrapâdâ and Rêvatî, *i.e.* with regard to twenty-two out of twenty-eight *Nakshatras*. With regard to Aśvinî and Śravishṭhâ, the *N.* and the *Kh.* agree against the *G.*; with regard to Rôhiṇî, Jyêshṭhâ and Abhijit, the *G.* and *Kh.* agree against the *N.* There is a general disagreement about Mûla (and this continues in the case of the later authorities also, Mûla being the only *Nakshatra* about which no two writers agree). If we admit as a fourth term of the comparison the *Śâkalya-Saṁhitâ*, we find that in fifteen cases it confirms the agreement about the twenty-two *Nakshatras* mentioned above; in the remaining seven cases its statements differ. But, on the other hand, with regard to the six *Nakshatras* about which the three older writers disagree, it regularly sides

[4] A. द्वितारंसौर्घमा° B. द्वितारंसौर्यमा°.

[5] A. त्रितारंमित्विका B. त्रितारंमित्रिका.

[6] A. °षाढे B. °स्ताराष्टमाषाढे.

[7] A. °स्त B. °तारांतवेद्धस्त.

[8] A. B. °लमश्लेषामित्रमे°.

[9] Mrigaśiras.—The reading of the text might also be emendated into Invikâs; Ilvakâs and Invakâs would be preferable forms.

with the majority of the latter (the case of Mûla excepted) and thereby strengthens their authority.

The consensus of the older authorities being so striking, no great weight can be attached to the fact of the later writers showing a number of deviations. Among the older authorities themselves, the *Nakshatra-Kalpa* is distinguished by apparently following a kind of system in assigning throughout two stars to those *Nakshatras*, whose old names are dual forms (*aśvayujau, punarvasû, phalgunyau, viśâkhé, prôshṭhapadau*), and more than two to the *Nakshatras* plural in form; while to those singular in form it allots one star each, making an exception (as Prof. Weber has pointed out) in the case of those *Nakshatras* only whose names, although singular in form, denote objects which can be represented by a plurality of stars only (*mṛigaśiras, hasta, śravaṇa;* the case of *mûla* is doubtful). Garga, on the other hand, gives three stars to Aśvinî, five to Rôhiṇî, three to Jyêshṭhâ, three to Abhijit; the only point in which his account seems to have an advantage over the *Nakshatra-Kalpa*, is its assigning four (not five) stars to Śravishṭhâ; an opinion countenanced by a passage of the *Taittirîya-Brâhmaṇa*.

A BUDDHIST SANSKRIT INSCRIPTION FROM KOTA.[1]

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The subjoined Nâgarî inscription is edited from a slightly damaged paper-rubbing, which I owe to the kindness of Professor Bühler, who received it from Dr. Burgess. A label attached to the rubbing states that the inscription is engraved " on a stone built into a recess under a flight of stairs on the right hand as one enters the ' Barkhârî Gate' of the inner wall of the town of Shergaḍh in Koṭâ."

The inscription consists of twenty Sanskṛit stanzas, in various metres, and in a very turgid style. It professes to be a *praśasti*, or eulogy, and records the building of a Buddhist temple and monastery to the east of mount K o ś a v a r d h a n a by the feudal chief (*Sâmanta*) D e v a d a t t a, in whose seventh regnal year the document is dated, and whose genealogy is given as follows:—

Bindunâga.
|
Padmanâga.
|
Sarvanâga,
married to Śrî.
|
Devadatta.

This pedigree does not enable us to connect the N â g a s here mentioned with the Nâga kings discovered by General Cunningham,[2] or with the Nâga family of the Gurjara grants.[3]

Both the composer of the *praśasti*, J a j j a k a, and its engraver, C h a ṇ a k a, have done their work so conscientiously, that there are almost no mistakes to be found throughout the inscription. In spite of this, the deciphering, and the translation of this small *Kâvya* has not been an easy task. To Professor Bühler I am indebted for several kind suggestions. The correct reading of the date, which I had perfectly misunderstood in my original paper, was pointed out to me by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî.

TEXT.

[1] ओं नमो रत्नत्रयाय ॥ जयन्ति वादाः सुगतस्य निर्म्मलाः समस्तसन्देहनिरासभासुराः। कुतर्कसम्पातनिपातहेतवो युगान्तवाता इव वि-

[2] श्वसन्ततेः ॥ [१] योरूपवानपि विभर्त्ति सदैव रूपमेकोप्यनेक इव भाति च यो निकामं । आरादगात्परधियः प्रतिमर्त्त्यवेद्यो यो निर्ज्जितारिरजितश्च जि-

[3] नः स वोव्यात् ॥ [२] भिनत्ति यो नृणाम्मोहं तमो वेश्मनि दीपवत् । सोव्याद्वः सौगतो धर्म्मो भक्तमुक्तिफलप्रदः ॥ [३] आर्यसंघस्य विमलाः शरच्छसि[4]जितश्रियः ।

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[1] Reprinted, after revision, from the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*.

[2] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 310.

[3] *ante* Vol. XIII. pp. 82 and 88.

[4] read शरच्छशि.

[4] जयन्ति जयिनः पादाः सुरासुरशिरोर्च्चिताः ॥ [४] आसीदम्भोधिधीरः शशिधवलयशा विन्दुनागा-
भिधानस्तत्सूनुः पद्मनागोभवदसमगुणैर्भूषिताशेषवंशः । तस्या-

[5] प्यानन्दकारी करनिकर इवानुष्णरश्मेस्तनूजो जातः सामन्तचक्रप्रकटतरगुणः सर्व्वणागो जितारिः । (॥) [५]
तस्याभूद्दयिता विशुद्धयशसः श्रीरित्युरः-

[6] शायिनी कृष्णस्येव महोदया च शशिनो ज्योत्स्नेव विश्वम्भरा । गौरीवाद्रिदृशोसमा शमवतः प्रज्ञेव
वा तायिनो गम्भीरा यदि वा महोर्म्मिवलया वेलेव वेलाभृत-

[7] : ॥ [६] ताभ्यामभूद्गुणाम्भोधिर्व्वशीकृतमनोमलः [।*] देवदत्त इति ख्यातः सामन्तः कृतिनां
कृती ॥ [७] येषान्नतिर्जिनगुरौ गुरुता गुणेषु संगोर्थिभिः सततदाननिवद्धगर्द्धैः ।

[8] भीतिः प्रकाममघतो जगदेकशत्रोस्तेषामयं कृतविशेषगुणोन्ववाये ॥ [८] येषां भूतिरियं परेति न परै-
रालोक्यते ऽर्थिथिभिर्येषाम्मुद्दिभवः परः परमुदः स्वप्ने-

[9] पि नाभूत्तनौ । येषामात्महितोदयाय दयितं नासीद्गुणासादनं तेषामेष वशी शशाङ्कधवले[5] जातः कुला-
म्भोनिधौ ॥ [९] सम्पादितजनानन्दः समासादितसन्ततिः । क-

[10] ल्पशाखीव जगतामेष भूतो गुणाकरः ॥ [१०] विश्वाश्वासविधौ तृणीकृतसितज्योत्स्नोदयो देहिना-
मन्तःशुद्धिविचारणे सुरगुरोरप्याहिताल्पोदयः । गांभीर्याकलने नि-

[11] कामकलितः क्षीरोद[6]सारस्त्वयं यत्तन्नूनमहो गुणा गुणितनुव्यासंगिनः संगताः ॥ [११] तावंन्मानधना
यशस्ततिभृतस्तावच्च तावद्बुधास्तावत्तायिसुतानुकारकरणा[7]स्तावत्कृ-

[12] पाम्भोधयः । तावन्न्यस्तपरोपकारतनवस्तावत्कृतज्ञाः परे यावन्नास्य गुणेक्षणे क्षणमपि प्राप्तावधानो
जनः ॥ [१२] यस्योद्वीक्ष्य गुणानशेषगुणिनामद्याप्यव[ज्ञा]-

[13] त्मनि निर्व्वाणाखिलमानसन्ततिपतच्चेतोविकासासमा । भानौ ध्वस्तसमस्तनैशतमसि स्वैरं कपाली-
कृति प्रातर्य्येव[8] कलावलोपि विगलच्छायः शशाङ्को न किम् ॥ [१३] य-

[14] स्यान्वयेप्यगुणजन्म न दृष्टपूर्व्वमासादिता न च गुणैर्ग्गणनव्यवस्था । याता मुहूर्त्तमपि नो कलिदो-
षलेशास्सोयन्निरस्तसमतो भुवि कोप्यपूर्व्वः ॥ [१४] यस्य

[15] दानमतिरक्षतदाना भाषितान्यफलवन्ति न सन्ति । प्राणदानविहितावधि सख्यं तस्य को गुणनिधे-
रिह तुल्यः ॥ [१५] नाना सन्ति दिनानि सन्ति विविधाश्चन्द्रांशुशीता नि-

[16] शास्सन्त्यन्याः शतशोवला जितजगन्नारीसमस्तश्रियः । तन्नानन्दि जगत्रयेपि[9] सुदिनं सा वा निशा
सावला यज्जन्मन्यगमन्निमित्तपदवीमस्यापरैर्दु[र्ग]-

[17] माम् ॥ [१६] कोशवर्द्धनगिरेरनुपूर्व्वं सोयमुन्मिषितधीः सुगतस्य । व्यस्तमारनिकरैकगरिम्णो मन्दिरं
स्म विदधाति यथार्थम् ॥ [१७] सुखान्यस्वन्तानि प्रकृतिचपलं [जी]-

[18] वितमिदं प्रियाः प्राणप्रख्यास्तडिदुदयकल्पाश्च विभवाः [।*] प्रियोदर्काश्चालं क्षणसुखकृतो[10] दुःख-
वहुला विहारस्तेनायं भवविभवभीतेन रचितः ॥ [१८] सान्द्रध्यानशर[द्द]-

[19] [ला]कनिवहत्यक्तार्कविम्बोज्वलं[11] संसाराङ्कुरसंगभंगचतुरं यत्पुण्यमाप्तम्मया । जैनावासविधेरतो-
यमखिलो लोकत्रयानन्दनीं तेनारं सुगतश्रियं जितजगद्दो[षां]

[20] जनः प्राप्नुयात् ॥ [१९] प्रशस्तिमेनामकरोज्जात[ः] शाक्यकुलोदधौ । जज्जकः कियदर्थांशनिवेश-
विहितस्थितिम् ॥ [२०] ॥ सम्वत् शराङ्क[12] ७ माघ शुदि ६ । उत्कीर्ण्णा चणकेन [॥*]

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[5] read धवलो.

[6] read कलितक्षीरोद and cancel the *Anuswâra* above the व of तावन्मान.

[7] कर of करणा is ontered below the line.

[8] read प्रातर्येन. [9] read जगत्त्रयेपि. [10] read सुखकृतौ.

[11] read विम्बोज्ज्वलं. [12] read संवत्सराङ्क.

Translation.

Om! Adoration to the Triad of Jewels (*viz.* Buddha, the Law, and the Church).

1. Victorious are the pure doctrines of Sugata, which drive away all doubts by their splendour, and which are the cause of the destruction of all false reasonings, as the winds at the end of the *Yuga* (*are the cause of the destruction*) of the whole world.[13]

2. May that Jina protect you, who himself unconquerable conquers all foes, who though formless ever bears a form, who though one appears (*to possess*) a great many (*forms*), and who far transcends the highest intellect while he is fit to be known by every mortal.[14]

3. May that Law of Sugata protect you, which breaks the delusion of men, as a lamp (*breaks*) the darkness in a house, and which grants the fruit of deliverance to the faithful.[15]

4. Victorious are the pure and victorious feet of the Holy Church, which surpass the glory of the moon in autumn, and before which gods and demons bow their heads in reverence.[16]

5. There was one **Bindunâga** by name, whose wisdom was as deep as the ocean, whose fame was as bright as the moon. His son was **Padmanâga**, who adorned his whole race by his matchless virtues. From him also sprang a heroic son **Sarvaṇâga**,[17] who gladdened (*the world*) and far surpassed all feudal princes [*sâmantachakra*] by his virtues, just as from the moon springs a mass of rays, which gladdens (*the world*) and far surpasses the neighbouring globes [*sâmantachakra*] by its brilliancy.[18]

6. This man of pure renown had a beloved wife called **Śrî**, who resembled (*the goddess Śrî*) clasped to Kṛishṇa's breast in happiness, the moon's light in beneficence, Gaurî (*the spouse*) of the three-eyed god in peerlessness,[19] and in profundity either the wisdom of the tranquil Tâyin[20] or the ocean's coast, which is encircled by high waves.[21]

7. From these two sprang a feudal prince called **Devadatta**, who was an ocean of virtues, had overcome mental impurity, and was the cleverest of the clever.[22]

8. He, who possessed the peculiar virtues of the Kṛita-(*yuga*), (*descended*) from a race of men, who bowed to (*nobody but*) their *Guru*, the Jina, who showed respect[23] to virtues, to whom attachment (*was known only*) through mendicants coveting gifts (*which were*) constantly (*attached to them*),[24] and who were exceedingly afraid of sin, their only enemy in the world.[25]

9. As the bright moon from the ocean, this pure saint was produced from a race of men, whose wealth was not looked upon like another's [*iyaṁ parâ*] by strange [*paraiḥ*] beggars, whose delight [*mud*] was the complete annihilation [*vibhavaḥ paraḥ*],[26] but who never even in their dreams felt delight [*mud*] at the charms of another's wife [*paramudaḥ*], and who for the welfare of their souls did not care for worldly existence (*lit.* the acquisition of the three *guṇas* or qualities).[27]

10. After this mine of virtues, who inspired joy to mankind [*jana*], had gained offspring [*saṁtati*], he appeared to be the *kalpa*-tree, which inspires joy to the inhabitants of the *Janaloka* [*jana*], come down among men in the company of *Saṁtati* [*i.e.* the tree *Saṁtâna*].[28]

11. Ah! forsooth, all excellent qualities have separated from the persons of their respective owners and united (*in him*). For in giving comfort to the universe he eclipses the bright rays of the rising moon; in scrutinising men's purity of mind he imparts small significance even to the teacher of the gods;[29] and if the depth (*of his wisdom*) is considered, he far surpasses the excellence of the milk-ocean.[30]

12. Others appear to be proud, famous, wise, imitating the sons (*i.e.* disciples) of Tâyin

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[13] Metre Vaṁśastha. [14] Metre Vasantatilaka.

[15] Metre Anushṭubh. [16] Metre Anushṭubh.

[17] On the lingual *ṇ* in Sarvaṇâga, see Pâṇini, VIII. 4, 3. [18] Metre Sragdharâ.

[19] There seems to be a play on the two meanings of *asamâ*, which means both 'unequalled' and 'of uneven number.' In the latter sense it is an appropriate epithet of the wife of the three-eyed god.

[20] This word, which occurs also in stanza 12, seems to be an epithet of Buddha. It may be derived from the root *trai*, Pâli *tâyati*, 'to protect.' The same expression is applied to the Mahâvîra of the Jainas in Hemachandra's *Yogaśâstra*, I. 1.

[21] Metre Śârdûla. [22] Metre Anushṭubh.

[23] *Gurutâ* has here the same meaning as *gaurava* 3) g) in Dr. Böhtlingk's smaller Sanskrit dictionary.

[24] *i.e.* they were liberal, but free from attachment to the world (*saṅga*).

[25] Metre Vasantatilaka.

[26] *Vibhava*=*nirvâṇa*; see Childers's Pâli dictionary, s. v.

[27] Metre Śârdûla. [28] Metre Anushṭubh.

[29] *i.e.* Bṛihaspati, who in his *Nîtiśâstra* recommended *aviśvâsa* or distrust. See *Pañchatantra*, book II. śloka 41. 56 (= IV. 19). I. 98.

[30] Metre Śârdûla.

(Buddha), oceans of compassion, self-sacrificing for the benefit of others, and grateful so long only as people do not for a moment even pay attention to the contemplation of his virtues.[31]

13. If they look at his virtues, all owners of virtues even now conceive an unparalleled contempt for themselves, by which their whole pride is extinguished and their cheerfulness of mind forsakes them.[32] For does not the moon, though she be full,[33] lose her splendour at morning, when the sun has conquered all darkness of night and sends forth his rays at will?[34]

14. This man is an anomaly unprecedented on earth, as a vice was never hitherto observed to originate (*in him*) and in (*those who belonged to*) his race, as their virtues baffled all attempts to fix them by counting, and as not the smallest particle of the sins of the *Kali-(yuga)* defiled them but for a moment.[35]

15. Who on earth can be compared to this receptacle of virtues, whose liberal disposition never injured (*previous*) gifts, whose speeches were never in vain, and whose friendship knew no bounds but the sacrifice of his life?[36]

16. Various are the days; numerous nights are cool by the rays of the moon; there are hundreds of other women who surpass the whole beauty of the world's women. But that delightful lucky day, that night, or that woman, cannot be found again in the three worlds, which (*day, night, and woman*) became, what is difficult to reach for others, the cause of his birth.[37]

17. To the east of mount Kośavardhana, this man of open intellect established in a manner suitable to the purpose a temple of that Sugata, the dignity of whom alone sufficed to defeat hosts of Mâras.[38]

18. "Pleasures end painfully; naturally unstable is this life; friends resemble (*a man's*) life-breath; like the flashing of the lightning are riches; and the cherished rewards (*of good deeds*)[39] can give instantaneous delight, but abound in suffering." (*Thinking thus and*) being afraid of the multitude of births, he constructed this monastery.[40]

19. Through the merit, which I have acquired by establishing this dwelling for the disciples of Jina, which (*merit*) shines like the disk of the sun left by crowds of loud-thundering autumnal clouds[41] and which is able to destroy the attachment to the world which is the cause of transmigratory existence,—through that (*merit*) all men may speedily[42] attain the glory of Sugata, which delights the three worlds and conquers the sins of the world.[43]

20. Jajjaka, who was born from the ocean-like race of the Śâkya,[44] composed this eulogy and made it durable by introducing some small share of meaning.[45]

In the (*regnal*) year—in figures—7, on the 6th day of the bright half of Mâgha, (*this eulogy*) was engraved by Chaṇaka.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p. 12.*)

No. CLIII.

KORUMELLI PLATES OF RAJARAJA II.—AFTER SAKA 944.

I have had occasion, in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 244, and at other places, to refer to a copper-plate grant of Râjarâja II., one of the Chôḷa-successors of the Eastern Chalukya kings. I now publish this inscription.

The original plates belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., and have been presented by him to the British Museum. A transcription of the text is given in his *Telugu Sasanams*

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[31] Metre Śârdûla.

[32] The two Bahuvrîhis *nirvâṇâ-* and *patachchetovikâsâ* form a Tatpurusha of the type *snâtânuliptaḥ*; see Pâṇini, II. 1, 49.

[33] *Lit.*, though she possesses (*all her sixteen*) *kalâs*. *Kalâvala* does not seem to be a compound with the substantive *bala*, but is probably formed with the affix *valach*, which has in some compounds (Pâṇini, V. 2, 112—114) the same meaning as *matup* (Pâṇini, V. 2, 94).

[34] *Karâṇâm âlîṁ karotîti karâlîkrit.* Metre Śârdûla.

[35] Metre Vasantatilaka.

[36] Metre Svâgatâ.

[37] Metre Śârdûla.

[38] Metre Svâgatâ.

[39] The rewards intended are heaven, prosperity, etc. They are transitory, and do not free the individual from re-birth.

[40] Metre Śikhariṇî.

[41] A word meaning 'cloud' must have stood in the break; perhaps *valâka* for *valâhaka*. *Balâka*, 'a crane,' gives no good sense.

[42] See Childers's Pâli dictionary, s. v. *araṁ*.

[43] Metre Śârdûla.

[44] This seems to imply that he was a *Śâkyabhikshu* or Buddhist monk.

[45] Metre Anushṭubh.

Vol. I. p. 73 ff., where the plates are entered as coming from the village of Korumelli in the Râjamahêndri District; this is the village the grant of which is recorded in the inscription. They are five in number, each about 9¾″ long, by 5⅛″ broad. The edges of them are raised into high rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ½″ thick and 5½″ in diameter; it had been cut before the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is circular, about 3″ in diameter; it has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—across the centre, the legend *Śrî-Tribhuvanâṅkuśa*; above the legend, a boar, recumbent to the proper left, with the sun and moon, two *chauris*, a double drum, a *śaṅkha*-shell, and, close to the moon, something that may perhaps be the head of a spear (*kunta*); and below the legend, a floral device, an elephant-goad, a closed lotus on its stalk or perhaps a sceptre (*kanaka-daṇḍa*), and something like the letter *ga*, which may perhaps be meant for a *makara-tôraṇa*.[1] The characters are Old-Kanarese, of the period to which the grant belongs. The language is Sanskṛit throughout, except in one or two Kanarese genitive cases in the passage describing the boundaries of the village that was granted.

The first plate is a palimpsest. On the outer side of it there are traces, distinctly visible, of twelve entire lines of writing, in a somewhat older and squarer form of the same alphabet; but the letters are so carefully beaten in, that no passages can be read with any certainty. The first plate has also a raised rim on its outer as well as its inner side. It is plain, therefore, that it was an inner plate of some older grant, utilised again for the present inscription.

The inscription commences with a Purâṇic genealogy, from Nârâyaṇa or Vishṇu down to Udayana (line 18). Then comes the following passage, which however, is nothing but a mere *farrago* of vague tradition and Purâṇic myths, of no authority, based on the undoubted facts that the Chalukyas did come originally from the north, and did find the Pallavas in possession of some of the territories afterwards acquired by themselves, and on a tradition of the later Kâdambas that the founder of their family was named Trilôchana or Trinêtra:—"After that,—sixty emperors, less by one, commencing with him, in unbroken lineal succession, having sat on the throne of Ayôdhyâ (l. 19)—a king of his lineage, Vijayâditya (l. 19) by name, went to the region of the south, from a desire for conquest, and, having attacked Trilôchana-Pallava, lost his life through the evil influence of fate. In that time of disorder, his queen-consort, who was pregnant, came with the family-priest, and with a few of the women of (*her*) bed-chamber, and with (*her*) chamberlains, to the *agrahâra* named Muḍivemu; and, being cherished just like a daughter by the *Sômayâjin* Vishṇubhatta who dwelt there, she brought forth a son, Vishṇuvardhana (l. 23). And having caused to be performed the rites of that prince, such as were befitting his descent from the two-sided *gôtra* of the kindred of Mânavya and the sons of Hârîti, she reared him. And he, being instructed in history by his mother, went forth, and,—having worshipped Nandâ, the holy Gauri, on the Chalukya mountain, and having appeased Kumâra and Nârâyaṇa and the Mothers (*of mankind*); and having assumed the emblems of universal sovereignty which had descended to him by the succession of his family, and which had been, as it were, (*voluntarily*) laid aside, *viz.* the white umbrella, and the single *śaṅkha*-shell, and the *pañchamahâśabda*, and the *pâlikêtana*, and the *pratiḍhakkâ*, and the sign of the Boar, and the feathers of a peacock's tail, and the spear, and the (*signs of the rivers*) Gaṅgâ and Yamunâ, and other (*such emblems*); and having conquered the Kaḍambas and the Gaṅgas and other kings,—he ruled over the region of the south, lying between the Bridge (*of Râma*) and the (*river*) Narmadâ, and containing seven and a half *crores* (*of villages*.) The son of that same king Vishṇuvardhana, and of his queen-consort who was born in the lineage of the Pallavas, was Vijayâditya (l. 30.) His son was Polakêśivallabha (l. 31.) His son was Kîrttivarman (l. 31.) His son,—Hail! Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana (l. 36)—the (*younger*) brother of Satyâśraya-

[1] See the facsimile in the plate, *ante* Vol. VII. p. 253.

vallabhêndra, who adorned the family of the Châlukyas who are glorious; who are of the lineage of Mânavya, which is praised throughout the whole world; who are the sons of Hârîtî; who have been nourished by the Mothers (*of mankind*); who have meditated on the feet of Svâmi-Mahâsêna; who have had the territories of their enemies made subject to them on the instant at the sight of the excellent sign of the Boar, which they acquired through the favour of the holy Nârâyaṇa; and whose bodies have been purified by ablutions performed after celebrating horse-sacrifices,—ruled over the country of Veṅgî for eighteen years."

We next have the usual succession of Eastern Chalukya kings, down to Amma II. (l. 47),—with the statement that Indrarâja reigned for seven days (l. 37.) After him, his half-brother, Dânârṇava, reigned for three years. The kingdom was then without a lord, and in a state of trouble, for twenty-seven years (l. 48). Then Châlukya-Chandra,[2] the son of Dânârṇava, succeeded to the throne, and reigned for twelve years (l. 51). He was followed by his younger brother Vimalâditya (l. 52). The inscription then mentions Râjarâja, of the Sûryânvaya or lineage of the Sun (l. 55). His son was Rajêndra-Chôḍa (l. 57), whose younger sister was Kûndavâmahâdêvî (l. 61). Vimalâditya married Kûndavâ, and reigned for seven years (l. 62). Their son was Râjarâja II. (l. 64), also called Vishṇuvardhana (l. 75), who ascended the throne in Śaka 944 (A.D. 1022-23), when the sun was in the sign of the Lion, on Guruvâra or Thursday, the second day of the dark fortnight of the month Bhâdrapada (l. 65-67).[3]

The remainder of the inscription records the grant, made by Râjarâja, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon,[4] of the village of Korumelli (l. 103), in the Guddavâḍi *vishaya* (l. 77), to a Brâhmaṇ named Chîḍamârya (l. 86), of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra* and the Âpastamba *sûtra*.

TEXT.[5]

First plate.

[1] Ôm [||*] Śrî[6]-dhâmnaḥ purush-ôttamasya mahatô Nârâyaṇasya prabhôr=nnâbhî-paṁkaruhâd=babhû-

[2] va jagatas=srashṭâ Svayaṁbhûs=tataḥ jajñê mânasa-sûnur=Atrir=iti ya[ḥ*] tasmân=munêr=Atritas=Sômô

[3] vaṁśa-karas=sudh-âṁśur=udita[ḥ*] Śrîkaṇṭa(ṇṭha)-chûḍâmaṇiḥ |(||) Tasmâd[7]=âsît=sudhâ-sûtêr=Bbudhô budha-nutas=ta-

[4] taḥ j[â*]taḥ Purûravâ nâma chakrava[r*]ttî sa-vikramaḥ |(||) Tasmâd=Âyur=Âyushô Nahushaḥ tatô Yâ(ya)-

[5] yâtiś=chakravarttî vaṁśa-karttâ tataḥ Purur=iti chakravarttî | tatô Janamêjayô=śvamêdha-trita-

[6] yasya kartt[â*] tataḥ Prâchîśaḥ tasmât=Sainyayâtiḥ tatô Hayapatiṁ(ḥ) tatas=Sârvva-

[7] bhô(bhau)maḥ tatô Jayasênaḥ tatô Mahâbhaumaḥ tasmâd=Dêśânakaḥ | tataḥ Krôdhânanaḥ |

[8] tatô Dêvakiḥ Dêvakêr=I(ṛi)bhukaḥ tasmâd=Ṛikshakaḥ | tatô Mativaras=satra-yâga-yâjî Sara-

[9] svatî-nadî-nâthaḥ tataḥ Kâtyâyanaḥ Kâtyâyanân=Nîlaḥ tatô Dushyantaḥ tata ârryâ(ryyô) Gaṁ-

[10] gâ-Yamunâ-tîrê yad=avichhchi(chchhi)nn[â*]n=nikhâya yûpân=kramaśaḥ kṛitvâ tath=âśvamêdhâ(dha)n=nâma mahâ-ka-

[11] rmma Bharata iti yô=labhata | tatô Bhara[8]tâd=Bhûmanyuḥ tasmât=Suhôtraḥ tatô Hastî | tatô Virô-

[2] The Śaktivarman of the genealogy given by Dr. Burnell in *South-Indian Palæography*, p. 22, and of No. CLIV. line 19, p. 56 below.

[3] As calculated by the Tables in Gen. Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, this answers to Thursday, the 19th July, A D. 1022.

[4] No further details are given of the date on which the grant was made.

[5] From the original plates.

[6] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita. [7] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[8] First *tâ* was engraved here, and then it was corrected into *bhara*.

a.

W. Griggs, Photo-lith. London.

[12] chanaḥ tasmâd=Ajamîlaḥ tatas=Saṁvaraṇaḥ tasya cha Tapana-sutâyâs=Tapatyâś=cha Sudhanvâ | ta-

[13] taḥ Parikshit | tatô Bhîmasênaḥ | tataḥ Pradîpanaḥ | tasmâchha(ch)=Cha-(chha)ntanuḥ tatô Vichitravîryyaḥ |

Second plate; first side.

[14] tataḥ Pâṇḍu-râjaḥ tataḥ âryyâ-putrâs=tasya cha Dharmmaja-Bhîm-Ârjjuna-Nakula-Sahadêvâḥ paṁ-

[15] ch-êndriya-vat paṁcha syur=vvishi(sha)ya-grahî(hi)ṇas=tatra |(||) Yên[9]=âdâhi vijitya Kâ(khâ)ṇḍava-maṭhê. Gâṇḍivinâ

[16] Ma(va)jriṇaṁ yuddhè pâśupat-âstram=Adhaṁka[10]-ripôś=ch=âlâbhi ddô(dai)-tyân bahûn=Indr-ârddh-âsanam=adhyarôhi ji(ja)yi-

[17] nâ yat-Kâlikêy-âdikân=hatvâ svairam=akâri vaṁśa-vipina-chchhêdaḥ Kuru(rû)ṇâṁ vibhôḥ |(||) Tatô=Rjj[u*]nâd=Abhimanyuḥ

[18] tataḥ Parikshit tatô Janamê[ja*]yaḥ tataḥ Kshêmukaḥ tatô Naravâhanaḥ tataś=Śatânîkaḥ tasmâd=Udayanaḥ [||*]

[19] Tataḥ paraṁ tat-prabhṛitishv=avichchhinna-[sa*]ntânêshv=Ayôdhyâ-siṁhâsan-âsînêshv=êkâd=na shashṭi-chakravarttishu tad-vaṁśyô Vi-

[20] jâ(ja)yâdityô nâma râjâ pa(vi)jigîshayâ dakshiṇâpathaṁ gatvâ Trilôchana-Pallavam=adhikshipya daiva-

[21] durîhayâ lè(lô)k-ântaram=agamat [|*] tasmin=sa[ṁ*]kulô purôhitêna sârddham=antarvvatnî tasya mahâdêvî

[22] Muḍivemu-nâm-âgrahâraṁ katipayâbhir=antaḥpura-kântâbhiḥ kaṁchukibhiś=cha sah=ôpagamya

[23] tad-vâstavyêna Vishṇubhaṭṭa-sômayâjinâ duhitṛi-ni[r*]vviśêsham=abhirakshitâ satî Vishṇuvarddhanan=na-

[24] ndanam=asûta | Sâ tasya cha kumârakasya Mânavyasagôtra-Hârîtiputra-dvipaksha-gôtra-vra(kra)m-ôchitâ-

[25] ni karmmâṇi kârayitvâ tam=ava[r*]ddhayat | Sa cha mâtrâ vidita-vṛittântas=san=nirggatya Chalukya-girau Na-

[26] ndâṁ bhagavatîṁ Gaurîm=ârâdhya Kumâra-Nârâyaṇa-Mâtṛigaṇâṁś=cha saṁ-ta[r*]pya śvêtâtapatr-aikaśaṁkha-pa-

[27] ṁchamahâśâ(śa)bda - pâlikêtana - pratiḍa(ḍha)kkâ - varâhalâṁchhana - piṁ(pi)chha(chchha)-kuntha(nta)-siṁhâsana-makaratôraṇa-

[28] kanakadaṇḍa-Gaṁgâ-Yamun-âdîni sva-kula-kram-âgatâni nikshiptân=îva sâṁbrâ(râ)jya-chihnâni samâ-

[29] dâya Kadaṁba-Gaṁg-âdi-bhûmipân=nirjjitya Sêtu-Narmmadâ-madhyaṁ sârddha-sapta-lakshaṁ dakshiṇâpa-

Second plate; second side.

[30] thaṁ pâlayâm-âsa |(||) Śyô(ślô)kaḥ | Tasy[11]=âsîd=Vijayâdityô Vishṇuvarddhana-bhupatêḥ Pallav-ânvaya-jâtâ-

[31] yâ mahâdêvyâś=cha nandanaḥ [||*] Tat-sutaḥ Polakêśivallabhaḥ [||*] Tat-putra[ḥ*] Kîrttivarmmâ |(||) Tasya tanayaḥ Svasti

[32] Śrîmatâṁ sakala-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-M[â*]navya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîtîputrâṇâṁ Kau-śikî-vara-pra-

[33] sâda-labdha-râjyânâm=m[â*]tṛi-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânudhyâtânâṁ bhagavan-Nârâ-

[34] yaṇa-prâ(pra)sâda-sam[â*]sâdita-vara-varâhalâṁchhan-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍa-lânâm=aśva-

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[9] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.
[10] Read aṁdhaka.

[11] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[35] mêdh-âvabhṛita(tha)snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapushâṁ Châlukyânâṁ kulam=alaṁkarishṇôs= Satyâśrayavallabhê-

[36] ndrasya bhrâtâ Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanô=shṭâdaśa varshâṇi Veṁgî-dêśam=ap[â*]la-yat [||*] Tad-âtmajô Jayasiṁ-

[37] havallabhas=trayas-triṁśataṁ |(||) Tad-anuj-Êndrarâja-nandanas=sapta dinâni [||*] Tat-sutô Vishṇuvarddhanô

[38] nava varshâṇi |(||) Tat-sûnur=Mmâṁgî(gi)-yuvarâjaḥ paṁcha-viṁśatiṁ |(||) Tat-putrô Jayasiṁhas=trayô-

[39] daśa [||*] Tad-avarajaḥ Kokkilish=shan(ṇ)=mâsâ[n*] |(||) Tasya jyôshṭhô bhrâtâ Vishṇuvarddhanas=tam=uchchâṭya sapta-triṁśata-

[40] m=abdâ[n*] || Tat-putrô Vijayâditya-bhaṭṭ[â*]rakô=shṭâdaśa |(||) Tat-tanujô Vish-ṇuvarddhanash=shaṭ-triṁśataṁ |(||) Tat-sûnu-

[41] r=Vvijayâditya-Narêndramṛigarâjaś=ch=âshṭâ-chatvariṁśataṁ |(||) Tat-sutaḥ Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanô=dhya-arddha-varshaṁ [||*] Ta-

[42] t-sutô Guṇaga-Vijayâdityaś=chatuś-châ(cha)[tvâ*]riṁśataṁ |(||) Tad-bhrâtur=Vvikramâ-ditya-bhûpatês=tanayaś=Châlu-

[43] kyâ(kya)-Bhîmas=triṁśataṁ [||*] Tat-sutaḥ Kollabigaṇḍa-Vijayâdityash=shan(ṇ)=mâ-sân [||*] Tat-sûnur=Â(a)mma-râjas=sapta

[44] varsh[â*]ṇi |(||) Tat-sutaṁ Vijayâdityaṁ bâlam=uchchâṭya Tâḍapô m[â*]sam= êkaṁ [||*] Taṁ jitvâ Châlukya-Bhi(bhî)ma-

[45] tanayô Vikramâditya êkâdaśa mâsân [||*] Tat-Tâḍapa-râjâ(ja)-sutô Yuddhamâ(ma)-llas=sapta varsh[â*]-

Third plate; first side.

[46] ṇi |(||) Amma-râj-ânujô Râja-Bhîmô=bdân dvâdaś=âbhunak [||*] Yuddhê Yuddhamallan=taṁ dhâṭyâ nirgvâ(rgghâ)tya dha(?)-

[47] ru(?)ṇi(?)ra(?)-sut-Âmma-bhûpaḥ ksh[m*]âṁ paṁcha-viṁśatiṁ varsh[â*]ṇy=â(a)pâ-ta(t) |(||) Dvê[12](dvai)mâturô=Mma-râjasya Dânârnna(rṇṇa)vâ(va) iti sm[ṛi*]-taḥ chatu-

[48] sh-shashṭi-kal-âbhijñas=samâs=tri(ti)srô=bhunag[13]=bhuvaṁ [||*] Tataḥ paraṁ patiṁ lab-nim[14]=anurûpam=anâyikâṁ sapta-viṁśati-

[49] varshâṇi chach[chh*]âv=êva tapaḥ kshamâ[ṁ*] |(||) Atha Dânârnna(rṇṇa)vâj=jâ-taḥ kalâvân mṛidubhiḥ karaiḥ râjâ Châlukya-Chandrô

[50] yaḥ kshamâ-tâpam=apâkarôt |(||) Satyê pratishṭhitâ lôkâ iti satyaṁ vachô ya-taḥ | sarvva-lôk-âśrayê yasmi-

[51] |[15] n=satya-râjê sthitaṁ jagat |(||) Nirvvakraṁ vasudhâ-chakram=arakshat kshapit-âhitaḥ | nyâyyê pathi nṛipair=âdyais=sa dvâ-

[52] daśa samâs=samaḥ |(||) Vimalâdityadêv-âkhyas=tatas=tasy=ânujô=dathâ(dhâ)t mahi-maṇḍala-sâ[ṁ*]brâ(râ)jyaṁ vijitya vija-

[53] yi(yî) ripû[n*] |(||) Yasya[16] prajvalita-pratâpa-dahanaṁ sôḍu(ḍhu)n=na sa(śa)ktâ bhayâd=gatvâ kânanam=aṁbudhiṁ cha

[54] tarasâ vidvêshiṇô vihvalâḥ dâv-ô(au)[r*]vv-[â*]gni-padêna tatra cha punas=tên= aiva saṁtâpitâḥ śrî-pâd-â-

[55] mara-pâdapasya mahatîṁ chhâyâṁ samaśiśriyan [||*] Api cha || Sûryy[17]-ânvayê sura-pa-

[56] ti-pratimaḥ prabhâvaiḥ śrî-Râjarâja iti yô jagati vyarâjata(t) nâthas=samasta-naranâtha-kirîṭa-kôṭi-ratna-

[57] prabhâ-paṭala-pâṭala-pâdapîṭhaḥ |(||) Jâtas=tatas=tata-yaśô-jita-râja-têjâ Râjêṁdra-Chôḍa-nṛipatir=nṛipa-cha-

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[12] Metre Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following five verses.

[13] This *g*, having been at first omitted, was inserted above the *bh*, in such a way as to look rather like the vowel *i*.

[14] The meaning of this is not at all apparent; we require here some such word as *vinâ*, 'without.'

[15] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[16] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[17] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the following verse.

III b.

IV a.

[58] kravartti(rttî) daṁbaṁ prachaṁḍa-mada-danti-kapôla-niryyad-dân-âvil-âmarasarit-salila-pravâhaḥ |(||) Sa[18]-dvî[19]pâṁ cha pa-

[59] ra(yô)ṁburâśi-parikhâṁ viśvaṁbharâṁ li(lî)layâ daṇḍên=aiva vijitya cha prati-diśaṁ yô=tishṭhipat=sarvvataḥ svair-ôdbhrâṁti-ni-

[60] vâraṇâya vijâ(ja)ya-staṁbhân=sva-nâm-âṁkitân=âlânân=iva baddhum=andha-manasô darppêṇa dig-dantinaḥ |(||) Tasy[20]=ânu-

[61] jâṁ surûpâm=anurûpâṁ Kûṁdavâṁ=mahâdêvîṁ sa upâyata kṛita-kṛityô Vimalâdityô jana-stutyaḥ |(||) Samu-

[62] dra[21]-raśanâṁ prithvîṁ prithvîṁ sa bhû(bhu)ja-vikramâta(t) samarakshat=samâs=sapta Saptasapti-samas=sâ(sa)maḥ |(||)

Third plate; second side.

[63] Tasmâch[22]=Châlukya-chûḍâmaṇir=atha Vimalâdityadêvân=mahîśâch=Chôḍa-kshmâpâla-lakshmyâ iva

[64] rachita-tanôḥ Kûṁdavâyâś=cha dêvyâḥ jâtaś=śrî-Râjarâjô rajanikara-kula-śrîmad-aṁbôdhi-râjô râ-

[65] jad-râjanya-sêvyâm=âbhṛita bhuja-balâd=râja-lakshmîṁ prithivyâḥ || Yô[23] rakshituṁ vasumatiṁ Śaka-vatsarêshu

[66] vêd-âṁburâśi-nidhi-varttishu Siṁha-gê=rkkê krishṇa-dvitîya-divavas[24]-ôttara-Bhadrikâyâṁ vârê Gurôr=vvaṇiji

[67] lagna-varê=bhishiktaḥ || Yasy[25]=[ô*]ttamâṁgaṁ paṭṭêna samâ(ma)baṁdhi mahîyasâ bharttuṁ viśvaṁbharâ-bhâra-

[68] ṁ janair=ârôsi(pi)taṁ vi(chi)raṁ || Prithvîm[26]=imâṁ yatra Pridhya(thu)-prabhâvê rakshaty=a-varggaṁ kshapit-âri-varggê dûrîkṛi-

[69] t-âvagraha-chôra-rôgâḥ praj[â*] labhaṁtê sa-pa(pha)laṁ trivarggaṁ || Śô(śau)ryy[27]-ô(au)dâryy-âbhimân-â-

[70] py(dy)-agaṇita-guṇa-janm=ânuraktâ mahimnâ prakhyâtên=âti-krishṇâ śaśadhara-dhavalâ saj-janâ-

[71] nâṁ gaṇêna pîtâ prîtêna karṇṇ-âṁjalibhir=abhinavâ bhâti dig-dêvatânân=nânâ-varṇṇ[â*]ṁ vi-

[72] tâna-śriyam=atanutarâ tanvatî yasya kîrttiḥ || Pitrôr[28]=vvaṁśa-gurû babhûvatur=alaṁ

[73] yasya spu(sphu)rat-têjasau sûryya[29]-chaṁdramasô(sau) nirasta-tamasô(sau) dêvô(vau) ba(ja)gach-chakshushî daṁshṭrâ-kôṭi-sa-

[74] muddhṛit-âkhila-mahî-chakram=mahata(t) krîḍayâ Vishṇôr=âdi-varâha-rûpam=abhavad=yach-chhâsanê lâṁchha-

[75] naṁ || Sa sarvvalôkâśraya-śrî-Vishṇuvarddhana-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-parama-bhaṭṭ[â*]raka-

[76] paramabrahmaṇyaḥ mâtâpitṛi-hâ(pâ)d-ânudhyâtaḥ tyâga-siṁhâsan-âsînaḥ Chaṇḍikâ-prasâ-

[77] da-parilabdha-sâṁbrâ(râ)jya-chihnaḥ Guddavâdi(ḍi)-vivi(sha)ya-nivâsinô râshṭrakuâ(kû)-ṭa-pramukh[â*]n ku-

Fourth plate; first side.

[78] ṭi(ṭu)ṁbinas=sarvv[ân*] samâhuâ(hû)ya maṁtri-purôhita-sênâpati-yuvarâja-dô(dau)-vârika-pradhân-â-

[79] dhyaksh[â*]m(n)=it[y*]=âdiśati || Âdy[30]-aṁt-âtyaṁta-dûrât=samajani jagatâṁ jyôtishô janma-hêt[u*]r=Brahmâ dhâma pra-

[80] jânâm=abhavad=atha tataḥ Kaśyapô nâma vêthâ(dhâ)ḥ Bhâradvâjas=tatô=bhûn=munir=adhika-tapâs=tasyâ gôtrê pa-

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[18] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[19] First *pvî* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *dvî*.

[20] Metre, Âryâ.

[21] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[22] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[23] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[24] Read *divas*.

[25] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[26] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[27] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[28] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[29] The metre is faulty here.

[30] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[81] vitrê tatr=Âpâ(pa)stamba-sûtrê śruti-nidhir=udagâch=Chîdamâyu(ryya)ḥ kramêṇa || Râjñâm[31]=archchita-varchchasas=sa-

[82] muditai[r*]=yyajñair=vvidhûshôt[32]-âṁghasô Yajñô nâma sutas=tataḥ krita-dhiyô jajñê kṛita-jñaḥ kṛitî

[83] vijñât-âkhila-vêda-śâstra-samayaḥ prâjja(jña)s=sadâ pôshita-jñ[â*]ti[r*]=jñâna-nidhir=guru-jña-sarri(dri)śô nîti-jña-

[84] tâyâṁ bhû(bhu)vi || Yathâ[33] Vasishṭhô vidushâṁ varishṭhô nirundhatîṁ pô(dô)-pa(sha)m=Arundhatîṁ saṁ(sa) tath=â-

[85] nurûpîm=abi(bhi)rûpa-rûpas=satîm=upâyach=Chatamâkav-âkhyâṁ || Putras[34]=tayôr=Adi-

[86] ti-Kaśyapayôr=iv=âbhûp(d)=bhâsvân=apâkṛita-tamâḥ khalu Chîdamâryyaḥ yê(yô) vêda-śâ-

[87] stra-sakala-śruti-raśmi-jâtaiś=śishy-ânan-âmburuha-bôdhakarô garîyân || Nity[35]-âbhîshṭa-pa(phâ)la-pra-

[88] dâna-ruchiraṁ Lakshmî-nivâs-âspadaṁ bibhrâṇaṁ gurutâṁ prabuddha-sumanaḥ-saṁpûrnna(rṇṇa)-śâkh-ânvi-

[89] taṁ chhâyâ-saṁtatim=âśritê(tai)ś=cha vibuvai(dhaiḥ) saṁstûyamânaṁ sadâ sôvitvâ sukham=âsyatê

[90] dvija-varair=yyaṁ vipra-kalpadra(dru)maṁ |(||) Yad-gêhâhaṁ[36] su-chiraṁ vibhâti paratâṁ puṇyair=vvaṭu(ṭû)nâṁ pa-

[91] ṭu-vyav[ri*]tty=âviratam kramât=kshama-padê sâmarthya-jughgôshaṇais=sâyô(ya)ṁ-prâtar-upâhitaṁ hu-

[92] ti-hṛita-svâhâ-priya-prôchchalad-dâmaiś=ch=âpi samantataḥ Kali-malaṁ prôtsâraya[d*] duâ(dû)rataḥ |(||)

Fourth plate; second side.

[93] Tasmai[37] samasta-janatâ-viśêshasaṇâya[38] | rai-sutarppita-mahîdêva-dêva-gaṇâya | vipr-ânva-

[94] y-âbdhi-śaśabhṛit-prê(pra)tichand[r*]âya [|*] vidvajjan-â[ṁ*]gîkṛita-viśrut-ânandâya | janmi(nma)-prabhṛiti-gîta-vêd-ârttha-ta-

[95] t[t*]vâya | san-manô-vasati-vâstavy-âtma-sat[t*]vâya | laṁbhita-sara[la*]tva-parilâlita-charitrâya | śuṁbhita-ma-

[96] ti-svasita-jîva-bhṛisa(śa)-putrâya | siddha-nija-nâtha-kṛiti-sêvita-manîshâya | śudtha-(ddha)-mati-duâ(dû)shita-sama-

[97] sta-jana-dôshâya [|*] santat-ârâdhita-nija-svâmi-pâdâya | chintita-mana[ḥ*]stha-sukhadâbhûta-supâdâya | hô-

[98] ma-dhûma-vinirggat-âmita-kalaṁkâya | dhîmat-pragîta-ruchira-sthira-s[v*]a-ṇâ(nâ)[m-â*]ṁkâya | sakala-muni-gaṇa-nut-Âpa-

[99] staṁba-sûtrâya | tatra-saṁgîta-Bhâraṁ(ra)dvâja-gôtrâya | sapta-tantu-kṛita-yûpa-staṁbha-śôbhâya |

[100] saptâśva-rûpa-sadṛiś-âtma-tanu-lâbhâya | nitya-janat-ôchita-susatya-saṇa-yuktâya | paty-a-

[101] bhilashita-kâyû(ryya)-niḥpatti-saktâya | parama-purusha-ârttha-saṁpâdana-paṭishṭhâya | paramêśvara-sma-

[102] raṇa-pâlana-varishṭhâya | sakal-ârtthaśô(śâ)stra-pariniśchita-vinôdâyê(ya) | sukumârat-âvi(dhi)ka-sarôja-nibha-

[103] pâdâya | dhâra(râ)karêṇ-âgrahârîkṛitaḥ Korumelli-nâmâ grâma iṁd-uâ(û)parâgê dat-tô. may=â-chandra-târa-

[104] [kaṁ*] hi tishpê(shṭhê)t=Tasy=âvadhi-vyaktir=êsh=ôchyatê=dya | pûrvvataḥ Kûḍaku-niyyûri Kimaṭṭikâliya

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[31] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[32] Read *vidhaut*.

[33] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upendravajrâ.

[34] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[35] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following verse.

[36] Read *yad-gêhaṁ*.

[37] This passage is *Gadya*, or rhythmical and alliterative prose.

[38] Read *viśêshaṇâya*.

[105] sîmâ | âgnêyataḥ Muṇḍakâliya sîmâ | dakshiṇataḥ Vânapalliyu Saṁppa(pa)-
[106] taniyayu Mâmaṇḍeṭiyu sîm=aiva sîmâ | nairṛityataḥ Gôdâvariya sîmâ | pa-
[107] śchimataḥ Bûruvuḍoḥggu[39] simâ | vâyavyataḥ Veneṭiyu Mâsarayu sîm=aiva

Fifth plate.

[108] sîmâ | uttarataḥ Màsara-Ponbaḍuvayu Khalmeṇḍikâliyu sîmâ | îśanataḥ E-
[109] ṛuvaṁkay-Uttaramuna Kaḍalibhâ(?châ)ṭi sîmâ |(||) Asy=ôpari na kênachid=bâdhâ karaṇîyâ
[110] yaḥ karôti sa paṁcha-mahâpâtakê(kai)r=yyuktô bhavati [||*] Tathâ ch=ôktaṁ bhagavatâ Vyâs-â-
[111] di-maharshi-prakarêṇ=âpi | Sva[40]-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâṁ shashṭiṁ varsha-
[112] sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ j[â*]yatê krimiḥ |(||) Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupô(pâ)-
[113] litâ yasya [yasya*] yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ |(||) Âjñaṁ-ptiḥ[41] Kaṭi(ṭa)k-êśô
[114] Râchiya-Pedderi-Bhîma-nâma-tanûjaḥ karttâ Chêtanabhaja(ṭṭa)ḥ kâvyânâṁ
[115] lêkhakô=sya Gaṇḍâchâryyaḥ | (||) Asmin=grâmê prati-varshaṁ bhûpa-siddh-[â*]ya-grahaṇaṁ paṁchaviṁ-
[116] śati-nishkâṇi śata-dvaya-sahitâni paṁchâśad=dhânya-khaṇḍakâni cha ||

No. CLIV.

CHITTUR PLATES OF KULOTTUNGA-CHODADEVA II.—SAKA 1056.

The present inscription is from another set of copper-plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., and have been presented by him to the British Museum. They were obtained by him from Râjamahêndri, through a Mr. Smith, who procured them from the *Karṇam* of Chittûr.

The plates are five in number, each about 10¼″ long by 4″ broad. The edges of them are raised into rims, to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ⅝″ thick and 4½″ in diameter; it had been cut before the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is circular, about 3⅛″ in diameter; it has, in relief on a countersunk surface,—across the upper part, the legend *Śrî-Tribhuvan[â*]ṁkuśa*, with an elephant-goad and the moon above it; and, below the legend, a boar, standing to the proper left, with a *śaṅkha*-shell, two *chauris*, two lamp-stands, and a floral device.[1] The characters are Old-Kanarese, of the period to which the grant belongs. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

The inscription commences with an invocation of Mukunda or Vishṇu. Then follows a mention of the Sômavaṁśa or lineage of the Moon (line 3), to which, it is evidently intended to imply, the kings mentioned in the grant belong. Lines 4 to 18 give the usual succession of Eastern Chalukya kings, from Kubja-Vishṇuvardhana or Vishṇuvardhana I., down to Amma II.,—with the statement that Indra reigned for seven days (l. 10.) Amma II. was succeeded by his elder brother Dânârṇava, who ruled for thirty years[2] (l. 18). Then came Dânârṇava's son, Śaktivarman,[3] who ruled for twelve years. Then Śaktivarman's younger brother, Vimalâditya, for seven years (l. 19). Then Vimalâditya's son, Râjarâja II., for forty-one years. Then Râjarâja's son, Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva I., for forty-nine years (l. 20). Then Vikrama-Chôḍa, the son of the preceding, for fifteen years. And then Kulôttuṅga-Chôḍadêva II., the son of Vikrama-Chôḍa (l. 21).

The inscription then mentions the city of Sarasîpurî, in a lake in the Veṅgî *maṇḍala* (l. 22), the governor of which was Kolani-Kâṭamanâyaka (l. 28), otherwise called the *Daṇḍâdhinâtha* Kâṭa (l. 51). And

[39] Read *Bûruvuḍoggu.*

[40] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

[41] Read *âjñaptiḥ.*

[1] See the facsimile in the plate, *ante* Vol. VII. p. 253.

[2] This period is obtained by adding to Dânârṇava's real reign of three years (No. CLIII. line 48), the ensuing twenty-seven years of anarchy (*id.* line 48); no mention is made of the anarchy in the present inscription.

[3] The Châlukya-Chandra of No. CLIII. line 51.

it then proceeds to record that, in Śaka 1056 A.D. 1134-35) (l. 49), Kâṭamanâyaka granted the *agrahâra*-village called M a ṇ ḍ a d o ṛṛ u, together with the village of P o n d u v a g r â m a, in the S â v a t t i l i country, to a number of learned Brâhmaṇs, whose *gôtras*, names, and shares, are detailed in lines 56 to 72. Lines 70 to 79 define the boundaries of the grant. And the remainder of the inscription contains some of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses, and records the name of the writer of the charter.

TEXT.[4]

First plate.

[1] Jayati[5] Jaladhikanyâ-vaktra-padm-âṁśumâlî sakala-bhuvana-sṛishṭi-trâṇa-saṁhâra-hêtuḥ upa-

[2] nishad-avagamyô yôgi-vijñâna-vêdyas=tridaśa-vara-vachôbhi[ḥ*] stûyamânô Mukuṁdaḥ [||*] Ja-

[3] yati jagati nityaṁ Sôma-vaṁśô mahîbhṛich-chhirasi nihita-pâdas=saṁśṛayaḥ kîrtti-val[l*]yâḥ jaladhi-valayi-

[4] t-ôrvvî-chakravâl-âlavâlâd=ripu-nṛipa-rudhir-ôdair=ukshitâd=udgatâyâḥ |(||) Svasti Śrîmatâṁ saka-

[5] la-bhuvana-saṁstûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇâṁ Hârîti-putrâṇâṁ Kauśikî-vara-

[6] prasâda-labdha-râjyânâṁ mâtṛi-gaṇa-paripâlitânâṁ Svâmi-Mahâsêna-pâd-ânu-

[7] dhyâtânâṁ bhagavan-Nârâyaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-vara-varâhalâṁchchha(chha)n-ôkshaṇa-kshaṇa-

[8] vaśîkṛit-ârâti-maṇḍalânâm=aśvamêdh-âvabhṛidha(tha)-snâna-pavitrîkṛita-vapushâṁ Châlukyânâṁ kula-

[9] m=alaṁkarishṇôḥ Satyâśrayavallabhêndrasya bhrâtâ Kubja-Vishṇuvarddhanô=shṭâdaśa varshâṇi Veṁgî-

[10] dêśam=apâlayat [||*] Tat-putrô Jayasiṁhas=triṁśat [||*] Tat-kanîyân=Iṁd[r*]a-râjas=sapt-âhaṁ [||*]

Second plate; first side.

[11] Tat-putrô Vishṇuvarddhanô nava varshâṇi [||*] Tat-putro Maṁgi-yuvarâjaḥ paṁcha-viṁśati[ṁ*] [||*] Tat-putrô Jaya-

[12] siṁhas=trayôdaśa [||*] Tat-kanîyân Kokkilish=shaṇ=mâsân [||*] Tad-bhrâtâ Vishṇuvarddhanas=sapta-triṁśat [||*] Tat-sûnu-

[13] r=Vvijayâdityô=shṭâdaśa [||*] Tat-sûnuṛ=Vvishṇuvarddhanash=shaṭ-triṁśat [||*] Tat-sûnur=Nnarêṁdrô=shṭâ-chatvâriṁśat [||*] Tat-su-

[14] taḥ Kali-Vishṇuvarddhanô=dhy-arddha-varshaṁ [||*] Tat-sûnur=Gguṇaga-Vijayâdityaś=chatuś-chatvâriṁśat [||*] Tad-bhrâtṛi-Vikra-

[15] mâditya-putraś=Châlukya-Bhîmas=triṁśat [||*] Tat-sûnur=Vvijayâdityash=shaṇ=mâsân [||*] Tat-sûnur=Amma-râ-

[16] jas=sapta varshâṇi [||*] Vikramâditya-bhrâtṛi-putras=Tâḍapô mâsaṁ [||*] Châlukya-Bhîma-sûnu-

[17] r=Vvikramâditya êkâdaśa mâsân [||*] Tat-sûnur=Yyuddhamallas=sapta varshâṇi [||*] Amma-râj-ânu-

[18] jô râja-Bhîmô dvâdaśa [||*] Tat=sûnur=Amma-râjaḥ paṁcha-viṁśati[ṁ*] [||*] Taj-[j*]yêshṭhô Dânârṇṇavas=triṁśat [||*] Tat-putra-

[19] ś=Śaktivarmmâ dvâdaśa [||*] Tad-anujô Vimalâdityas=sapta [||*] Tat-putrô Râjarâjadêva êka-chatvâriṁśat [||*] Ta-

[20] t-putra[ḥ*] śrî-Kulôttuṁgga(ga)-Chôḍadêva êk-ôna-paṁchâśat [||*] Tat-sutô Vikrama-Chôḍaḥ paṁchadaśa [||*] Tat-putrê

[21] śrî-Kulôttuṁgga(ga)-Chôḍadêvê râjyaṁ praśâsati tad-vaṁśya-râja-prasâda-labdha-nânâ-dêśa-parivṛitaṁ pa-

[4] From the original plates.

[5] Metre, Mâlinî; and in the following verse.

GRANT OF THE EASTERN CHÂLUKYAS - DATED ŚAKA 1056.

I

II a.

GRANT OF THE EASTERN CHÂLUKYAS - DATED ŚAKA, 1056.

II b.

III a.

GRANT OF THE EASTERN CHÂLUKYAS - DATED ŚAKA. 1056.

III b.

IV a.

Second plate; second side.

[22] rampar-âgata-maṁḍalês-âdhishṭhitaṁ Veṁgî-maṁḍalê mahâ-sara[ḥ*] sthirataram=asti[6] || Tatr[7]=âsît=Sarasî-

[23] pur=îti jaladhau Vishṇôḥ purîṁ Dvârakâm=udyal-lâvaṇa-vâri-dôsha-kalushâ[ṁ*] nyak-kurvvatî yâ ni-

[24] śaṁ mât=êva sva-payaḥ-pravâha-nivahais=su-svâdubhis=s-âdaraṁ sv-âṁkaṁ saṁśrita-maṁḍalêśvara-ma-

[25] hîchakraṁ svayaṁ rakshati || Garvvâd=yad-vijigîshayâ ripu-gaṇâs=saṁprâpya vêlâ-talaṁ lôlat-syaṁdana-

[26] vâji-vâra[8]ṇa-bhaṭâ jêtun=na śaktâḥ punaḥ yuddh-âlôkana-lôla-vairi-lalanâ-sôllâsa-

[27] hâs-ôdayâl=lajjâvad-vadanâḥ praviśya sarasîṁ yâṁty=êkatâṁ karddamaiḥ || Tasyâḥ[9]

[28] patiḥ Kolani-Kâṭama-nâyakô=bhût=prakhyâta-dharmma-nichayaḥ pratat-ôru-kîrttiḥ sphû-

[29] rjjat-sva-bâhu-bala-nirjjita-vairi-varggas=sarvv-âśrayô naya-nidhir=bhuvi satya-saṁ-dhaḥ |(||) Yô[10] dharmmê Dharmmaputra-prati-

[30] nidhir=avani-trâṇanê Kârttavîryya-prâyaś=śauryy[ê*] Kirîṭî sphuṭa-mahima-ruchâ tulya êva pratâpê audâryê[11]

[31] Karṇṇa-kalpa[ḥ*] Smara iva vapushi kshmâ-sadṛikshaḥ kshamâyâṁ saujanyê yasya lôkê kadha(tha)m=api sadṛiśô Vikramâditya êva |(||) Yô[12]=dṛiśya-

Third plate; first side.

[32] ta satâṁ bhûtyai jala-durggê śriyâ saha bhuvana-tritayaṁ bhâs=âbhâsayan=vyôma

[33] chaṁdra-vat |(||) Yas[13]=sarvvâ[14]m=avanim=arakshad=akshata-śrîs=sênâbhi(bhi)r=bbahu-raṇa-kêli-nirjjit-â-

[34] riḥ vîra-śrî-vadana-vilâsa-darppaṇ-âbhô nîti-jñô niyamita-vâg=ati-pragalbhaḥ |(||) Dvija-[15]

[35] jana-parirakshâ-daksham=akshayya-lakshmîṁ prâśamita-ripu-pakshaṁ kâṁkshiṇâṁ kalpa-vṛikshaṁ

[36] guṇa-maṇi-gaṇa-klṛipt-âkalpam=âkalpam=urvyâ dhṛita-tanum=iva Dharmmam=manvatê

[37] mânavâ yaṁ |(||) Su[16]-dhṛitâ yêna dharitrî niśśaṁkan=nirjjit-ârî-varggêṇa chiratara-kâlaṁ

[38] kṛitinâ Kṛita-yuga-vach=chhri samṛiddh=êyaṁ |(||) Vidushâṁ[17] bahavô grâmâ dêvânâṁ bhû-

[39] ri-harmyâṇi jala-paripûrnna(rṇṇa)-taṭâkâ dêśê-dêśê vinirmmitâ yêna |(||) Yasmin[18]=kâṁkshâ-bahu-

[40] laṁ dadati dravyaṁ prabhûtam=artthêbhyaḥ upapada-rahitâ jâtâś=chiṁtâmaṇi-kâmadhênu-kalpâ gâḥ [||*]

[41] Yasy[19]=âsi-dhârâsu nipîtam=aṁbu dvishach-chhiraś-chhêdana-karm[m]a-hêtuḥ pravart-[t]ulaṁ vairi-puraṁ Tri-

Third plate; second side.

[42] nêtr-êshv-aśru-chchhalên=êva kṛita-sva-kâryyaṁ |[||] Yad[20]-dhasta-khaḍga-parishâta-madândha-matta-mâtaṁ-

[43] ga-mastaka-vinirggata-mauktik-aughaiḥ | saṁyaty=arâti-nikarân=hasat=îva nânâ-dik-kaṁppa(pa)-

[44] l-âyana-parân=mahatî jaya-śrîḥ |(||) Kîrttir[21]=yyasya manôharâ tribhuvanaṁ vibhrâ-

[45] jayaṁtî bhṛiśaṁ svachchhâ sat-kumud-âkara-priya-karî diṅ-maṇḍanaṁ tanvatî kur-vvâ-

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[6] The letters *ramasti* are somewhat confused in the original, owing to something else having been engraved and cancelled before these letters were cut.

[7] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the following verse.

[8] First *ṇa* was engraved, and then it was corrected into *ra*.

[9] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[10] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[11] This syllable, *ryê*, is formed very peculiarly, the *rê* being on the line and the *y* below it,—instead of the *yê* being on the line and the *r* above it, as is the custom in Southern India.

[12] Metre Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[13] Metre, Praharshiṇî.

[14] Here, and in one or two other places in this line, some letters or other were engraved and cancelled before the existing letters were cut.

[15] Metre, Mâlinî.

[16] Metre, Âryâ.

[17] Metre, Udgîti.

[18] Metre, Gîti.

[19] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[20] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[21] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[46] ṇ=âpi sadâ samasta-jagatâṁ harshaṁ dvishad-yôshitâṁ vaktr-âṁbhôja-sudussa-
[47] hâ vijayatê jyôtsn=êva śîtadyutêḥ |(||) Sa[22] svâminaś=Chôḍadêvasya tasya prâpya
[48] prasâdâd=adha(tha) grâma-varyyaṁ Lakshmîpa[23]t-îśa-prasâd-âpta-lakshmîr=ddâtuṁ dvi-
jêbhyô dhiyaṁ saṁ-
[49] dadhâra |(||) Tataś=cha | Śâk[24]-âbdânâṁ pramâṇê rasa-viśikha-viyach-chaṁdra-
saṁkhyâṁ prayâtê dêśê Sâ-
[50] vattil-îti-kshititala-viditê Poṁduva-grâma-yuktaṁ s-Ârdr-arkshê pûrvva-ma(pa)kshê
vi[25]shuvati su-
[51] tithâ(thau) Maṇḍaṁdoṛṛ[26]-agrahâraṁ prâdâd=vidvad-[d*]vijêbhya[ḥ*] sthirataram=a-
karaṁ Kâṭa-daṇḍâdhinâthaḥ |(||) Tath[27]=ai-

Fourth plate; first side.

[52] tad-grâma-sîm-âṁtarvarttinô yê kuṭuṁbinaḥ viṭ-chhûdra-taksha-rajaka-karmmâra-tilapû-
[53] takâḥ [||*] Suvarnna(rṇṇa)-kaṁsa-charm-âstra-kuṁbha-kârâś=cha nâpitâḥ ajâ-gô-pâlakâś=
ch=aiva chaṇḍâ-
[54] l-âdyâs=tath=âparê [||*] Tair=ddêya-karam=apy=êbhyô brâhmaṇêbhyô=dadât=tadâ | datv=
aivam=agrahâraṁ
[55] tam=ittham=âjñâpayaty=asau [||*] Tad-râshtrakûṭa-pramukhân=samâhûya kuṭuṁ-
[56] binaḥ dattam=ittham=mayâ sarvvam=êtad=viditam=astu vaḥ [||*] Pratigṛihîtṛi-
brâhmaṇa=nâmâni [|*]
[57] Tatra Bhâradvâjâḥ Drôṇâryyaḥ Mêḍâryyaḥ Sûrâryyaḥ Nûṁkâryyaḥ Guṇḍâryyaḥ
[58] Vennâryyaḥ Nâmâryyaḥ Vâsanâryyaḥ Nâmâryyaḥ Madhurâdhipârryaḥ
[59] Doḍḍâryyaḥ Mâdhavâryyaḥ Śivvâryyaḥ Kommâryyaḥ Vâmâryyaḥ Pôtâryyaḥ
Gôviṁdâryyaḥ
[60] Chaṁdrâryyaḥ bhâginaḥ Sômanâryyaḥ Nittanâryyaḥ Sûrâryyaḥ Kuṇḍinâḥ Bhîmârryyaḥ
[61] Uryyakoṇḍâryyaḥ Vishṇvâryyaḥ arddhinaḥ Kommâryyaḥ Kṛishṇâryyaḥ Vâmâryyaḥ
Kâmâryyaḥ

Fourth plate; second side.

[62] Naṁdâryyaḥ Kommâryyaḥ Maṇḍanâryyaḥ Kṛishṇâryyaḥ Bhîmâryyaḥ Vâmâryyaḥ
Dârâryyaḥ
[63] Vâdhûlâḥ Âdityâryyaḥ Îśvarâryyaḥ Karukanâryyaḥ Haritâḥ Vishṇvâryyaḥ
Mâdhavâryyaḥ Ma-
[64] llâryyaḥ Kôṭâryyaḥ Drôṇâryyaḥ Kâmâryyaḥ Rêmâryyaḥ Nârâyaṇâryyaḥ bhâginaḥ
Nâgâryyô dvî Maitrâvaruṇau Satyu-
[65] nâryyô bhâgî Sûrâryyaḥ Kauśikâḥ Nûṁkâryyaḥ Kommâryyaḥ Sûrâryyaḥ
arddhinaḥ Tâtâryyaḥ Vishṇvâryyaḥ Pennâryyaḥ Boppâ-
[66] ryyaḥ Śrîdharâryyaḥ Maitrêyaḥ Śaṁkarâryyaḥ Vatsaḥ Drôṇâryyaḥ Kapiḥ |[28]
Pôtâryyaḥ Yaskaḥ A-
[67] yyanâryyaḥ Âtrêyâḥ Râghavâryyaḥ bhâginaḥ[29] Tâḍâryyaḥ Arllâḍâryyaḥ arddhinau[30]
Śaunakâḥ
[68] Pôtâryy-âdayaḥ paṁcha s-ârddha-bhâginaḥ Parâśarau Kommâryyaḥ Vishṇvâryyaḥ
Purukutsaḥ Malayâṇḍâryyaḥ bhâgi-
[69] naḥ Kâśyapâḥ Annâryyaḥ Appâryyaḥ arddhinau Vâsudêvâryyaḥ Mâvâryyaḥ
Sûrâryyaḥ Annâryyaḥ śâsana-kâ-
[70] vya-kṛich=Chhaṁkaranârâyaṇâryyaḥ bhâginaḥ Îśvarasy=aikô bhâgaḥ Vishṇôr=êkô
bhâgaḥ [||*] Atha Poṁduva-yuktasy=âsya grâ-

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[22] Metre, Trishṭubh.

[23] First *ksha* was engraved and cancelled, and then *pa* was cut.

[24] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[25] The passage from *rdra* to *vi* is engraved over a ancelled passage.

[26] The metre shews that the *anusvâra* is a mistake and that we must read *Maṇḍadoṛṛ*.

[27] Metre, Ślôka (Anushtubh); and in the following three verses.

[28] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[29] First *Tâḍâryyaḥ* was engraved here, and then *bhâginaḥ* was engraved over it.

[30] First *Saunakâḥ* was engraved here, and then *arddhinau* was engraved over it.

[71] masya ksh[ê*]tra-sîmânaḥ [|*] pûrvvataḥ Poṁduva Kommara Yiḻiyûri Muyyanikuṭrugumṭa Aṭavennanigumṭa [|*]
[72] âgnêyataḥ Poṁduva Yiḻiyûri Naḻmiyaypamulvu Aṭapenuṁgoḻunaypamulvuṁ Garuvugumṭa Lu-

Fifth plate.

[73] ṁgâṁdi Yâvagumiyu Nûṁkanigumṭayu [|*] dakshiṇataḥ Nûṁkanigumṭaṁ Bâsipâyinayamarupa-
[74] ṭu Aṭapahiṇḍigumṭa Naḻumu [|*] nirṛititaḥ Kokkilipûṇḍi Pâṭipaḻumaṭi Muyyanikuṭrugumṭa [|*] paśchi-
[75] mataḥ Leḻḻagumṭa Koḻu [|*] vâyavyataḥ Uṇḍaṁdorṭi Pâsudova Govami Muyyanikuṭru Aṭa U-
[76] ṇḍaṁdorṭi Govami Kâkaṇḍivâḻa Muyyanikuṭru [|*] uttarataḥ Maddigumṭa Aṭa Meḻanigumṭayu
[77] Neṟiyanigumṭayu Nâvanigumṭayu Naṭayîyûri Palliyaina Poṁduva Srâṁkamrâ-
[78] ṁparti Muyyanikuṭru Aṭa Panulavâṇḍragumṭayuṁ Ballanikâṭitalayu [|*] îśânataḥ Prâṁta-
[79] gumṭa || Itaḥ[31] paran=na kâ[r*]yyô=sya grâmasy=ôpadravô naraiḥ lôbhâd=upadravaṁ tasya kuryyâd=yas=sa nar-âdhamaḥ [||*]
[80] Yâyât=paṁchamahâpâpî drôhî Sômêśvarasya cha Gaṁgâyâṁ gô-sahasrasya vâdhapâpam=avâpnu-
[81] yât [||*] Asti Vyâs-ôktam=api | Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâṁ shashṭi-varsha-sa-
[82] hasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê kṛimiḥ [||*] Tathâ [|*] Bahubhir=vvasudhâ dattâ bahubhiś=ch=ânupâlitâ ya-
[83] sya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalam=iti || Lêkhakaḥ Kannâchâryya-sûnuḥ Pallâ(?)châryyaḥ ||*

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

S. B. DOCTOR'S PERSIAN-ENGLISH DICTIONARY.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—In your review, in the September number of your journal, of the late Professor Pālmer's English-Persian Dictionary, edited by Mr. G. Le-Strange, you refer to what I shall presently show to be a perfectly groundless and unwarrantable imputation brought against my literary honesty in a postscript to the preface. As you have brought into prominence Mr. LeStrange's statement, I trust you will not deny me the justice of publishing my refutation thereof.

I am accused of having passed off for my own composition a small Persian-English Dictionary, which is no more than an incorrect reprint of Professor Palmer's work.

I wish, in the first place, to point out that I have never for a moment professed that my Persian-English Dictionary is my own composition. Indeed it would be absurd of any one to so profess with respect to a work of the nature of a pocket dictionary of a language like Persian, on which so many learned lexicographers have laboured before. I quote below two paragraphs from the preface of my book, and leave it to your readers to judge how grossly Mr. LeStrange has misrepresented facts in accusing me of palming off on the public as my own the work of another compiler.

"The compiler begs to make his acknowledgments to the authors of the following works, which have *chiefly* been consulted in the preparation of this manual:—Johnson's Persian and Arabic Dictionary, the Hindustani Dictionaries of Gilchrist and Shakespear, etc.

"In conclusion, it is hoped that, when the labours of such learned Oriental lexicographers as the above appear as the ground-work of the present dictionary, it will not fail to command the confidence of those for whom it is intended."

But although, as these extracts prove, I have never attempted to pass off my dictionary as entirely my own unaided production, Mr. Le-Strange's assertion, that nine-tenths of my book has been copied *verbatim* from Professor Palmer's is altogether untrue. Even a superficial exami-

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[31] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following three verses.

nation of my book will convince any unprejudiced critic that there are important points of difference between the two works, and that there are some special and (if I may be permitted to say so) valuable features in my book, which, so far as I know, are not found in any other dictionary, much less in Palmer's, and the credit of which, if any credit there be, is entirely my own. Thus, for instance:—

(1). The *arrangement of words* in my dictionary is entirely different from that in Palmer's; *e.g.*, on page 1, the compounds formed with the word آب are all grouped together under that word, whereas in Professor Palmer's work they are scattered over several pages of the book. And so with other similar words.

(2). The *etymology* of Persian and Arabic words, the assignment of the respective *parts of speech* to them, and the *roots* of Persian infinitives given in my book are *not found at all* in Professor Palmer's work, or, so far as I am aware, in any other dictionary, and are entirely new features in my book.

(3). Then, again, the two dictionaries differ materially in many places with regard to (*a*) the pronunciation of Persian words, (*b*) their origin, and (*c*) their English synonyms. A few examples will suffice:—

DOCTOR'S.			PALMER'S.		
		(*a*)			(*a*)
	ناحیه	*nâhiya.*		ناحیت	*nâhiyet.*
	نمر	*namir.*		نمر	*nimr.*
	نوئین	*noîn.*		نوئین	*nûîn.*
	نسق	*nask, nasak.*		نسق	*nasak.*
		(*b*)			(*b*)
H. P.	اسوار	*aswâr*, *s.* A horseman, cavalry.	A.	اسوار	*aswâr*. Horseman.
P. A.	هند		A.	هند	
HEB.	یهود		A.	یهود	
T.	یافت	*yâfit.*	A.	یافت	*yâfet.*
		(*c*)			(*c*)
	ماضي	*adj.* past. فعلِ ماضي Past tense. استمراري—Imperfect. بعید Pluperfect. قریب—Perfect. معطوفہ—Past conjunctive participle. تمني — Past potential.		ماضي	The past; the preterite tense.
	مالكانه	*adj.* Like an owner. *adv.* In the manner of an owner. *s.* An annual or monthly allowance to a zamindâr by the person who occupies his lands.		مالکانہ	The proprietor's share of the produce of the soil.
	ح	*He*, commonly called حاي حطي *hâi-hutti*, the sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet, does not occur in Persian. In reckoning by *abjad* it stands for eight, and in astronomical tables it denotes the sign Sagittarius.		ح	*hâ* H. The sixth letter of the Arabic alphabet; it does not occur in pure Persian words.

(4). Further, there are many Persian words in my book which are *not* found in Palmer's *at all*; for instance:—ازدواج—حیوانیت—سوال—هجو—وسمر—پاکدامن—ثمردار—جواب صغرا—بازرگان—تحتانی—منصوبه—منتقي دشمن کام—روشن دماغ—and others too numerous to mention here.

This, I trust, will be sufficient to show how utterly baseless is the charge of plagiarism brought against me by Mr. LeStrange. Of course, it cannot be denied that there is considerable similarity between my book and Professor Palmer's, but this is simply due to the fact that we both consulted common authorities, as appears from the preface in our respective books. Thus, almost every English word given in Ogilvie's dictionary would be found in Webster's. Would Mr. LeStrange, therefore, accuse the one author of plagiarising from the other?

It was perfectly unnecessary for Mr. LeStrange to attempt to build the name of Professor

Palmer's book on the ruins of the fame of mine.

I shall be sorry if my refutation of his calumny in any way redounds against Professor Palmer's work, which, though not devoid of errors and inaccuracies, and lacking information on important points, still has, in my opinion, sufficient merit of its own to need no such doubtful aid as Mr. LeStrange has given it. S. B. DOCTOR.

ORIGIN OF THE SRIVAISHNAVAS.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

SIR,—In the September Number of your Journal, in an Article on the Origin of the Śrîvaishṇavas of Southern India, the following occurs :—"A stanza was read in which the face of Vishṇu was represented to be as red as the lotus. The Śaṅkarâchârya at once exclaimed that it was a *luptôpamâ*, or defective comparison, as there were objects surpassing the lotus in their redness, which might have been used for the simile." Might I ask the writer whether there is any authority at all for this explanation of the term *luptôpamâ*? The word is translated in the usual way, but instead of meaning 'a simile in which one term of comparison is wanting' it is explained as meaning a feeble comparison. The story is stated to be improbable for two reasons, but no reference is made to this explanation of *luptôpamâ*, whereas unless such an explanation can be substantiated the foundation of the story goes.

Yours faithfully,

J. A. VANES.

Bangalore, November 22nd.

A SINGHALESE PRINCE IN EGYPT.

I am not sure whether the following passage from Maqrîzî has been made generally accessible to Indian students :—"On the 14th of Muḥarram 682 (14th April 1283) envoys arrived in Egypt from the ruler of Ceylon, which is a part of India. This prince was called Abu Nekbah Lebadahs. They took with them a golden casket half an ell long, and three fingers in breadth. Inside it was a substance of a green colour which looked like palm leaves, and which bore characters that no one at Cairo could read. The envoys were examined, and from their report it would appear the letter contained formulae of salutation and friendship. The prince declared that he had broken off his alliance with the ruler of Yaman in order that he might enter into closer ties with the Sultân (*i.e.* the Sultân of Egypt). He announced that he possessed a great quantity of riches, of which he gave a list, such as elephants, precious stones, and costly goods of all kinds, and that he had sent a present to the Sultân. The kingdom of Ceylon contained 27 fortresses and also possessed mines of rubies and other precious stones, and the Royal treasure beamed with precious stones." *Maqrîzî*, ed. Quatremère, II. part i., 59 and 60.

HENRY H. HOWORTH.

CHANDRAGUPTA AND VIKRAMADITYA.

(*ante* Vol. XIII. p. 185).

With reference to Mr. Fleet's inscription No. CXLVI. in which Vikramâditya is placed after Chandragupta, I would call attention to one of the Mackenzie palm-leaf Telugu MSS. at Madras, described by the Rev. W. Taylor,—the *Kaliyuga-râja-Charitra*, which states that Chandragupta reigned 210 years, and "his son" Vikramâditya reigned 2000 years, till the year 3044 of the Kaliyuga (*Mad. Jour. Lit. Soc.*, Vol. VII. p. 351). May not this have been what was in the mind of the person who, in the 11th century, had the inscription referred to engraved? In that case it must be Chandragupta the Maurya who is referred to.

JAS. BURGESS.

9th December 1884.

NOTES ON THE JATTS.

The Jaṭṭs appear to have spread rapidly from centres over the plains of the Panjâb. The great families are often represented by colonies, both Cis-Satluj and Trans-Satluj. It is common to hear them say, "We are so many villages (*kheṛâ*) here and so many in Mâlwâ." The number of villages in a colony is sometimes very large, several hundred.

The practice of *karewâ*, or re-marriage of a widow to one of her deceased husband's family, is almost universal among the Jaṭṭs, but some tribes do not practise it; for instance, a large section of the Bains Jaṭṭs of Mahalpûr, in the Hoshiârpûr district.

The Emperor Akbar married a Jaṭṭnî, a relative of one Mehr Miṭṭhâ in the Mâñjhâ. To the celebration of this marriage 35 Jaṭṭ villages and 35 Râjpût villages of the Jâlandhar and Bârî Doâbs were summoned. These villages enjoy a pre-eminence in the country side, and are collectively termed "the Darbâr."

In olden times the Jaṭṭs of the Mâlwâ used to be deemed so poor, and so likely to be driven by a season of drought out of their villages, that the Mâñjhâ tribes would not give their daughters to them in marriage. *Now*, say the people at Firozpûr, it is the other way: the Mâlwâ tribes will not give their daughters to the men of the Mâñjhâ, as they have got so far ahead of their Mâñjhâ brethren by the great stimulus to agriculture which roads and railways and the development of trade have given.

The Jaṭṭs of the "Jungle," or the great unirrigated tracts of the Firozpûr and Lûdiânâ districts are a fine stalwart race, equal, or nearly so, to their brethren of the Mâṅjhâ, but I have heard it said that they bore a bad reputation as soldiers with Ranjît Siṅgh, as wanting *hauslá* or courage; probably a very mistaken idea. No doubt the shrewd old king used to prefer to take his soldiers from tracts nearer home, and not so near the British border. Anyhow he did not like enlisting Mâlwâîs. When Jaṭṭ recruits were brought before him he applied the test of a *shibboleth* by making them count between 20 and 30. The men of Mâlwâ committed themselves at 25, saying *pachî*, while the Mâṅjhâ dialect says *panjî*. Nevertheless a few families of Mâlwâ Jaṭṭs rose to great distinction in the Lâhor Darbâr; witness the Mânawâlâ family of the Gujrânwâlâ district; the Aṭârî family; and Fateḥ Singh Mân, a Mâlwâî, commanded the Lâhor artillery in the Sikh campaign.

It is probable that certain Jaṭṭ tribes used to practice infanticide. I am not sure that among certain of the more exclusive Jaṭṭs there is not to this day a method of treating female infants approaching nearly to infanticide.

There are old doggrel verses in the Jaṭṭ *patois* of pure, or *ṭeṇṭh*, Panjâbî, which bear witness to the existence of the practice, *e.g.*—

Munnî dá bápú áiá Baby's father came
Moṇḍhe kahî le áiá With mattock on shoulder,
Báhar ṭoá khaṭṭiá Dug a hole outside
Munnî nûṅ utthe dabbiá. And there buried baby.

The Jaṭṭ conquest of the Jâlandhar Doâb (about 1759 A.D.=1816 Saṁvat, constantly referred to as "*Saṁvat Solah*") was a marked era in the history of the Panjâb, and the overbearing haughty conduct of the tribe which had the upper hand is preserved in many a depreciatory proverb. For instance, he is represented in the following as very quarrelsome about land:—

Pîṛ vich Jaṭṭ na chheṛîye Don't cross a Jaṭṭ in his field:
Haṭṭî vich Kaṛáṛ Nor a Kaṛâṛ at his shop.
Paṭṭan Meûṅ na chheṛîye Nor a Meûṅ at the ferry.
Bhan degá buthâṛ They will break your head.

The following jingling rhymes are well known in the Doâb, and are by no means complimentary to the Jaṭṭ.

(*a*) *Jaṭṭ nachâve ṭurá, oh bhî burá,*
Báhman phaṛiá chhurá, oh bhî burá.
Sáwan chale purá, oh bhî burá.
Mîṅh kîtá ghurá, oh bhî burá, &c. &c.

A Jaṭṭ capering on a horse is a bad thing.
A Brâhman handling a knife is a bad thing.
The East wind in Sâwan is a bad thing.
Rain clouds closing in all round is a bad thing.

(*b*) *Jaṭṭ mohásal, Báhman sháh,*
Baniá ḥákim, qahir Khudá.

A Jaṭṭ as tax-gatherer, a Brâhman as money lender,
A Baniyâ as ruler, is the very wrath of God.

Jaṭṭ bigáṛe murshid nál.
Jad bole tad kaḍḍhe gál.

The Jaṭṭ falls out even with his priest.
Whenever he speaks he utters abuse. W.C.

BOOK NOTICE.

REPORT ON THE SEARCH FOR SANSKRIT MSS. in the Bombay Presidency, in the year 1882-1883. By Prof. R.G. BHÂṆḌÂRKAR, Bombay, 1884 (pp. 229).[1]

Professor R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar's *Report* for 1882-1883 is, like Dr. P. Peterson's publication on his operations during the same year (*Jour. Bo. Branch Roy. As. Soc.*, No. XLI.), a good deal more than an official document of ephemeral value. Like Dr. Peterson, Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has given us a summary of the most important historical and literary data, which a cursory examination of his numerous purchases, seven hundred and seventy-two MSS., revealed, and has added in Appendix II. such extracts from the originals as are required in order to substantiate his assertions. Both the summary and the extracts have been made in a scholarly manner, and the *Report* of 1882-83 will be an important help to every student who has to find his way through the tangled jungle of Sanskṛit literature.

Under the head *Vêdas* the most important acquisition is an old imperfect MS. of Uvaṭa's *Bháshya* on the Kâṇva recension of the White *Yajurvêda*, which definitively settles the author's date and shows that he wrote in the first half of the eleventh century A. D., during the reign of the famous king Bhôja of Dhâra. There are other MSS. of the *Bháshya*, *e. g.* the copy in the Elphinstone Collection of 1867-68, which state that Ânandapura was Uvaṭa's birth-place, and that in his time Bhôja ruled the earth. As there are many Ânandapuras in India, and as many Bhôjas have lived at different times in different parts of the country, it was impossible to assert where and when the work was composed. The newly found copy has an additional verse, which says

[1] Reprinted from the *Oesterreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.*

that Uvaṭa wrote in Avantî or Ujjain, while Bhôja ruled the country, and thus settles the chronological question. This discovery has already been published by Mr. S. P. Paṇḍit, in his paper on Sâyaṇa's commentary of the White *Yajurvêda*, which he sent to the sixth International Oriental Congress. But the honour of the find belongs, as Mr. Paṇḍit has stated, to Professor Bhâṇḍârkar.

Among the other Vedic MSS. the collection of 108 *Upanishads* (No. 487) is interesting. Such large collections are, as Professor Bhâṇḍârkar points out, rare. I remember only one MS. preserved in the library of the Bombay Asiatic Society, which I think contains more Upanishads than this.

The second class, *Vedâṅgas*, shows no important novelties, but is remarkable for a good collection of *Prayogas*, or, manuals for Vedic sacrifices used by the Vâjasaneyins, which will be serviceable to students of the difficult ritualistic questions. Class III. *Itihâsas* and *Purâṇas* is devoid of interest and contains too many *Mâhâtmyas* and similar works which are already sufficiently represented in the collections of earlier years.

Class IV. *Dharma*, on the other hand, offers a great many useful books and some really important finds. To the latter belong the rare *Manvarthachandrikâ* of Râghavânanda Sarasvatî, the *Mitâksharâ* of Saṁvat 1535, and the *Dharmaśâstras* of the Mâdhva sect. The first-named work, which I have used for the notes to my translation of Manu, has suffered very considerably, but it is the only accessible copy besides the Paris MS. which D'Anquetil brought from Gujarât. If the *Mitâksharâ*, as Professor Bhâṇḍârkar assumes, is really dated in the Vikrama era, it is only 23 years younger than the MS. of the Elphinstone College Collection of 1867-68 (Class VI. No. 9) which was written in Śakasaṁvat 1378 or 1456 A. D. With these two copies it ought to be possible to restore the text of the great lawbook, the editions of which do not seem to be very correct. The lawbooks of the Mâdhvas were hitherto unrepresented in the Bombay collection. Nearly all the works in Class V. which belong to the elegant literature, occur already in the older lists. Yet the copies of the rarer commentaries on the *Raghuvaṁśa* and the *Kirâtârjunîya*, as well as the *Pañchatantra*, dated Saṁvat 1534, are valuable acquisitions. The last MS. cannot, however, be "more than five hundred years old," but supposing that the date refers to the Vikrama era, only upwards of four hundred. I must, however, add that it is hazardous to assume, as Professor Bhâṇḍârkar seems to do throughout, that all dates preceded by the word "Saṁvat" belong to the era of 57 B. C. In common with other Sanskritists I too held this opinion for many years. But recent discoveries have shown that even the scribes of Gujarât and Râjputânâ, where the Vikrama era is universally used in every-day life, sometimes put Saṁvat instead of Śakasaṁvat. As instances I may point out the MS. of the *Mahâbhâshya* (Kielhorn, *Mah.* II. 3, p. 8), written at Iladurga (Idar) in Saṁvat 1513 and 1514, where the mention (in the colophon) of the victorious reign of the illustrious Nârâyaṇadâsa, the Rao Nâṛondâs of the *Âin-i-Akbarî*, shows that Śakasaṁvat 1513-1514 is meant, and the copy of Govindarâja's *Smṛitimañjarî* in the India Office library (No. 1736), dated Saṁvat 1467, which Colebrooke and the editors of the *Palaeographical Series* believed to correspond to 1410 A. D. In the colophon of the latter work the scribe states, however, that he wrote at Vasurâvî (Vasrâvî) during the reign of Mahârâṇâ Udayasiṁha. As Mahârâṇâ Udayasiṁha of Mêvâḍ came to the throne in 1541 A. D., it is not doubtful that Saṁvat 1467 refers to the Śaka era, and corresponds to 1545 A. D. Under these circumstances every "Saṁvat-date" requires verification. The best means for this purpose is a calculation of the days of the week which usually are given besides the days of the month, according to the two eras.

Among the works on grammar (Class VI.) there is another fragment of Îśvarânanda's commentary on the *Mahâbhâshya* (No. 184) which is interesting. The first piece was found in 1873-74 (No. 38). The remarks (p. 11) on the *Anekârthadhvanimañjarî* of Mahâkshapaṇaka (Class VII. No. 199) might have been completed by a reference to my *Kaśmîr Report*, p. 76, and to the Kaśmîr MS., No. 329 of 1876-77. It would thereby have become evident that the work really belongs to the *Kâśmîraka âmnâya*.

Of undeniable importance are the numerous acquisitions in Class X. *Vedânta*, especially those embodying the teaching of Madhva-Ânandatîrtha and of Nimbârka. The collections of earlier years contained, with the exception of the *Madhvavijaya* (Elphinstone Collection of 1867-68, Class XII. No. 6), nothing worth speaking of that could throw light on these two modern, but important sects. Professor Bhâṇḍârkar has now done a great deal towards filling up this lacuna. He has, moreover, given in Appendix II. p. 202-6. a carefully prepared list of the spiritual heads of the Mâdhvas, together with apparently trustworthy dates, and an extract from the *Hariguru-stavamâlâ*, which enumerates the successors of Nimbârka. These new lists allow us to correct many errors in Professor H. H. Wilson's Essay on the *Religious Sects of India*, where, *inter alia*, the year after Madhva's death is given as

the date of his birth. In his remarks on the age of Śaṁkarâchârya (p. 15) Professor Bhâṇḍârkar is less fortunate. It is certainly inadvisable to assail Śaṁkara's date, which is given most circumstantially by his own followers (Yajñeśvar Śâstrî's *Âryavidyâsudhâkara*, p. 226) on the strength of such evidence as that adduced from the *Saṁkshêpaśârîraka*. The statement, made there, that Śaṁkara's grand-pupil Sarvajñâtman wrote during the reign "of an illustrious king, the Âditya or sun of Manu's race, a Kshatriya whose orders were never disobeyed," forces us by no means to push Śaṁkara's date back from 788 A. D. to 680. Though Professor Bhâṇḍârkar is probably right in thinking that "the sun of the race of Manu" was a Châlukya prince, it does not follow that his name must have been Âditya or have ended in Âditya, nor that he must have belonged to the earlier Châlukya dynasty, which was overthrown by the Râṭhors in the eighth century, For in the Indian inscriptions many a prince is called "the sun of his race," though his name is very different (see *e. g.* the case of Mûlarâja I of Aṇhilvâḍ, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. VI. p. 199, 201, 203, &c.) As regards the second point, it must be borne in mind that the Châlukyas who ruled, after Tailapa II. had restored the fortune of the family in the tenth century, likewise derived their descent from Manu (Fleet, *Southern Dynasties*, p. 17, note 2). As far as I can see, the note in the *Saṁkshepaśârîraka* is worthless for historical purposes.

In the next Classes, XI.—XIV., *Nyâya* and *Vaiśeshika*, *Jyotisha*, Medicine, and *Tantras*, there is nothing of special interest. The more important works acquired were already represented in the older collections, while the new additions are mostly unimportant. But Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's remarks and extracts furnish a considerable number of very valuable data for the history of those sciences during the middle ages. He fixes the dates of a good many writers who, though themselves unimportant, are quoted by and quote greater men whose times are uncertain.

In Class XV., Art and Architecture, the copies of the *Râjavallabhamaṇḍana* and of the *Vâstumaṇḍana*, manuals for stone-masons and architects composed in the first half of the 15th century are of value. An edition and translation of these works, for which also the MSS. in the Elphinstone College Collection of 1867-68 (Class IX., Nos. 1—3) are available, could be easily prepared with the assistance of an intelligent Silêṭâ of Northern Gujarât or Râjputânâ. During my tour in 1873-4 I met several men of this caste who could recite the *Râjavallabha* and explain it. The translation would be important for the officers of the Archæological Survey. Of still greater interest is the letter-writer entitled *Lêkhapañchâśikâ* (Class XVI. No. 410), which gives fifty model forms for letters and deeds, including a land-grant and a state-treaty. Though the Bombay collections of former years contain several treatises of this description, there is none among them which gives forms for official documents, like that discovered by Professor Bhâṇḍârkar. Its importance lies partly therein, that it shows to us how the clerks of the Indian kings managed to draw up the deeds which we find engraved on copper. It is now evident that model forms, like those given in the *Pañchâśikâ*, were the sources on which they drew. Moreover the two documents furnish, as Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar has pointed out, interesting details from the history of Gujarât. The land-grant which is represented as recording a donation made in Vikramasaṁvat 1288 by Râṇâ Lâvaṇyaprasâda, *i. e.* Lavaṇaprasâda, the father of Vîradhavala of Dhôlkâ, while Bhîmadeva II. ruled at Aṇhilvâḍ, confirms the statements of the chroniclers regarding the relation between the last of the Chaulukyas and the Vâghêlâs. The treaty of peace which purports to have been concluded in the same year between the same Râṇâ and Mahârâjâ Siṁghaṇa, in all probability explains, as Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar thinks, how the chief of Dhôlkâ got out of the difficulty mentioned in Sômeśvara's *Kîrttikaumudî*. It would have been well, if the dreadfully corrupt text of the land-grant had been corrected with the help of the Chaulukya land-grants, published in the *Indian Antiquary*. It is interesting to note that the treaty of peace shows in *rahaṇîyam* (App. II. p. 225, l. 4) a Sanskritised Gujarâtî word *rahevuṁ* instead of the correct Sanskrit *sthâtavyam*.

The collection of Jaina books (Class XVII.) contains a number of MSS. of works already well represented in the earlier Bombay collections, which, I fear, will be useless. But it includes also various new books of importance, such as the *Bhôjaprabandha* of Merutuṅga and Sumati's lives of the Yugapradhânas, from which Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar has extracted much useful literary information. The conclusion of the Report gives a short review of the whole collection of MSS. deposited in the Dakhan College, which shows also the number of works lent to various scholars in India, Europe, and America. It is a matter of great satisfaction to see that the splendid collection is well cared for, and that, owing to the wise liberality of the Director of Public Instruction and of its immediate custodian, it continues to render important services to Sanskrit philology.

G. BÜHLER.

THE LEGENDS ON THE SILVER COINS OF THE EARLY GUPTAS AND OTHERS CONNECTED WITH THEM.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

THE study of the gold coins of the Early Guptas has recently been much advanced by Mr. V. A. Smith, B.C.S., in his exhaustive paper in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. LIII. Part I. p. 119ff.

The silver coins, however, so far as the legends on them are concerned, still remain to be disposed of. The present readings of the legends, as given by Mr. Thomas in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 59ff., and by General Cunningham in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 21ff., are not quite perfect. And, approximately correct as they are, and good as are the plates that accompany them, it was impossible to complete them with certainty from those plates.

Recently, however, I have had the opportunity of examining the original coins in General Cunningham's collection. And I am, thus, now able to give correct and complete readings of the legends on them.

There is, in the first place, a point to be noticed, which, as far as I can see, has hitherto escaped attention. It is, that there are two distinct methods of writing the legends. In one set of legends, which I shall call *Class A.*, though the lower vowels are always expressed, such vowels as, if engraved, would fall on or above the top line of writing, are uniformly omitted.[1] In the other set of legends, which I shall call *Class B.*, these upper vowels are always duly inserted. The legends of *Class A.* are always coupled in the Early Gupta coins with the ruder representation of the peacock on the reverse, with outstretched wings, but without expanded tail. The legends of *Class B.*, on the other hand, are always coupled in the same coins with the far more finished representation of the peacock on the reverse, which shows, in addition to the outstretched wings, the tail, fully expanded behind, and very well depicted.

Chandragupta II.

Class A.

I.—One coin examined. Reverse,—rude peacock, with outstretched wings. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 23, and Pl. v. No. 1.)

The marginal legend, commencing above the head of the peacock, is:[2]—

Śra-Guptaku(?)la(?)[sya maharajadharaja-
ś*]r[a-Chandra*]gupta-Vakramaṅkasya,

which represents—

Śrî-Guptaku(?)la(?)sya(?) mahârâjâdhirâja-
śrî-Chandragupta-Vikramâṅkasya;—

"Of the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the glorious Chandragupta-Vikramâṅka, who belongs to the glorious family of the Guptas."

The fourth and fifth syllables, *kula*, are doubtful; and the *sya*, which is supplied after them, depends of course upon the acceptance of them. The *vakramaṅkasya* at the end is very distinct; and, as 'Vikramâṅka' is constantly used as a synonym for 'Vikrama' and 'Vikramâditya,' both of which names are known from the gold coins to have belonged to Chandragupta II., we need not hesitate about supplying *chandra* before *gupta*. The remaining letters, here as in other places, are supplied from the legends of other coins, and according to the space that requires to be filled up. And, in fact, the letters *raja-ś* and *a-chandra* are supplied by the similar coin, the legend of which is represented by Sir E. Clive Bayley in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 57*b*.[3]

II.—Three coins examined. Reverse,—rude peacock, with outstretched wings. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 23f. and Pl. v. Nos. 2 and 3.)

The marginal legend, commencing opposite the left wing of the peacock, is—

Paramabhagavata-maharajadharaja-śra-
Chandragupta-Vakramadatya,

which represents—

[1] The same is also the rule with the silver coins of the Kshatrapas; and it is this that has led to the reading of *saha* or *sâha*, instead of *siṁha*, as the termination of some of their names.—Even some of the gold coins of the early Guptas have the legends written in the same imperfect way; but the instances available are not numerous enough to render a classification practicable yet.

[2] The asterisks attached to letters in square brackets, denote letters which fall beyond the edges of the coins examined.

[3] In all probability the legend given in *id.* p. 57*a* is from another specimen of the same coin, and has *vakramaṅkasya*, not *vakramarkasya* for *vikramârkasya*, at the end. The original coin, however, requires to be examined.

Paramabhâgavata-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-
Chandragupta-Vikramâditya ;—
"The most devout worshipper of the holy one, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the glorious Chandragupta-Vikramâditya.

On one specimen, the syllables *chandra* are perfectly formed and are very distinct. In the remaining two specimens, the *dra* is so cramped, that it might easily be mistaken for *kra*. But the preceding syllable is an indisputable *cha*, not a *va* ; so that, though we might, if possessed of no other guide, read *chakra*, we cannot possibly read *vakra (bakra)*. The same remarks apply to Mr. Newton's coin, figured by Mr. Thomas in *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 63, No. XII.* ; the correct reading is *chandra*, not *bakra* as given by him ;—and also to Sir E. Clive Bayley's coin, described in *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 57*b*, where even the lithograph, as given, suffices to shew that the first syllable of the name is *cha*, not *ba*. Vakragupta or Bakragupta may certainly be discarded as a purely imaginative person.

Two of the specimens examined shew, on the obverse, in front of the king's face, some marks, lying partly beyond the edge, which may perhaps be completed into the numerical symbols for 80 and 4, or 90 and 4,—or may perhaps be only remnants of what Mr Thomas[4] considers to be a legend, in barbarous Greek characters, constituting a corrupt rendering of the standard Scythian legend of PAO NANO PAO,—or may perhaps be parts of a marginal pattern round the edge of the coin.

Sir E. Clive Bayley reads on his coin, on the obverse, behind the king's head, *va* (for *varshê*) *90*. This, however, is so purely a Kshatrapa method of expressing the date, that there can be no doubt that what he reads as *va*, is a numerical symbol, either 4 or 5, below the 90.

Class B.—Nil.

KUMARAGUPTA.

Class A.

I.—Twenty-four specimens examined. Reverse,—rude peacock, with outstretched wings. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Pl. v. Nos. 4 and 5.)

The marginal legend, commencing opposite the left wing of the peacock, is—

Paramabhagavata-rajadharaja-śra-Kumara-
gupta-Mahandradatya,

which represents—

Paramabhâgavata-râjâdhirâja-śrî-Kumâra-
gupta-Mahêndrâditya ;—

"The most devout worshipper of the holy one, the supreme king of *Râjâs*, the glorious Kumâragupta-Mahêndrâditya."

II.—Four coins examined. Reverse,—rude peacock, with outstretched wings. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Pl. v. Nos. 4 and 5.)

The marginal legend, commencing opposite the left wing of the peacock, is—

Paramabhagavata-maharajadharaja-śra-
Kumaragupta-Mahandradatya,

which represents—

Paramabhâgavata-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-
Kumâragupta-Mahêndrâditya ;—

"The most devout worshipper of the holy one, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the glorious Kumâragupta-Mahêndrâditya."

This legend differs from the preceding one, only in giving the fuller title of *mahârâjâdhirâja*, instead of *râjâdhirâja*.

Class B.

Nine coins examined. Reverse,—finished peacock, with outstretched wings and expanded tail. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Pl. v. Nos. 6 and 7.)

The marginal legend, commencing above the head of the peacock, is—

Vijit-âvanir=avanipati[5]-Kumâraguptô
dêvaṁ[6] jayati ;—

"Victorious is his majesty,[7] the lord of the earth, Kumâragupta, who has conquered the earth."

SKANDAGUPTA.

Class A.

I.—One coin examined. Reverse,—rude peacock, with outstretched wings. (See *Archæol.*

[4] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 60.

[5] We may either accept this reading as it stands, and take *avanipati* as part of a compound,—or, on the analogy of *avanipatir=jayati* on the coin *Class B.* III. of Skandagupta, insert a *visarga* (which is always liable to be omitted before gutturals and sibilants), and read *avanipatiḥ* as a separate word.

[6] Read *dêvô*.—Gen. Cunningham reads *dêva-janita*, 'his majesty' (but properly 'begotten by the gods'), here, and in the same legend on the coins of Skandagupta, Bhîmasêna, Tôramâṇa, and Îśânavarman. So also does Mr. Thomas, on the coin of Tôramâṇa. And they both make these words the commencement of the legend. But the correct reading is *dêvô jayati*, with sometimes *dêvaṁ* and *dêva* for *dêvô* ; and the words are the conclusion of the legend.

[7] *Dêva.*

Surv. Ind. Vol. IX. p. 25, and Pl. v. No. 11.)

The marginal legend, commencing a little to the proper left below the peacock, is—

Paramabhagavata-marajadha[8]-śra-Skanda-gupta-Kramadatya,

which represents,—

Paramabhâgavata-mahârâjâdhirâja-śrî-Skandagupta-Kramâditya;—

"The most devout worshipper of the holy one, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the glorious Skandagupta-Kramâditya."

II.—One coin examined. Reverse,—the *chaitya* symbol. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 24, and Pl. v. No. 8.)

The marginal legend, commencing above the top of the *chaitya*, is perhaps—

Maharaja-Ku(?)ma(?)ra(?)-putra-paramama-(?)ha(?)da(?)tya(?)-maharaja-Ska(?)n(?)-[da*],

which represents—

MahârâjaKumâraputra-paramamâhâditya-mahârâja-Skanda;—

"The most devout worshipper of the great Sun, the *Mahârâja* Skanda, the son of the *Mahârâja* Kumâra.

The legend, however, is very crowded and difficult to read; and the letters marked with queries are extremely doubtful. The omission of the *gupta* after Kumâra and Skanda is peculiar; and still more so is the minor title of *Mahârâja*, instead of the paramount title of *Mahârâjâdhirâja*. And the *chaitya* is an exceptional symbol for a Gupta coin.

Class B.

I.—Two coins examined. Reverse,—finished peacock, with outstretched wings and expanded tail.

The marginal legend, commencing over the the head of the peacock, is—

Vijit-âvanir=avanipati[9]-śrî-Skandaguptô dêvaṁ[10] jayati;—

"Victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, the glorious Skandagupta, who has conquered the earth."

II.—One coin examined. Reverse,—finished peacock, with outstretched wings and expanded tail.

The marginal legend, commencing above the head of the peacock, is—

Vijit[11]-âvanir=avanipati[12]-śrî-Skandaguptô dêvô jayati;—

"Victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, the glorious Skandagupta, who has conquered the earth."

General Cunningham has been somewhat inclined to attribute this coin to Dâmôdaragupta, reading *Dâmôdara* where I read *Skanda.* The letters here are a good deal damaged, but must, I think, be read as I read them. Also, there is not room enough between *śrî* and *guptô* for four letters, *Dâmôdara*,—or even for three, *Kumâra*. And the letters are of exactly the same type as those of the silver coins of Chandragupta II., Kumâragupta, Skandagupta, and Budhagupta, and are decidedly too early for the time of Dâmôdaragupta.

III.—Twelve coins examined. Reverse,—finished peacock, with outstretched wings and expanded tail. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 25, Pl. v. Nos. 9 and 10.)

The marginal legend, commencing over the head of the peacock, is—

Vijit-âvanir=avanipatir=jayati dêva[13] Skandaguptô=yaṁ;—

"Victorious is his majesty, this same Skandagupta, who has conquered the earth, (*and*) who is the lord of the earth."

Of these coins, five have very clear dates on the obverse, in front of the king's face. Two coins have the symbols for 100 and 40 and 4; one has the symbols for 100 and 40 and 5; one has the symbols for 40 and 8, the symbol for 100 in this case falling beyond the coin; and one has the symbols for 100 and 40, and the upper part of another symbol which may be completed into either 7 or 9.

BUDHAGUPTA.

Class A.—Nil.

Class B.

Two coins examined, and casts of three others. Reverse,—finished peacock with outstretched wings and expanded tail. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 25, and Pl. v. No. 13.)

The marginal legend, commencing above the head of the peacock, is—

Vijit-âvanir=avani-pat[i*][14]-śr[î*]-Budhaguptô dêvô jayati;—

[8] Read *maharajadharaja.*

[9] See note 5 above.

[10] Read *dêvô.*

[11] In this coin, all the upper vowels, except the *ô* of *dêvô*, fall beyond the edge.

[12] See note 5 above.

[13] Read *dêvah.*

[14] See note 5 above.

"Victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, the glorious Budhagupta, who has conquered the earth."

The coin figured by General Cunningham has very distinctly on the obverse, in front of the king's face, the numerical symbols for 100 and 70 and 5. The other coin may have the symbol for 80, but it is very uncertain; and the other one or two symbols are illegible. The casts do not establish any dates.

KRISHNARAJA.

Class A.

Two coins examined. Reverse,—a bull, recumbent to the proper left. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 29, and Pl. v. Nos. 26, 27, and 28. Also see *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XII. p. 213f. and Plate.)

The marginal legend, commencing above the bull's hump, is—

Paramamahaśvara-matapatṛipadanudhyata-śra-Kṛishṇaraja,

which represents—

Paramamâhêśvara-mâtâpitṛipâdânudhyâta-śrî-Kṛishṇarâja;—

"The glorious Kṛishṇarâja, who is a devout worshipper of (*the god*) Mahêśvara, (*and*) who meditates on the feet of (*his*) parents."

Class B.—Nil.

ISANAVARMAN.

Class A.—Nil.

Class B.

Two coins examined. Reverse,—finished peacock, with outstretched wings and expanded tail. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 27, and Pl. v. Nos. 20, 21, and 22.) On the dated coin, the head and neck of the peacock are turned to the proper right, as in the early Gupta coins; on the coin without a date, they are turned to the proper left.

The marginal legend, commencing above the peacock's head, is—

Vijit-âvan[i*]r=avan[i*]-pati[15]-śr-Îśânavarmâ dêva[16] jayati;—

"Victorious is his majesty, the lord of the earth, the glorious Îśânavarman, who has conquered the earth."

On the obverse of the coin figured by General Cunningham as No. 22, in front of the king's face, there are two marks which may perhaps be the numerical symbols for 40, 60, or 70, and 5. But they are very imperfect and doubtful.

[15] See note 5 above. [16] Read *dêvô*.

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE YADAVA KING KRISHNA.

BY K. B. PATHAK, B.A.; MIRAJ.

This inscription is from some copper-plates which were found in 1882 in the possession of Ṭippaṇṇa Bin Sômaṇṇa Têli, of Beṇḍigêri or Beṇḍigere, about eleven miles south-east from Belgaum. The owner of the plates stated that they had been lying in his house for two or three generations, and that he does not know how and where they were first found.

The plates are three in number; but only the first two are inscribed,—the third being intended to serve as a guard for the writing on the outside of the second plate. They are each about 1′ 4¾″ high by 10¾″ broad. The edges of them were raised into rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is well preserved and legible throughout. The ring, on which the plates were strung, had not been cut when the grant came into Mr. Fleet's hands; it is about ½″ thick and 4″ in diameter. The seal on the ring is circular, about 3″ in diameter; the principal emblem on it, in relief on a countersunk surface, is Garuḍa, kneeling and facing full-front, and holding a bow in his left hand; over his left shoulder is the moon; and the sun, very small and indistinct, is cut over his right hand, which is raised above his shoulder. The three plates weigh 581 tolas, and the ring and seal 65½ tolas; total, 646½ tolas. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is Sanskṛit; except in l. 118-19 where Kanarese is used, and except in the case of a few Kanarese genitives which occur as surnames.

The grant is of the time of Kṛishṇa,—or, as he is here called, Kanhara,—of the Yâdava dynasty of Dêvagiri. It is dated in Śaka 1170 for 1171 (A.D. 1249-50), the Saumya *saṁvatsara*,[1] on Guruvâra or Thursday, the

[1] By the Tables in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology*, Śaka 1170 was the Kîlaka *saṁvatsara*, and the Saumya *saṁvatsara* was Śaka 1171.

twelfth day of the bright fortnight of the month Śrâvaṇa. And the chief object of it is to record that Mallisetṭi, the minister of Kṛishṇa, bestowed the village of Tâmbrapurî, in the district of Vêṇugrâma or Belgaum, upon a number of Brâhmaṇs,—and that Chauṇḍisetṭi, the son of Mallisetṭi, obtained the king's sanction to the grant, and presented the copper-plate charter recording it.

TRANSCRIPTION.[2]

First plate.

[1] Ôṁ namaḥ Śivâya || Śrî-Gaṇâdhipatayê

[2] namaḥ || Pâyâd=âdyaḥ sa vaḥ pôtrî yad-daṁshṭrâ-pratibiṁbitâ | agâ-

[3] d=iva dhṛitâ dhâtrî harshâd=[d*]viguṇa-pushṭatâṁ || Asti svasty-ayanô râjâ Siṁhaṇô Yadu-vaṁśa-jaḥ

[4] yasya kîrttis=tribhuvanê prathitâ Hari-kîrtti-vat || Pratyarthi-kshitipâla-mauli-makuṭa-vra(pra)tyupta-mu-

[5] ktâphala-prâṁta-prôllasad-aṁghri-vârija-yugaḥ śrî-Siṁhaṇaḥ kshôṇipaḥ | âśâ-viśṛi(śru)ta-śuddha-Yâdava-

[6] kula-spashṭô=vati kshmâtalaṁ pârâvâra-su-mêkhalaṁ suta-varaḥ śûrô=jayaj=Jaitugiḥ || Yô râjâ

[7] Jaitugir=nâma Siṁhaṇ-âkhyân=nṛipât=tataḥ | janitô Yadu-vaṁś-âvdhô(bdhau) payôdhâv=iva chaṁdramâḥ ||

[8] Tasya putrô mahâ-têjâḥ śrî-Kanhâra iti śrutaḥ | yad-âjñâṁ śirasâ dhṛitvâ bhavaṁti sukhinô

[9] nṛipâḥ || Jayati jagati râjâ sarva-bhûpâla-mauli-prathita-parama-ratna-prôllasat-pâda-padmaḥ |

[10] Yadu-kula-chira-lîlê Vâsudêvê janânâṁ nayana-kamala-sûryaḥ prîtimân=Kanhar-âkhyaḥ || Yad-vaksha-

[11] si sthitâ Lakshmîr=yad-bhujê vijay-âṁganâ | yad-[d*]rishṭau karuṇâ nityaṁ dadâm=îti vachasy=api || Yad-yâ-

[12] trâyâṁ nṛipâḥ sarvê tatra tatra sthitâ diśi | bâlair=aṁtaḥpurair=bhîtyâ kshêpayaṁty=aṁjasâ baliṁ ||

[13] Tasy=ânyaḥ[3]kshitipâla-mauli-makuṭa-pratyupta-ratnaiś=chiraṁ nîrâjach-charaṇ-âraviṁda-yugalaḥ śêshasya pṛi-

[14] thvîpatêḥ | śûrô=mâtya-dhuri sthitô vijayatê Bîch-âgrajaḥ saṁtataṁ Mall-âkhyaḥ kila Chikkadêva-

[15] tanayaḥ prakhyâta-kîrttir=bhuvi || Tasya putrô mahâmâtyaś=Chau[ṁ*]ḍisetṭir=mahâ-yaśâḥ | yô jihvâ pṛi-

[16] thivîśasya yô râjñô dakshiṇô bhujaḥ || Yaś=Chau[ṁ*]ḍisetṭiḥ prathita-pratâpaḥ sarvâsu diksh=ûrjjita-pu-

[17] ṇya-kîrttiḥ | śrî-Sômanâth-âṁghri-yug-âtma-natyâ pravardhit-âśêsha-vibhûti-ramyaḥ || Diśô ji-

[18] gîshaṁ tam=avêkshya sarvê dvishaṁta ênaṁ tv=atha Chau[ṁ*]ḍisetṭiṁ valmîkam=âruhya tṛiṇaṁ charaṁti gṛiṇha(hṇa)ṁti

[19] nîvîm=api karṇṇapatraṁ || Yad-rûpa-sauṁdarya-guṇa-pralubdhâ Ratiḥ samâsâdya punaḥ patiṁ. sâ ||(I)

[20] vismṛitya ch=Ânaṁga-sukhaṁ pravṛiddha-sukhêna vikrîḍati lavdha(bdha)-harshâ ||
Praśâsty=arîn=yaḥ pragṛihîta-

[21] châpô dadâti ch=ârthân=kṛipayâ dvijêbhyaḥ | Chavuṁḍaset[ṭ*]y-âkhya-vu(bu)dhâya dadyât=tasmai chir-âyur=bhu-

[22] vi Sômanâthaḥ || Chha || Svasti śrî-Śaka-saṁvatsarasya śat-âdhika-sahasr-aik-âdhika-saptatyâś=ch=â-

[2] From the original plates; revised by Mr. Fleet.

[3] Read *ânya.*

[23] naṁtarê Saumyê=bdê Śrâvaṇê mâsi sita-pakshê dvâdaśyâṁ Guruvârê Śrî-Kaṁnhara[4]dêvasya mahârâ-
[24] jasya Bîch-âgrajô Mallisetṭ[ṭ*]y-âkhyô mahâmâtyaḥ kaṭaka-yâtrâyâṁ Bhîmarathyâṁ Pauṁḍarî-
[25] ka-kshêtrê śrî-Vishṇu-saṁnidhau Vêṇugrâma-dêśa-sthâṁ Tâṁbrapurîṁ daś-âdhika-śata-vṛittîḥ prakalpya ashṭabhô-
[26] ga-samasra(sta)-têjaḥ-sahitâ[ṁ*] sarva-namasyâṁ prasiddha-chatu[ḥ*]-sîmâ-mudritâṁ śrî-Kanharadêvasya râjñô
[27] râjy-âbhyuday-ârthaṁ nânâ-gôtrêbhyô vrâ(brâ)hmaṇêbhyaḥ sadakshiṇaṁ dhârâ-pûrvakaṁ pradattavân [||*] Tasya
[28] putrô mahâmâtyaś=Chau[ṁ*]ḍiseṭṭiḥ râjñaḥ samîpaṁ gatvâ pituḥ sarv-âdhipatyaṁ râjñô labdhvâ Vêṇugrâma-
[29] dêśa-sthâ Taṁbrapurî mama pitrâ brâhmaṇêbhyô datt=êti tasya râjñô nivêdayitvâ têna râjñâ ma-
[30] y=aiva datt=êti labdh-âbhyanujñaḥ têbhyô brâhmaṇêbhyaḥ ashṭabhôga-têjaḥ-samanvitaṁ sarva-namasyaṁ
[31] tâvrā(mra)-śâsanaṁ Chau[ṁ*]ḍiseṭṭiḥ dâpayitvâ pitur=dharmam=â-chaṁdr-ârkaṁ susthiraṁ kṛitavân || Chha || Tasmai sarva-
[32] taḥ svasty=astu || Chha || Tataḥ tasyâḥ Tâ[ṁ*]brapuryâḥ pratigra(gṛi)hîtṛîṇâṁ brâhmaṇânaṁ gôtra-guṇa-nâmâni
[33] kramêṇa likhyaṁtê || Chha || Svasti || Chha || Vasishṭhagôtrîya-Lakshmîdharabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Nârâ-
[34] yaṇabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Tasya putraḥ Lakshmîdharakramitaḥ || Vasishṭhagôtrîya-Vâmanakramita-su-
[35] ta-Nârâyaṇabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Âtrêyagôtrîya-Ru(ṛi)garthada-Duggaṇabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Kri(kṛi)-
[36] shṇabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Tasya putraḥ Duggaṇabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-Kâvadêvapa-
[37] ṭṭavarṭṭa(rddha)na-suta-Râmêśvarapaṭṭava[r*]ddhanaḥ || Agastyagôtrîya-âchârya-Kêśavabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-
[38] daśagraṁthi-Mâdhavabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Vêdârtha-Nâraṇabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Âtrê-
[39] yagôtrîya-Brahmadêvapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Nârâyaṇapaṭṭavadda(rddha)naḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Śrîdharapaṭṭa-
[40] vardda(rddha)naḥ || Jâmadagnyâ(gnya) Vatsagôtrîya-Jakkadêvabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Śrîdharabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Kâ-
[41] śyapagôtrîya-Śrîdharabhaṭṭôpâdhyêya-suta-śrî-Bhâgavata-Kalidêvabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Âtrêya-
[42] gôtrîya-Nârâyaṇakramita-suta-Adhvari-Basavaṇabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-
[43] Nârada(?)-suta-Kâmadêvaghaisaḥ || Vasishṭhagâ(gô)trîya-Bhâskara-suta-Râmadêvaghaisaḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-

Second plate; first side.

[44] Brahmadêvakramita-suta-Sômêśvarak[r*]amitaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-La-
[45] kshmîdharabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Śô(Sô)mêśvarabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Bhâradvâjagô-
[46] trîya-Vâmadêvapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Vishṇupaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Bhârgavagôtrîya-
[47] Mêdhâvi-Ghalisâsa-suta-Gôpâlapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Utra(tta)ma-kramitaḥ
[48] || Tasya sutaḥ Viśvanâtha-Ghai(gha?)lisâsaḥ | Vasitha(shṭha)gôtrîya-Dêvaṇa-paṭṭavarddhana-suta-Śaṁkarâ-
[49] châryaḥ || Tasya sutaḥ Chauḍarâyapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Vasishṭhagôtrîya-Jaita-śaṁrma[5]pâṭhaka-suta-Ravaladêvapâ-

[4] Read *Kanhara*.

[5] Read *śarma*.

[50] ṭhakaḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Kêśavapâṭhakaḥ || Bhârgavagôtrîya-Dâmôdaradvê(duvê)di-suta-Śivaharipâṭhakaḥ || Tasya

[51] bhrâtâ Sarvêśvaradvê(duvê)di(dî) || Vasishṭhagôtriyaḥ Dêvaduvê[di*]-suta-Lakshmîdharapâṭhakaḥ || Pârâśaragôtrîya-Śâm-

[52] tisu(śu)kla-suta-Gajâdharapâṭhakaḥ || Vatsagôtrîya-Dêvaśarmaśukla-suta-Narasiṁha-pâṭhakaḥ || Bhârgavagô-

[53] trîya-Kîrttivâsapâṭhaka-suta-Nâgadêvapâṭhakaḥ || Gargagôtrîya-Dêvaśarmapâṭhaka-suta-Asa-

[54] dharapâṭhakaḥ || Ârshṭi(rshṭi)kagôtrîya-Âmadêva-upâdhyâya-suta-Dâmôdara-upâdhyâyaḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ

[55] Âsu(ô)pâdhyâyaḥ || Kâpishṭha[la*]gôtrîya-Châgadêvapâṭhaka-suta-Dâmôdarapâṭhakaḥ || Dêvarâ-

[56] tagôtrîya-Sâraṁgadîkshita-suta-Vâsu(sû)pâdhyâyaḥ || Vatsagôtrîya-Mahêśvarapâṭhaka-suta-Mahêśa-

[57] rmapâṭhakaḥ || Gârgyagôtrîya-Vâk*u*pâṭhaka-suta-Sôḍhaṇapâṭhakaḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-Atridêvapaṁ-

[58] ḍita-suta-Vaijanâthapaṁḍitaḥ || Kô(kau)śikagôtriya-Prabhâkaratrivâḍi-suta-Dâmôdara-trivâḍiḥ || Kauṁ-

[59] ḍinyagôtrîya-Vâk*u*dvê(duvê)di-suta-Jagadharadvê(duvê)diḥ || Kauśikagôtrîya-Madanâitapâṭhaka-suta-Râmadêvapâ-

[60] ṭhakaḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-Trilôchana-suta-Vijai(jaya)śarmapâṭhakaḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Kshêmadharapâṭhakaḥ || Śâṁ-

[61] ḍilya-gôtrîya-Hariharatṛi(tri)vâḍi-suta-Mahaśaṁrma[6]tṛi(tri)vâḍiḥ || Kauṁśika[7]gôtrîya-Uttamapaṁdita-su-

[62] ta-Khêyidêvapaṁḍitaḥ || Gargagôtrîya-Asadharapâṭhaka-suta-Sâvalapâṭhakaḥ || Maud*u*-galyagô-

[63] trîya-Nârâyaṇa-upâdhyâya-suta-Basavaṇa-upâdhyâyâḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-Ganaganûra-Mai-

[64] lârasvâmigala(la)[9] suta Îśvarasvâmiḥ || Viśvâmitragôtrîya-Sarvajña-Sarasvati(tî)bhaṁ-ḍârada[10]-Dêvaṇabha-

[65] ṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Sarvajña-Vaijanâthabhaṭṭôpâdyâyaḥ || Âtrêyagôtrîya-Nâgadêva-suta-Vôpadê-

[66] va-upâdhyâyaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-Têjôpâdhyâya-suta-Lakshmîdhara-upâdhyâyaḥ || Garga-gôtrîya-

[67] Vra(bra)hmadêvapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Sômanâthapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Tri-vikramabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Bhâ-

[68] radvâjagôtrîya-Malidêvapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Bhâskarabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Kalidêvapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ [||*]

[69] Vishṇuvṛiddhagôtrîya-Taṁtrama[ṁ*] trâchârya-Vâmadêvabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Narasiṁha-bhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Viśvâmi-

[70] tragôtrîya-Sômêśvarapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Śaṁkarâghalisaḥ || Vishṇuvṛiddha-gôtrîya-Śrî-dharapaṭṭavarddhana-

[71] suta-Mâdhavaparṭṭa(ṭṭa)varddhanaḥ || Kapigôtrîya-Mâdhavapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Śrîdhara-paṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrî-

[72] ya-Kalidêvaghalisa-suta-Vishṇupaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-Kêśavapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Svâmi-

[73] dêvaghalisâsaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-Nâraṇabhaṭṭana[11] suta Dêvaṇaghailisaḥ || Bhâradvâja-gôtrîya-

[74] Mahadêvapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Malidêvaghai(gha?)lisâsaḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Dêvaṇa-ghaisâsaḥ || Bhâradvâjagô-

[6] Read *śarma*.

[7] Read *Kauśika*.

[9] to [14] These are Kanarese genitives.

[75] trîya-Râmadêvaghaisa-suta-Vishṇughaisâsaḥ || Vasishṭhagôtrîya-Âdityabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Vâra-
[76] ṇâśiya[12] Vishṇubhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Pârâśaragôtrîya-Vâraṇâśiya-[13]Nârâyaṇabhaṭṭ-ôpâdhyâya-su-
[77] ṭa-Viśvanâthakramitaḥ || Âtra(trê)yagôtrîya-Sarasvati(tî)-Padmanâbhabhaṭṭ-ôpâdhyâyaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-
[78] Draviḍa-Viśvanâthabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Kapigôtrîya-Dâmôdarabhaṭṭôpdhyâya-suta-Ravaladêvabha-
[79] ṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Kâśyapagôtri(trî)ya-Mâdhavapaṭṭavaddha(rddha)na-suta-Maṁchchyaṇ-u(ô)pâdhyâyaḥ || Viśvâ-
[80] mitragôtrîya-Vraṁ(Bra)hmajñânigala(ḷa)-[14]Vraṁ(bra)hmadêvabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Aṁ(a)-naṁtabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Hari-
[81] tagôtrîya-Gôviṁdapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Vâmanapaṭṭava[r*]ddhanaḥ || Haritagôtrîya-Vâmanapaṭṭava[r*]ddhana-
[82] suta-Goviṁdapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Tasya bhrâtâ Vâsudôvapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Bhâra-dvâjagôtrîya-Chaṁdrabha-
[83] ṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Prôlibhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-Vâsudêvabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Maha-
[84] dêvapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-Śrîdhara-suta-Îśvaraghalisaḥ || Śrî-Vatsa-gôtrîya-Mâyi-
[85] dêvaghalisâsa-suta-Gôviṁdaghalisâsaḥ || Śrî-Vatsagôtrîya-Divâkaraghalisâsa-su-
[86] ta-Nâgadêvaghalisâsaḥ || Vasishṭhagôtrîya-Baladôvaghaisa-suta-Malidê-
[87] vapaṭṭavardra(rddha)naḥ || Mô(Mau)naBhârgavagôtrîya-Nârâyaṇaghalisa-suta-Basava-ṇaghalisâ-
[88] saḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-Vêdârthada-[15]Rêchyapaṇa-suta-Mailârabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Gau-
[89] tamagôtrîya-Lakshmîdhara-suta-Vishṇubhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-Pra-
[90] saṁnna[16]Sarasvati(tî)-Śrîdharabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Vâsudêvabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ | (||) Âtrê-yagôtrîya-Vishṇubhaṭṭô-
[91] pâdhyâya-suta-Sâmavêdi-Hariharabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ | (||) Mâ(Mau)naBhârgavagôtrîya-Bhâ-

Second plate; second side.

[92] skarabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Vishṇupaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Bhâradvâja-gôtrî-
[93] ya-Kêśavabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Himada-Kalidêvapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Bhâradvâjagô-
[94] trîya-Narasiṁhapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Mâdhavapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Bhâradvâjagôtrî-
[95] ya-Nâgadêvapaṭṭavarddhana-suta-Saraśva(sva)ti(tî)-Nâgadêvapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Kâśyapagô-
[96] trîya-Vishṇubhaṭṭôpâdhyâya-suta-Malidêvabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Âtrêyagôtra-Kêśavapaṭṭa-
[97] varddhanasya bhrâtâ Madhusûdanapaṭṭavarddhanaḥ || Âtrêyagôtra-Varadêva-suta-Prauḍha-Sarasvatî[17]nâṁ
[98] vṛitti-dvayaṁ || Kâśyapagôtra-Vishṇuvê(dê)va || Vâmanabhaṭṭôpadhyâyaḥ || Kâśyapa-gôtra-Nâgadêva-
[99] Nâgadêva[18]bhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-Bonakama-Maṁchyaṇabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Vaśi(si)shṭha-
[100] gôtrîya-Sâmavêdi-Chadyaṇabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-Svayaṁpâki-Viśvanâtha-bha-
[101] ṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-Gôkâgeya-[19]Vêdârthada-[20]Nâgadêvabhaṭṭôpâdhyâyaḥ [||*]
[102] Mô(Mau)naBhârgavagôtrîya-Mêdhâvighaisa-suta-Uttamakramitaḥ || Kâśyapagôtrîya-Aṇṇi-

[15] This is the Kanarese genitive.
[16] Read *Prasanna*.
[17] The engraver first engraved *nt*, and then corrected it into *tî*.
[18] This name is repeated unnecessarily.
[19] to [21] These are Kanarese genitives.

[103] gerre(re)ya-[21]Vishnupattavarddhana || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-Rilhaśukla-suta-Śrî-Vipradâsa-Padmanâbhaśaṁrma[22]-

[104] upâdhyâyaḥ tasya vri(vṛi)tti-chatushṭayaṁ || Âtrêyagôtra-Sâmavêdi-Hariharabhaṭṭ-ôpâdhyâyaḥ [||*]

[105] Chha || Bhûmiṁ yaḥ pratigṛihṇâti yaś=cha dânaṁ prayachchhati | tâv=ubhau puṇya-karmmâṇau niya-

[106] tau svarga-gâminau || Api hasta-mitâṁ bhûmiṁ yô viprâya prayachchhati | shashṭiṁ rva(va)rsha-sa-

[107] hasrâṇi svargê lôkê mahîyate || Dâna-pâlanayôr=madhyê dânâch=chhrêyô=nupâ-

[108] lanaṁ | dânât=svargam=avâpnôti pâlanâd=achyutaṁ padaṁ || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô ha-

[109] rêta vasuṁdharâṁ | shashṭiṁ varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâ(shṭâ)yâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ || Gâm=êkâṁ

[110] ratnikâm=êkâ[ṁ*] bhûmô(mê)r=apy=êkam=aṁgulaṁ | haraṁ(n) narakam=âpnôti yâvad=â-bhûta-saṁplavaṁ || Sâmânyô=

[111] yaṁ dharma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô mahadbhiḥ | sarvân=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pârthivêṁdrân=bhûyô

[112] bhûyô yâchatê Râmachaṁdraḥ || Yô dêva-pûjâ-pragṛihîta-chittô yô vairi-pakshêshu gṛihîta-khaḍgaḥ ||(|)

[113] yô vrâ(brâ)hmaṇêshv=arpita-vitta-râśiḥ sa Chau[ṁ*]ḍiseṭṭir=bhavatâch=chir-âyuḥ || Bahubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ

[114] râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ pa(pha)laṁ || Śrîmach-Chau[ṁ*]-

[115] ḍîśvara-kṛita-dharmô=yaṁ sarva-dharmatô=bhyadhikaḥ ||(|) kalpa-sthâyî bhûyâd=bhûyâd=apy=êsha dîrgh-âyuḥ ||

[116] Chha || Śrî-Sômanâtha-srî-pâdapadm-ârâdhakaṁ(ḥ) śrî-Chau[ṁ*]ḍiseṭṭiḥ || Chha || Lêkhakaḥ jyôtisha-

[117] Basavaṇa-upâdhyâyaḥ || Chha || Śrî || Svasti Śrî || Maṁgala-mahâ-Śrî || Chha || Śrî || Chha ||

[118] Kâśyapagôtra-Maṁgalapaṁḍita-suta-Gôpalapaṁḍitanu mahâjanaṁ gali(li)ge

[119] naḍahaṁ vavêdya-vṛittiḥ da || Chha || Śrîḥ | Chha || Bhâradvâjagôtrîya-Himada-Nâgadêvapa-

[120] ṭṭavarddhanaḥ | Bhâradvâjagôtra-Vipradâsa-Padmanâbhabhaṭṭ ôpâdhyâya-suta-

[121] Sômanâthadêvasya vṛitti-dvayaṁ |(||) Chha || Śrî ||

TRANSLATION.

Ôṁ! Salutation to Śiva! Salutation to the glorious Gaṇapati! May that first boar[23] protect you, reflected on whose tusk the earth was supported, and, through joy, became, as it were, twice as large as before!

(L. 3.)—There was the prosperous king Siṁhaṇa, born in the race of Yadu, whose fame, like that of Hari, was celebrated through the three worlds. The glorious king Siṁhaṇa, whose lotus-like feet were made radiant by the pearls inlaid in the diadems of hostile kings, and who was conspicuous in the Yâdava race, pure and renowned in all the quarters, protected the earth which had a fine girdle in the shape of the ocean.

(L. 6.)—Victorious was Jaitugi, his brave and excellent son. The king called Jaitugi was born to the king named Siṁhaṇa in the Yâdava family, resembling an ocean, just as the moon was created in the ocean.

(L. 8.)—His very brilliant son is known as the glorious Kanhâra,[24] whose commands kings bear upon their heads and thus become happy. Victorious in the world is the king named Kanhara, whose lotus-like feet are made radiant by the famous choice jewels inlaid in the diadems of all kings; he is a sun to the lotus-like eyes of the people, and is full of affection for Vâsudêva, who disported himself for a long time in the family of Yadu. On his breast, there is the goddess of prosperity;

[22] Read *śarma*.

[23] Vishṇu, in his incarnation as a boar.

[24] *Conf.* 'Kaṇho,' a Prâkṛit form of 'Kṛishṇa.'

on his arm, there is the lady Victory; his glances are full of pity; and, in his mouth, there are always the words "I give." When he undertakes an expedition, all kings, remaining where they are through fear, cause offerings to be thrown quickly in various directions by their women and children.

(L. 13.)—Victorious is the valiant Malla, who stands at the head of the ministers of this eminent king; whose lotus-like feet have shone for a long time with jewels inlaid in the diadems of other kings; who is the son of Chikkadêva and the elder brother of Bîcha; and whose fame is celebrated in the world. His son is the great minister Chauṇḍiseṭṭi, whose fame is great, who is the tongue and the right arm of the king. Chauṇḍiseṭṭi, whose prowess is proclaimed in all the quarters, and whose merit and fame are exalted, is beautiful on account of all his prosperity being increased by the prostration of his body at the feet of the holy Sômanâtha. Finding that he is intent upon conquering the regions, all the enemies of this Chauṇḍiseṭṭi climb an ant-hill, chew grass,[25] wear a petticoat, and put on a *karṇapatra*.[26] Charmed with the graces of his person, Rati has found a husband again and disports herself, replete with joy and forgetful of the pleasure of love. May Sômanâtha grant a long life in this world to that wise man named Chauṇḍiseṭṭi, who, armed with the bow, chastises his enemies, and gives wealth to the twice-born through charity.

(L. 22.)—Hail! One thousand one hundred and seventy-one years of the Śaka era having elapsed, in the Saumya *saṁvatsara*, on Thursday the twelfth day of the bright half of the month of Śrâvaṇa, Malliseṭṭi, the elder brother of Bîcha, and the great minister of the great king the glorious Kanharadêva, during a warlike expedition, gave at Pauṇḍarîkakshêtra on the Bhîmarathî, in the presence of the god the holy Vishṇu, a village named Tâmbrapurî, situated in the district of Vêṇugrâma, and divided into a hundred and ten allotments, together with the eight enjoyments and with the well-known four boundaries marked out, as a *sarvanamasya*-grant to Brâhmaṇs of various *gôtras*, with libations of water and *dakshiṇâ*, for the prosperity of the reign of the king the glorious Kanharadêva. His son, the great minister Chauṇḍiseṭṭi, went to the king; received at his hands all the powers of his father; and said, "Tâmbrapurî, in the district of Vêṇugrâma, has been given to Brâhmaṇs by my father." Having obtained the king's sanction to the gift, Chauṇḍiseṭṭi caused a copper-charter, conferring the eight enjoyments, to be given as a *sarvanamasya* grant to those Brâhmaṇs, and made his father's grant permanent as long as the sun and the moon might endure. May there be prosperity to him in all respects!

(L. 32.)—The *gôtras*, the virtues, and the names of the Brâhmaṇs, who are the recipients of Tâmbrapurî, are now written in order.

[Lines 33 to 104 give the names, *gôtras*, and merits, of the persons to whom the grant was made. The *gôtras* mentioned are—Agastya, Ârshṭika, Âtrêya, Bharadvâja, Bhârgava, Dêvarâta, Garga, Gârgya, Gautama, Harita, Jâmadagnya-Vatsa, Kapi, Kâpishṭhala, Kâśyapa, Kauṇḍinya, Kauśika, Maudgalya, Mauna-Bhârgava, Pârâśara, Śâṇḍilya, Śrî-Vatsa, Vasishṭha, Vatsa, Vishṇuvriddha, and Viśvâmitra. The grantees included—*Âchâryas, Bhaṭṭas, Dîkshitas, Duvêdins, Ghalisas, Ghalisâsas, Ghailisas, Ghailisâsas, Ghaisas, Ghaisâsas, Kramitas, Paṇḍitas, Pâṭhakas, Paṭṭavardhanas, Svâmins,* and *Upâdhyâyas*. Some of them are qualified by the titles of Adhvari, Bhâgavata, Brahmajñânin, Daśagranthin, Ṛigarthada, Sâmavêdin, Svayampâkin, Trivâḍin, and Vêdârthada. And some of them have surnames taken from Aṇṇigere (in the Dhârwâḍ District), Gôkâge (the modern Gôkâk, in the Belgaum District), Gaṇaganûr, Sarvajña-Sarasvatî-bhaṇḍâra, and Vâraṇâśi (Benares)].

(L. 105.)—The receiver and the donor of land are both meritorious and certainly go to heaven! He who grants to a Brâhmaṇ even a

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[25] This idea is preserved in the Marâṭhî expression दांती तण धरणें; तण is a Prâkṛit form of तृण, 'grass.' The expression means to profess submission. *Cf.*—

स्वर्गोद्धोपाल कुत्र व्रजसि सुरमुने भूतले कामधेनो-

र्वत्सस्यानेतुकामस्तृणचयमधुना मुग्धदुग्धं न तस्याः ।

श्रुत्वा श्रीभोजराजप्रचुरवितरणं व्रीडशुष्कस्तनी सा

व्यर्थो हि स्यात्प्रयासस्तदपि तदरिभिश्चर्वितं सर्वमुर्व्याम् ।

Subhâshitaratnabhâṇḍâgâra.

[26] An ornament worn by females.

cubit of land, is honoured in heaven for sixty thousand years! In (*discriminating between*) giving a grant and continuing (*the grant of another*), continuing (*the grant of another*) is the better; by giving a grant, a man attains paradise; but, by continuing (*the grant of another*), a man attains an imperishable state! He who appropriates land, whether given by himself or another, is born as a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years! He who appropriates a single bit of land, or one cubit or even one finger of land, falls into hell and remains there till the dissolution of the world! "This bridge of religion is common to kings, and should be protected by you from time to time;"—thus does Râmachandra repeatedly entreat all future kings! May that Chauṇḍiseṭṭi live a long life, who is intent upon the worship of the gods, who is armed with a sword against his enemies, and who has offered heaps of gold to Brâhmaṇs! The earth was enjoyed by many kings, commencing with Sagara; he who for the time being possesses land, enjoys the benefit of it! This act of religion performed by Chauṇḍiseṭṭi excels all charities; may it continue as long as a *kalpa*, and may he live a long life! The glorious Chauṇḍiseṭṭi is a worshipper of the prosperous lotus-like feet of the glorious Sômanâtha. The writer is Basavaṇa, a priest and astrologer. Prosperity! Hail! Prosperity! May there be the most auspicious prosperity! Prosperity!

(L. 118.) Gôpâlapaṇḍita, son of Maṅgalapaṇḍita of the Kâśyapa *gôtra*, continues . . . . . allotment to the *Mahâjanas*. Prosperity! Two allotments to Sômanâthadêva, son of Vipradâsa-Padmanâbhabhaṭṭôpâdhyâya of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*, and Himada-Nâgadêvapaṭṭavarddhana of the Bhâradvâja *gôtra*. Prosperity!

AN EARTHENWARE FRAGMENT OF GUHASENA OF VALABHI.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH. D.; VIENNA.

At the Darbâr of Walâ, there was shewn to me a lately discovered fragment of what seems to have been a huge earthen pot, with the following inscription on it in Valabhî characters, of which a facsimile is given below:—

......[२००] ४० ७ श्रीगुहसेनः घटा......

The first word is the name of the well-known Valabhî king Guhasena, whose grants[1] are dated in the years 246, 247, and 248. The pot (*ghaṭa*) itself is evidently alluded to by the second word, before which the *saṁdhi* is neglected. Of the date, the third symbol, for 7, is well preserved. The preceding symbol is partially destroyed. As Guhasena's reign is limited by the date of Dhruvasena I. (207) and the earliest date of Dharasena II. (252), this symbol may have been 200, or 10, 20, 30, or 40. Enough of it remains, however, to shew, by a reference to Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indraji's table,[2] that it was the symbol for 40. The first symbol, which has been entirely lost, was of course 200.



Scale .57

[1] *ante* Vol. IV. p. 174, Vol. VII. p. 66, and Vol. V. p. 206.

[2] *ante* Vol. VI. p. 44.

THE GANGA INSCRIPTIONS IN COORG.

BY LEWIS RICE, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

Having occasion lately to examine the inscriptions in Coorg, my attention was directed to the three published by Mr. Kittel in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. pp. 99-103. A cursory perusal of the translations discloses some very peculiar features; and I have already pointed out[1] one obvious correction in No. 3, where line 5 should be read *Eṟeyaṅgaṅgâvuṇḍana magaṅge*, to the son of Eṟeyaṅga-gâvuṇḍa.[2]

But it is No. 1 of the inscriptions which I find has been so seriously misread that it is desirable for purposes of future reference to republish it, and this I now venture to do.

TEXT.

[1] Svasti Saka-nṛipa-kâḷ-âtîta-saṁvatsara-sat-aṅga 899 taneya[3] Îsvara-saṁva-
[2] tsaraṁ pravattise || Svasti Satyavâkya-Koṅgiṇivarmma dharmma-mahâ-
[3] râjâdhirâjâ Koḷâḷapura-varêśvara Nandagiri-nâtha śrîmat
[4] Râchamalla-Permmanaḍigaḷ tad-varsh-âbhyantara Pâlguṇa-sukla-pakshada Na-
[5] ndîsvaraṁ tallaj-âvasam âge Svasti Samasta-vairi-gaja-ghaṭ-âṭôpa-
[6] kuṁbhi-kuṁbhasthaḷa-sphuṭit-ânarghya-muktâpaḷa-grahaṇa-bhîkara-karâ-
[7] se-nivâsita-dakshiṇa-dôrddaṇḍa-maṇḍita-prachaṇḍaṁ aṇṇana-baṇṭa-ba-
[8] ṭa-dhara-nandaṁ[4] śrîmat Rakkasa Beddoṟe-gareyan âḷuttire bhadram a-
[9] stu Jina-śâsanâya śrî-Beḷgoḷa-nivâsigaḷappa śrî-Bîrasêna[5]-si-
[10] ddhânta-dêvara vara-śishyaṁ śrî-Goṇasêna-paṇḍita-bhaṭṭârakara vara-
[11] śishyara śrîmat Anantavîryyayyaṅgaḷ Perggadûru po-
[12] sa-vâdagamuman-abhyantara siddhiyâge paḍedar adarkke sâ-
[13] kshi tombhattâru-sâsirbbarum ay-sâmantarum Peddoṟe-gare
[14] yêḷpadiṁbarum eṇṭ-okkalum idaṁ kâvar nnâlvar Mmaleparu-
[15] m aynûrbbarum ay-dâmarigaruṁ Śrîpurada Mahârâjara
[16] dattiyan âvon orbban aḷidoṁ Bâṇarâsiyuṁ sâsirbbar-brâhma-
[17] ṇaruṁ sâsira-kavileyuman aḷida pañcha-mahâpâtakan akkuṁ
[18] idan âr orbbar kâdar avarge piridu punyaṁ Chandaṇandiyayyana likhitaṁ
[19] Perggadûra basadiya śâsanaṁ

TRANSLATION.

Be it well.—Of the years in the group of centuries elapsed since the time of the Saka king, the 899th, the year Îśvara, being current.

Be it well.—Satyavâkya-Koṅgiṇivarmman *Dharmma-mahârâjâdhirâja*, boon lord of Koḷâḷapura, lord of Nandagiri, *Śrîmat* Râchamalla-Permmanaḍi, at the rising of the happy house (or sign) of Taurus in the bright fortnight of Phâlguṇa within that year.

Be it well.—While the terrible one adorned with a strong right arm in which dwells the sword vigorous in seizing the precious pearls scattered from the frontal globes of the globe-bearers, the troops of the elephants of all his enemies; delighting in the brave warriors of his elder brother; *Śrîmat* Rakkasa was ruling the bank of the Beddoṟe.[6]

Prosperity to the Jina-śâsana.—*Śrîmat* Anantavîryyayya, the beloved disciple of Śrî-Goṇasêna-paṇḍita-bhaṭṭâraka, who was the beloved disciple of Śrî-Vîrasêna-siddhânta-dêva, a resident of Śrî-Beḷgoḷa,[7] acquired in full possession Perggadûru included within the new trench.[8]

Witnesses to this:—those of the Ninety-six Thousand, the five tributaries, those of the Peddoṟegare Seventy, and the eight farmers.

[1] *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 171.

[2] Not as Mr. Kittel reads it—"*Eṟeyaṅgaṅgâ Vuṇḍana magaṅge*, Eṟeyaṅga, the son of that Muṇḍa."

[3] *ta* is redundant; or we may read *tateya*, the seasonable (Îśvara) year, &c.—[The proposed reading of *tateya* is quite untenable. The *ta* is to a certain extent redundant. But it is only a part of *ttu*,—the last syllable of the full word *ombattu*, or *ombhattu*, for the third numeral, 9, which would be spoken in reading the inscription,—the *u* being elided before the ordinal affix *aneya*.—ED.]

[4] *naṇḍaṁ* in the original.

[5] Looks like *Gurasêna*, but in my copy the first letter is distinctly *Bî*. [The proper division of the words here is not *dêvara vara-śishyaṁ*, and *bhaṭṭârakara vara-śishyaṁ*, but *dêvar avara* (of them; *i.e.* of him) *śishyaṁ*, and *bhaṭṭârakar avara śishyaṁ*; and the word 'beloved' requires to be expunged from the translation.—ED.]

[6] The "great river"—the Lakshmaṇatîrtha apparently.

[7] Probably Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa in the Mysore country.

[8] Most likely a *kadaṅga*, as one is named in No. 2.

Guardians of this:—the four Malepas,[9] those of the Five Hundred, and the five garland-makers.[10]

Whoso destroys a grant by the *Mahârâjas* of Śrîpura[11] incurs the five great sins of destroying (*at*) Benares a thousand Brâhmans and a thousand tawny cows! Whoso protects this acquires great merit!

Chandaṇandiyayya's writing. The grant of the Perggadûr *basadi*.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NATESA SASTRI PANDIT.

VI.—VIDAMUNDAN KODAMUNDAN.

Mr. Won't-Give and Mr. Won't-Leave.

In a certain town there lived a clever old Brâhmaṇ, named Won't-Give.[1] He used to go out daily and to beg in all the houses round, under the pretence that he had to feed several Brâhmaṇs in his own house. Good people, that believed in his words, used to give him much rice and curry stuffs, with which he would come home, and explain to his wife how he had deceived such and such a gentleman by the imposition of feeding in charity many persons at home. But if any hungry Brâhmaṇ, who had heard of his empty boast of feeding Brâhmaṇs at home, came to him, he was sent away with some excuse or other. In this way Mr. Won't-Give brought home a basketful of rice and other necessaries every day, of which he only used a small portion for himself and his wife, and converted the remainder into money. And thus by imposition and tricks he managed to live well for several years.

In an adjoining village there lived another very clever Brâhmaṇ, named Won't-Leave.[2] Whenever he found any man reluctant and unwilling to give him anything that he begged of him, he would persist in bothering him until he had wrung from him a dole. This Mr. Won't-Leave, hearing of the charity of Mr. Won't-Give and his benevolent feeding of Brâhmaṇs, came to see him one day and requested him to give him a meal. Mr. Won't-Give told him that for that day ten Brâhmaṇs had already been settled, and that if he came the next day he would have his meal without fail. Mr. Won't-Leave agreed to this, and left him for that day. Mr. Won't-Give had, of course, told him the very lie he was accustomed to tell all that occasionally begged meals of him.

Now Mr. Won't-Leave was not so stupid as to be thus imposed upon. He stood before Mr. Won't-Give's door precisely at the appointed *ghaṭikâ* (hour) the next day, and reminded the master of the house of his promise. Mr. Won't-Give had never before been taken at his word, and determined to send away the impertinent guest by some stronger excuse than the first, and so he spoke to him thus:—"Sir, I am very sorry to say that my wife fell ill last night of a strong fever, from which she has not yet recovered. Owing to this unforeseen accident I have had to postpone my charitable feedings (*samârâdhana*) till her recovery, so do not trouble me please for some days more."

Mr. Won't-Leave heard these words with an expression of sincere, or rather seemingly sincere, sorrow in his face, and replied:—"Respected Sir, I am very sorry for the illness of the mistress of the house, but to give up charitable feeding of Brâhmaṇs on that account is a great sin. For the last ten years I have been studying the art of cooking, and can now cook for even several hundreds of Brâhmaṇs; so I can assist you now in preparing the necessaries for the *samârâdhana*." Mr. Won't-Give could not refuse such a

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[9] Mr. Kittel cannot reconcile this with the *Male-sâsirbbarum* of No. 2, which he needlessly alters into *Malepa-sâsirbbarum*. But I see no difficulty: the one refers to the four Male chiefs, the other to the Male Thousand, the extent of the country.—[Whether it is coupled with Malepa, or with Male, *sâsirbbaruṁ* means 'one thousand *persons*,' not 'one thousand *things*'; and *Male-sâsirbbaruṁ* cannot possibly denote 'the Male Thousand (*villages*), the extent of the country,' the term for which would be *Male-sâsiraṁ*.—ED.]

[10] Mr. Kittel says here and in No. 2 "the five spokesmen."—[It is difficult to say exactly what the original means; as the lithograph shews in the second syllable *mo*, not *ma*. But the probability is that the second syllable is intended to be *ma*, and the first *ḍâ*, not *dâ*, which would give us *ay-ḍâmarigaruṁ*, 'the five drummers,' *i.e.* 'public criers'; *ḍaṅgara sârisôna*, 'the proclamation by beat of drum,' is a well-known ancient custom in the Kanarese country.—This, at any rate, is certain,—that the word does not mean 'garland-makers', any more than, if as much as, it means 'spokesmen'; for the word for a 'garland-maker,' as derived from *dâman*, 'a garland,' would be *dâmakâra*, not *dâmariga*.—ED.]

[11] Gûḍalûr in the Nilgiris, as we know from the Hosûr plates. *Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 286; *Madras Jour. Lit. Sc.* 1878, p. 138.

[1] *Koḍâmuṇḍan.*

[2] *Viḍâmuṇḍan.*

request, but he deceitfully determined in his mind to get Mr. Won't-Leave to cook for him, and then to drive him away without giving him his rice. And so he said :—"Yes, that is a very good idea. I am much obliged to you for your kind suggestion. Come in. Let us cook together." So saying the master of the house took Mr. Won't-Leave inside and they both went into the kitchen, while the mistress of the house, at the command of her husband, pretended illness.

Now Mr. Won't-Give was a good liver, and prepared with the assistance of Mr. Won't-Leave several good dishes. And then the difficulty was to drive the fellow out, for the long-maintained rule of never feeding a single Brâhmaṇ must not be broken that day. So when the cooking was all over the master of the house gave to Mr. Won't-Leave a *kâśu* (copper coin) and asked him to bring some leaves from the *bâzâr* (for plates), and he accordingly went. Mr. Won't-Give meanwhile came to his wife and instructed her thus :—"My dearest wife, I have spared you the trouble of cooking to-day. Would that we could get such stupid fools as this every day to cook for us! I have now sent him out to fetch us some leaves, and it won't look well if we shut our doors against him, or drive him away: so we must make him go away of his own accord. A thought has just come into my mind as to how we can do it. As soon as he comes you should commence to quarrel with me. I shall then come to you and beat you, or rather the ground near you with both my hands, and you must continue your abuse and cries. The guest will find this very disgusting, and will leave us of his own accord." Mr. Won't-Give had just finished his instructions when he saw Mr. Won't-Leave returning with the leaves.

The wife, as prearranged, abused her husband right and left for his great imprudence and over-liberality in feeding the Brâhmaṇs. Said she: "How are we to get on in the world if you thus empty the house of everything we have in feeding big-bellied Brâhmaṇs? Must you be so very strict in inviting them, even when I am sick?" These and a thousand similar expressions were now launched at the husband's head. He pretended not to hear it for a time, but at last, apparently overcome by anger, he went in and with his hands gave successive blows on the floor. At every blow on the floor the wife cried out that she was being murdered, and that those who had mercy in their hearts should come to her rescue.

Mr. Won't-Leave from the court-yard of the house listened to what was taking place inside, but not wishing to interfere in a quarrel between husband and wife, left matters to take their own course, and got into the loft, where he hid himself, fearing that he would be summoned as a witness to the quarrel.

After a time Mr. Won't-Give came out of the room where he had been beating the floor, and to his joy he could not find the guest. He cautiously looked round him and saw no signs of Mr. Won't-Leave. Of course, having had no reason to think that his guest would be sitting in the loft, he did not look up there, and even if he had done so, he would not have found him, for he had hidden himself out of sight.

Mr. Won't-Give now carefully bolted the door and his wife came out and changed her dirty cloth for a clean one. Said her husband to her: "At last we have succeeded in driving him out, come, you too must be hungry; let us have our dinner together." Two leaves were spread on the ground and all the dishes were equally divided into them. Meanwhile Mr. Won't-Leave was examining all that took place below him and, being himself very hungry, was slyly watching for an opportunity to jump down. Mr. Won't-Give, gloating over his trickery, said to his wife: "Well, my love, did I not beat you without hurting you?" to which she replied: "Did I not continue to cry without shedding tears?" when suddenly there fell on their ears, "And did I not come to have my dinner without going away?" and down jumped Mr. Won't-Leave from the loft, and took his seat in front of the leaf spread by Mr. Won't-Give for his wife. And Mr. Won't-Give, though disappointed, was highly pleased at the cleverness of his guest.

This story is cited as the authority for three proverbs that have come into use in Tamiḻ:

"*Nôvâmal aḍittên.*"
"*Ôyâmal aluḍên.*"
"*Pokamal vandên.*"

which represent the exchanges of politeness between the husband, the wife, and the guest, quoted in the foregoing paragraphs.

VII.—VAYALVALLAN KAIYALVALLAN.

Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth and Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands.

In two adjoining villages there lived two famous men. The one was called Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth[1]—one that could accomplish wonders with words alone. The other was called Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands[2]—one who could make no use of that glib instrument the tongue, but was able to bear burdens, cut wood, and perform other physical labour.

It so happened that they agreed to live together in the house of the Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth, to try and see which of them was the superior. They accordingly kept company for several months, till the great feast of the nine nights (*navarâtrî*) came on. On the first day of the feast Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands wanted to sacrifice a goat to the goddess Kâḷî. So he said to Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth, "My dear friend, we both are mighty in our way, and so it would be shameful for us to buy the goat that we want to sacrifice with money. We should manage to get it without payment." "Yes, we must do so, and I know how," replied Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth, and he asked his friend to wait till that evening.

Now there lived a shepherd at one *ghaṭikâ's* (hour's) distance from their house, and the two friends resolved to go to his fold that night and steal away one of his goats. Accordingly when it was dark they approached his fold. The shepherd had just finished his duties to the mute members of his flock, and wanted to go home and have his rice hot. But he had no second person to watch the flock, and he must not lose his supper. So he planted his crook before the fold, and throwing his blanket (*kambaḷî*) over it, thus addressed it: "My son, I am very hungry, and so must go for my rice. Till I return do you watch the flock. This wood is rich in tigers and goblins (*bhûtas*). Some mischievous thief or *bhûta*—or *kûta*[3] may come to steal away the sheep. Watch over them carefully." So saying the shepherd went away.

The friends had heard what the shepherd said. Of course, Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth laughed within himself at this device of the shepherd to impress upon would-be robbers that he had left some one there to watch his sheep, while really he had only planted a pole and thrown a blanket over it. Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands, however, did not see the trick, and mistaking the stick to be an actual watchman sitting at his duty before the fold, spoke thus to his friend, "Now what are we to do? There is a watchman sitting in front of the fold." Thereon Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth cleared away his doubts by saying that it was no watchman, but a mere stick, and entered the fold with his friend.

It had also so happened that on that very night a *bhûta* (goblin) had come into the fold to steal away a sheep. It shuddered with fear on hearing the shepherd mention the *kûta*, for having never heard of the existence of *kûtas*, it mistook this imaginary being to be something superior in strength to itself. So thinking that a *kûta* might come to the fold, and not wishing to expose itself till it knew well what *kûtas* were, the *bhûta* transformed itself into a sheep and laid itself down among the flock. By this time the two Mighties had entered the fold and begun an examination of the sheep. They went on rejecting one animal after another for some defect or other, till at last they came to the sheep which was none other than the *bhûta*. They tested it, and when they found it very heavy—as, of course, it would be with the soul of the *bhûta* in it,—they began to tie up its legs to carry it home. When hands began to shake it the *bhûta* mistook the Mighties for the *kûtas*, and said to itself:—"Alas! the *kûtas* have come to take me away. What am I to do? What a fool I was to come into the fold!" So thought the *bhûta* as Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands was carrying it away on his head, with his friend following him behind. But the *bhûta* soon began to work its devilish powers to extricate itself, and Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands began to feel pains all over his body and said to his friend: "My dear Mighty, I feel pains all over me. I think what we have brought is no sheep!" Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth was inwardly alarmed at the words of his friend, but did not like to show that he was afraid. So he said, "Then put down the sheep, and let us tear open its belly, so that we shall each have only one-half of it to

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[1] *Vôyâlvallan.* [2] *Kaiyâlvallan.*

[3] There is no such word as *kûta* in Tamiḻ. The Tamiḻ and other Dravidian languages allow rhyming repetitions of a word, like this—*bhûta-kûta.*

carry." This frightened the *bhûta*, and he melted away on the head of Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands, who, relieved of his devilish burden, was glad to return home safe with his friend.

The *bhûta* too went to its abode and there told its fellow-goblins how it had involved itself in a great trouble and how narrowly it had escaped. They all laughed at its stupidity and said, "What a great fool you are! They were no *kûtas*. In fact there are no *kûtas* in the world. They were men, and it was most stupid of you to have got yourself into their hands. Are you not ashamed to make such a fuss about your escape?" The injured *bhûta* retorted that they would not have made such remarks had they seen the *kûtas*. "Then show us these *kûtas*, as you choose to call them," said they, "and we will crush them in the twinkling of an eye." "Agreed," said the injured *bhûta*, and the next night it took them to the house of the Mighties, and said from a distance: "There is their house. I cannot approach it. Do whatever you like." The other *bhûtas* were amazed at the fear of their timid brother, and resolved among themselves to put an end to the enemies of even one of their caste. So they went in a great crowd to the house of the Mighties. Some stood outside the house, to see that none of the inmates escaped, and some watched in the back-yard, while a score of them jumped over the walls and entered the court-yard.

Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands was sleeping in the verandah, adjoining the courtyard, and when he heard the noise of people jumping, he opened his eyes, and to his terror saw some *bhûtas* in the court. Without opening his mouth he quietly rolled himself along the ground, and went to the room where Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth was sleeping with his wife and children. Tapping gently at the door he awoke his friend and said, "What shall we do now? The *bhûtas* have invaded our house, and will soon kill us." Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth told him quietly not to be afraid, but to go and sleep in his original place, and that he himself would make the *bhûtas* run away. Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands did not understand what his friend meant, but not wishing to contradict his instructions rolled his way back to his original place and pretended to sleep, though his heart was beating terribly with fright. Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth now awoke his wife, and instructed her thus: "My dearest wife, the foolish *bhûtas* have invaded our house, but if you act according to my advice we are safe, and the goblins will depart harmlessly. What I want you to do is, to go to the hall and light a lamp, spread leaves on the floor, and then pretend to awake me for my supper. I shall get up and enquire what you have ready to give me to eat. You will then reply that you have only pepper water and vegetables. With an angry face I shall say, 'What have you done with the three *bhûtas* that our son caught hold of on his way while returning from school?' Your reply must be, 'The rogue wanted some sweetmeats on coming home. Unfortunately I had none in the house, so he roasted the three *bhûtas* and gobbled them up.'" Thus instructing his wife Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth pretended to go to sleep.

The wife accordingly spread the leaves and called her husband for his supper. During the conversation that followed, the fact that the son had roasted three goblins for sweetmeats was conveyed to the *bhûtas*. They shuddered at the son's extraordinary ability, and thought, "What must the father do for his meals when a son roasts three *bhûtas* for sweetmeats?" So they at once took to their heels. Then going to the brother they had jeered at, they said to him that indeed the *kûtas* were their greatest enemies, and that none of their lives were safe while they remained where they were, as on that very evening the son of a *kûta* had roasted three of them for sweetmeats. They therefore all resolved to fly away to the adjoining forest, and disappeared accordingly. Thus Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth saved himself and his friend on two occasions from the *bhûtas*.

The friends after this went out one day to an adjoining village and were returning home rather late in the evening. Darkness came on them before half the way was traversed, and there lay before them a dense wood infested by beasts of prey: so they resolved to spend the night in a high tree and go home next morning, and accordingly got up into a big *pîpal*. Now this was the very wood into which the *bhûtas* had migrated, and at midnight they all came down with torches to catch jackals and other animals to feast upon. The fear of Mr. Mighty-of-his-hands may be more

imagined than described. The dreaded *bhûtas* were at the foot of the very tree in which he had taken up his abode for the night! His hands trembled. His body shook. He lost his hold, and down he came with a horrible rustling of leaves. His friend, however, was, as usual, ready with a device, and bawled out, "I wished to leave these poor beings to their own revelry. But you are hungry and must needs jump down to catch some of them. Do not fail to lay your hands on the stoutest *bhûta*." The goblins heard the voice which was already very familiar to their ears, for was it not the *kûta* whose son had roasted up three *bhûtas* for sweetmeats that spoke? So they ran away at once, crying out, "Alas, what misery! Our bitter enemies have followed us even to this wood!" Thus the wit of Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth saved himself and his friend for the third time.

The sun began to rise, and Mr. Mighty-of-his hands thrice walked round Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth and said, "My dear friend, truly you only of us two are mighty. Mere physical strength is of no use without skill in words. The latter is far superior to the former, and if a man possess both, he is, as it were, a golden lotus having a sweet scent. It is enough for me now to have arrived at this moral! With your kind permission I shall return to my village." Mr. Mighty-of-his-mouth asked his friend not to consider himself under any obligation, and, after honouring him as became his position he let him return to his village.

The moral of this short story is that in man there is nothing great but mind.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from* Vol. XIII. p. 304).

XXIX.

During the siege of Samarkand Chinghiz despatched, as we have seen, an army under Subutai and Chepe in pursuit of Muḥammad Khwârizm Shâh. At the same time he sent a second army under two chiefs, whom Abu'l-faraj calls Galak Noyan and Yasur Noyan, towards Ṭâlikân.[1] They apparently first crossed the Oxus and made for Balkh, where, according to Ibn-al-Athîr, the people asked for quarter, and the Mongols contented themselves with putting a *shaḥnah*. They then advanced to Ez-Zûzân and Maimand and Andakhui and Karyat (?), which they conquered and put garrisons in, and did not molest the inhabitants beyond taking the men as recruits for their armies.

They then reached Et Ṭâlikân, a province, says the same author, containing a number of towns and an inaccessible fortress called Manṣûrkôh. This fortress was also apparently definitely called Ṭâlikân, and is otherwise described as unequalled in loftiness, and as the strongest city of Asia, from its situation on a hill which Mîrkhond calls Baṣrakoh. Erdmann calls the hill Nokrekuh (*i.e.*, the silver hill). De la Croix says it derived this name from its silver mines. D'Ohsson calls it Nusret-kûh (*i.e.* hill of victory.)[2] It was situated east of Kunduz. Marco Polo calls it Taican, and says it was a fine place with a great corn market, while the mountains to the south were composed of rock salt, for which people came from all the countries round. Other mountains close by abounded in almonds and pistachios. The people of the district, although good Musalmâns, were much addicted to wine; and wore nothing on their heads but a cord some ten palms long twisted round it. They were excellent huntsmen, and made their clothes and shoes from the skins of the animals they captured.[3] Wood describes it when he visited it as a small place, containing but 300 or 400 hovels and situated about 300 yards from the river.[4]

Ibn-al-Athîr tells us the Mongols attacked it valiantly for six months, night and day, but as they could not take it they sent for Chinghiz Khân himself. The latter, who, at this time had captured and desolated Balkh, as I described in the previous paper, advanced to the assistance of his people, taking with him, according to Ibn-al-Athîr, a large

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[1] Abu'l-faraj, *Chron. Arab.*, p. 291.

[2] The passage here quoted from Ibn-al-Athîr as well as others from that author, I owe to my good friend, Dr. Rieu. See Erdmann, p. 415; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 273; De la Croix, p. 286.

[3] Yule's *Marco Polo*, Vol. I. pp. 160-161.

[4] Wood's *Oxus*, p. 156.

number of Muslim captives. Minhaj-i-Sarâj says he first pitched his camp on the mound of Numan, and in the uncultivated plain of Kab between Ṭâlikân and Balkh, whence he presently advanced to Ṭâlikân.[5] Ibn-al-Athîr tells us that when Chinghiz Khân had continued the attack with great loss for four months, he ordered a huge mound to be built up, consisting of alternate layers of tree-trunks and of earth, which rose to the level of the walls, and on which was planted the siege machinery. The garrison thereupon opened one of the gates and made a sortie, and the cavalry managed to escape, but the infantry were slaughtered. The Tartars entered the place, made captive the women and children, and plundered the treasures and merchandize: "otherwise not a soul was left alive, nor, we are told, was one stone left on another."

Minhaj-i-Sarâj says that three months before its capture the people of the fortress put on deep blue mourning garments, and repaired daily to the great mosque of the fortress to repeat the Qurân, and mourn with each other, and ended by blessing each other, and, having said good-bye, donned their arms and engaged in combat with the enemy, thus securing martyrdom. He goes on to say that on the side of the fortress where the upper gateway was situated they had excavated a ditch in the rock, and the Mongols with stones from their catapults battered down the bastion at that point and filled in the ditch, and made a breach a hundred ells in extent, but as Chinghiz Khân had sworn that he would take the place on horseback, the attack had to be continued for fifteen days longer, until the ground was made smoother and more practicable. The Mongol cavalry at length charged into the place, whereupon 500 of the defenders in a solid phalanx rushed out by the gate called the Kôh-i-Janinah of Ṭâlikân, broke through the Mongol ranks and cut their way out, and a large number of them escaped. Chinghiz ordered the rest of the inhabitants, adds our author, to be martyred, ("may God reward them!") and the town to be destroyed.[6]

According to Rashîdu'd-dîn Chinghiz Khân having been baffled by the pertinacity of the garrison determined to capture the fortress by assailing it from all sides at once, and prepared a number of grappling hooks, nails, ladders, and ropes, with which to scale the rock. After many attempts, which were defeated by the garrison, a number of men with their arms tied about them managed to scale the mountain. The besieged rushing to repel them left other posts undefended, and these the Mongols seized and thus possessed themselves of the place.[7] The capture of Ṭâlikân was probably the most difficult exploit as an engineering feat which Chinghiz Khân accomplished, and the severity of the struggle may be gathered from the fact that he summoned his son, Tului, to return to him from his expedition in Khorâsân, and apparently also his other sons from Khwârizm. They arrived, however, after its capture.

Meanwhile let us return once more to Jalâlu'd-dîn Khwârizm Shâh, whose retreat we traced as far as Shâdyâkh. He was closely followed by the Mongols, who would perhaps have captured him if they had not taken the wrong direction where two roads diverged, and, we are told, made a march of as many as forty *farsakhs* in one day. He fled, closely pursued by way of Zaûzan, Mabarnâbâd (?), and Yazdaviah, or Zaudiah (a dependency of Herat) about 75 miles S.W. of that city, where the pursuit was abandoned.[8] Minhaj-i-Sarâj says he passed through the districts of Nimroz, Bost and Dawar, and eventually reached Ghaznî.[9] Nissavi tells us he delayed a few days at Bost, a town of Seistân, but afraid lest the Mongols should reach Ghaznî before him he set out with 20,000 men towards Zabulistân without staying anywhere *en route*, and reached Ghaznî, which was twenty-four days' journey from Bost, in safety. "The people there were as much overjoyed at his arrival as the Musalmâns at the end of Ramazân, when the new moon which terminates the fast appears."[10]

Ghaznî had recently been the scene of considerable confusion. When Muḥammad Khwârizm Shâh retired westwards he entrusted it to a Ghûrian chief, named Muḥammad Alî Kharpost. Meanwhile his maternal uncle, Amin Malik, who had similarly been entrusted with the protection of Herat, not feeling safe

[5] *Op. cit.*, pp. 1009-1012.
[6] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 1011-1012.
[7] De la Croix, pp. 288-289.
[8] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 287, note 7.
[9] *Id.*, text.
[10] De la Croix, pp. 301-302.

there retired with 20,000 Kankali Turks towards Ghaznî. When he arrived within two or three days' march of the latter town he sent to ask Alî Kharpost if he would assign him temporary quarters and grazing grounds. His request was met by an uncivil reply in these terms:—"We are Ghûris, and you are Turks. We cannot live together. Various districts have been assigned by the Sultân to the various contingents of troops, let us each remain in our own territory." This refusal to admit so near a relative of the Sultân into the town apparently outraged two of the Khwârizmian officials, namely, Shamsu'd-dîn of Sarakhs, who happened to be at Ghaznî at the time, and Salâhu'd-dîn, the commander of the citadel, who conspired against the Kharpost, killed him, and seized the citadel before his Ghûrian troops were aware of matters, upon which the latter dispersed.

Amin Malik now entered Ghaznî and assumed authority there. Presently the Mongols, who had secured possession of Herat, sent a body of troops in pursuit of him by way of Bost and Tiginâbâd. Amin Malik thereupon marched against them. At his approach, feeling themselves too weak, they once more withdrew to Herat, and he went to the Shoristân (the salt desert, between Herat, Kuhistân, and Seistân). When Amin Malik marched against the Mongols he took Sherîfu'd-dîn, the *wazîr*, with him, and imprisoned him in the fort of Kajuran of Bost and Tiginâbâd. He left Ghaznî in charge of Salâhu'd-dîn already mentioned. Against him a movement was started by the partizans of Alî Kharpost whom he had killed as we have described, and he was assassinated. Raziu'l-Mulk, of Termed, one of the leaders of this outbreak, now assumed authority at Ghaznî. Presently a larger body of Khalaj and Kankali Turks, fugitives from Khorâsân and Mâwaru'n-Nahr, under the command of Saifu'd-dîn Aghrak, assembled at Parshawar. Raziu'l-Mulk marched against these invaders, but was defeated and killed, with the greater number of his men. He was succeeded in authority at Ghaznî by his brother Umdatu'l-Mulk.

Meanwhile the partizans of the Khwârizm Shâh, against whom the movement of the two brothers at Ghaznî was really directed, marched against Umdatu'l-Mulk. They were headed by Âzamu'l-Mulk, the *ḥâkim* of Nangrahar, and Malik Sher, the *ḥâkim* of Kâbul. With their Ghûrî troops they marched on Ghaznî and after an attack of forty days captured it. Just at this time there arrived the *wazîr*, Sherîfu'd-dîn, who had been released from confinement by the Sultân Jalâlu'd-dîn, and who went to prepare the way for him. Seven days later Jalâlu'd-dîn arrived in person, and was speedily joined by various leaders. Amin Malik returned with his Kankalis, and the Sultân married his daughter. Aghrak Malik came from Parshawar with his Khalaj and Kankali followers, while 'Âzam Malik and the governor of Kâbul joined him with their Ghûrians. Thus Jalâlu'd-dîn found himself at the head of from 60,000 to 70,000 horsemen.[11]

We must now make a short digression. Minhaj-i-Sarâj tells us that when Chinghiz Khân had taken complete possession of the district of Samarkand, by his command Arslân, Khân of Kayalik, having 6,000 horsemen with him, being his own men, and the Juzbi Tulan, with a Mongol force, marched to the fortress of Walkh.[12] They sat down before it for a period of eight months, and as it only had an approach in one direction, they ordered the trees to be felled in the district round, and threw them into the ravine which protected it, to make believe they would fill it up, whereas it could not have been filled in a hundred years. Presently the son of the Rais of Walkh came into the Mongol camp, and guided them along a path by which a light-armed man alone could pass, and concealed various Mongols in holes and recesses in the mountain. At length, on the fourth day, at dawn, the enemy raised a shout, and fell with their swords upon the band which guarded the gateway of the fortress until they cleared it of its defenders. They entered the place, and made a general massacre.

The Mongol leaders then proceeded to attack the fortress of Fiwar of Kadas.[13] The siege of Fiwar lasted a considerable time, and I shall return to it presently.

During the same year, 617 A. H., *i.e.* 1220 A. D., for a period of eight months, the Mongols continued their devastations in various parts.

[11] *Ṭâbakat-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 1014-1015 notes.
[12] Probably situated in Tokharistan.
[13] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 1004 and 1023—102.

Our author tells us that he himself was at this time living in the fortress of Tulak, while his brother was living in the city and fortress of Firuzkôh. In that year a Mongol army attacked the fortress of Astiah, of Ghûr, for eleven days. It was then governed by the Amîr and feudatory, Tâju'd-dîn, Habashi Abdu'l-Mâlik, Sar-i-Zarad, who submitted to the invaders, whereupon they took him to Chinghiz Khân, and he gave him the title of *khusrau*, or prince of Ghûr. He treated him with great honour, and sent him back again in order to secure the other fortresses. When Chinghiz Khân retired northwards, after defeating the Sulṭân Jalâlu'd-dîn on the Indus, as we shall describe presently, Tâju'd-dîn deserted the Mongols, and fought with them, and was killed.

The same year, says Minhaj-i-Sarâj, the Juzbi Ukhlan appeared before the fort of Firuzkôh, the capital of Ghûr, and attacked it for twenty-one days, but could not take it, and retired from it baffled.[14] The fortress of Tulak was then commanded by Habashi Nezahwar, who in early life was a maker of leather sacks, and who was very skilled with the bow. When the Noyan Fiku[15] approached it he agreed to become tributary to him, and came down from the fortress and did homage to him.[16] The subsidy which the Habashi had agreed to pay to the Mongols he apportioned among the people of Tulak, and enforced its payment vigorously, which made him very unpopular, and the Khoja and Imâm, Jamâlu'd-dîn, the Khazanchi or treasurer, made a verse about him, as follows :—

I said: "Habashi, Nezahwar, what is this wrong?
What have the Tulakis to do with sack and prison?"
He replied: "I am a leather-worker, and *Fiku* (a dog);
The dog knows and the leather-worker too what the wallet contains."

The people of Tulak presently revolted against him, and gave up the fortress to Malik Qutbu'd-dîn Husain, who kept him in confinement for a while, and then let him go to Fiwar, where he was put to death.[17]

Tulak, we are told, was a very strong fortress between Ghûr and Khorâsân, whose history went back to the time of Manuchihr and Arash, his famous archer, so much spoken about in the *Shâh Nâmah*. In its upper part were chambers dug out of the solid rock, and called Arashi and Amîr Nasr, the Tulaki, sank a well in its upper part, with a diameter of 20 *ghaz* in the solid rock. Its depth was immense, and it showed no diminution, however much was drawn from it.[18]

Another fortress of Ghûr is said to have similarly submitted at this time: our authority being Mu'ainu'd-dîn, the historian of Herat, who tells us how Ruknu'd-dîn, the lord of Khaisar, and ancestor of the Kert dynasty of Herat, succeeded in conciliating the great conqueror, and was left in possession of his fortress.[19]

The number of Mongols and renegades who were at that time in Ghur was about 20,000 horse, and during eight months a portion of them made continual advances up to the walls of Firuzkôh, and had encounters with the garrison, of which Minhaj-i-Sarâj himself was one, and he adds that trustworthy persons had related that there were so many Musalman captives in the hands of the Mongols that they had selected for Chinghiz Khân himself 12,000 young virgins, who followed on foot.[20]

The result of these various raids is summed up by Minhaj-i-Sarâj where he says that the whole of the cattle and flocks that were round about the cities, towns, *kasri*, and villages of Khorâsân, Ghûr, and the Garmsîr fell into the hands of the Mongols, and the country as far as the gate of Ghaznî, the territories of Ṭukhâristân and the Garmsîr was ravaged, and the greater part of the Musalman inhabitants were slaughtered and made captive.

When the news of Jalâlu'd-dîn's arrival at Ghaznî reached Chinghiz Khân at Ṭâlikân he despatched an army of observation, says Abu'l-ghâzî, towards Ghaznî, Ghûristân, Zabul, and Kâbul. This was commanded by Shigi Kutuku Noyan. Minhaj-i-Sarâj calls him the Noyan Fiku. He is called Shigi Hutuku in the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi*, and Hutuhu in the *Yuan-shi*. Kutuku was a Tartar by origin, and on the destruction of his people had been saved as a child in the cradle, and adopted by Burte,

[14] *Ṭabâkât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 1006, 1007.
[15] *i.e.* Siki Kutuku, *vide infra*.
[16] *Id.*, p. 1059.
[17] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 1059—1061.
[18] *Id.* pp. 1057 and 1058.
[19] *Journ. Asiat.*, 5th Ser., XVII, p. 455 note.
[20] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 1006, 1007.

Chinghiz Khan's wife. He called Chinghiz *ijeh*, *i.e.* father, while Burte he called *berigan ekeh* and *sain ekeh*; Chinghiz called him *akd.* He sat above Mangu, Chinghiz Khan's grandson, and with Chinghiz's own sons. Among other stories it was reported that once when Chinghiz was changing his camp in the midst of a heavy snow, a number of deer galloped by, and Kutuku, who was only fifteen years old, asked permission from Gujukur, the governor of Chinghiz Khân's *ordus*, to be allowed to chase them. At the evening halt Chinghiz asked where the boy was, and on being told, he got angry, and said he would perish of cold, and he sharply reprimanded Gujukur and even struck him with the pole of a cart. Presently Kutuku returned and reported that out of 30 deer he had killed 27. Chinghiz was highly pleased, and sent to fetch the carcases, which were duly found stretched on the snow.[21] On another occasion a Taijut marauder passing by Chinghiz Khân's camp, carried off his youngest son, Tului, who was then frcm five to six years old. He put him on his horse's back, and held him with his head under his arm. Although the boy's mother gave chase and seized one hand of the robber, while the young Kutuku seized the other, they could not release the young prince, nor was he released until a shepherd, named Shigi Barak came up, when the young prince was set free, and the robber killed.[22]

When Kutuku was sent with an army to watch the movements of Jalâlu'd-dîn he was accompanied by some other chiefs, named Tekejek, Molka, and Ukar Kiljav by Abu'l-ghâzî. Erdmann calls them Balughan Kiljeh, Kutu, Uker Kiljeh, Dukulku, and Munga Kiljeh.[23] Minhaj-i-Sarâj says he was accompanied by Uklan, the Juzbi, and Sadi, the Juzbi.[24] He also says his army consisted of 45,000 men, while the other authorities make it 30,000.

Shigi Kutuku detached two of his chiefs[25] to attack Walian, which is doubtless the place called Gwalian on Colonel Walker's map, south of the Sar Alang Pass. Minhaj-i-Sarâj also calls it Walishtan.[26] When Jalâlu'd-dîn heard of this he advanced to Parwan, *i.e.*, probably the place of the same name, south of the Parwan Pass, and not far from Walian. There he left his heavy baggage, and advanced upon the enemy at Walian. His army was the more numerous, and the Mongols having lost 1,000 men withdrew across the river, destroying the bridge after them, and took up a position on the other side. Volleys of arrows were shot on either side till night closed, when the Mongols retired. Jalâlu'd-dîn having revictualed Walian withdrew to his camp at Parwan.[27]

De la Croix, in describing this struggle from Nissavi, speaks of it as having been fought at Qandahâr, which did not then exist *eo nomine*, and is otherwise an impossible position for such a struggle at this time. In this account we read that two or three days after Jalâlu'd-dîn reached Ghaznî he learnt that the Mongols were attacking Qandahâr; he thereupon marched against them accompanied by Amin Malik, and sent on a messenger to apprize the governor of the citadel that relief was coming. It was resolved at a council to attack the enemy at dead of night. This was accordingly done, the Mongols had already taken the town, and were engaged in besieging the citadel. They were surprised and mercilessly slaughtered, and the town was filled with corpses. Very few escaped, and the victors secured a large booty, which would have been larger, but that they had to return to the townsfolk what the enemy had recently taken from them.[28]

The fugitive Mongols having rejoined Shiki Kutuku, the Sulṭân marched against the latter, and they faced each other in the neighbourhood of Parwan. Jalâlu'd-dîn ranged his men in order of battle.

Amin Malik commanded the right wing, and Sairfu'd-dîn Aghrak the left, while the Sultân himself took charge of the centre. He ordered his men to dismount, and to fasten

[21] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 304 and 305 note; Erdmann pp. 180 and 181.

[22] Erdmann, p. 181.

[23] Abu'l-ghâzî, pp. 122 and 123; Erdmann, p. 427.

[24] The term *juzbi* or *jazbi*, as the word is read by Raverty, is said by him to mean true-hearted and sincere (*Tabâkât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 1081 note). Minhaj-i-Sarâj says it means a *hâjib* or chamberlain. (*Id.*, p. 979). The word is written *kiljai* by Abu'l-ghâzî, who says it is equivalent to *hazl-kiluji*, he who is agreeable, "*qui plaisante.*" *Op. cit.*, p. 123. Erdmann reads the name in one place as *jerbi*. *Op. cit.*, p. 205 elsewhere he gives it as *kiljeh*. (*Id.*, p. 427).

[25] Abu'l-ghâzî says they were Teke Jek and Molka. Erdmann calls them Munka Kiljeh and Dukulka; Raverty Bakchak or Kamchak and Yamghur, Yighur, Tamghur, or Balghur, all being possible variants. Miles in the *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, Begchuk, and Tumkur.

[26] *Op. cit.* p. 1016.

[27] *Tabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 288 and 289 notes.

[28] Nissavi, in De la Croix, pp. 303 and 305.

their horses' bridles to their girdles. The Mongols first attacked his right wing, which was well supported by the centre and the left, and they had to retire. Successive charges cost the lives of many men without much affecting the result, and towards night each army withdrew to its camp. Meanwhile, to mislead his opponents into the notion that he had received reinforcements, the Mongol general mounted a number of manikins or puppets, made of felt, etc., upon spare camels and horses, and planted them behind his men. The Sultân's generals were misled by the manœuvre, and wished to retire. He would not hear of this, however, but as on the day before, ordered them to fight on foot. The Mongols this time assailed the left wing, but being met by a volley of arrows, withdrew again. Having rallied, they renewed the charge and 500 of their opponents perished. The Sultân then sounded the great trumpet for a charge, and his men remounted and extended out, so as to enclose the enemy. Kutuku had ordered his men not to lose sight of the *tuk* or Imperial standard, but on noticing these tactics they could not be restrained and broke, and as the plain was much broken by gullies where their horses stumbled, they fell victims to the better-mounted soldiers of the Sultân, and the greater part of them perished.[29] According to De la Croix, Jalâlu'd-dîn reproached the Mongol prisoners he captured with their cruelties, and drove nails into their ears to revenge the sufferings of his people.[30]

When Chinghiz Khân heard of the disaster which had overwhelmed his men he concealed his anger, and contented himself with reminding Kutuku that he had been too accustomed to victory, and that he should profit by this severe lesson. He had a great affection for him.

The fruits of the victory were lost to Jalâlu'd-dîn by the disputes which arose among his subordinates, Amin Malik and Saifu'd-dîn, who, having quarrelled about an Arab horse, part of the booty secured in the recent fight, the former struck the latter over the head with a whip. The Sultân did not interfere, as he doubted whether the Kankalis would submit to any decision. Saifu'd-dîn accordingly left him, and marched away towards the mountains of Karmân and Sankuran.[31] D'Ohsson says to Peshâwar. He adds that Saifu'd-dîn was accompanied in his defection by 'Âzam Malik with his Ghûrians.[32] This was a serious blow to the Sultân.

After the capture of Ṭâlikân Chinghiz summered his cavalry in the adjoining mountains.[33] The *Yuan-shi* says that after he had taken the city, to avoid the great heat of summer, he pitched his camp close by.[34]

We now come to a great difficulty. Some of the authorities tell us that on hearing of the disaster to his people he at once set out for Ghaznî, stopping *en route* to take the fortress of Kerduan, which was destroyed with all its people. Erdmann calls this place Kerzewan, and says it capitulated after a month's siege. Miles says it was Indarâb, *i.e.*, Andarâb.[35] Mîrkhond apparently says that leaving his heavy baggage at Baqlân, Chinghiz advanced upon Bâmiyân by way of Andarâb.[36] The *Jahân-kûshâî* distinctly makes Bâmiyân the next point to which Chinghiz directed his march, but Bâmiyân is not only not on the route to Parwan nor even near it, but it is a very roundabout way to get thither by Andarâb. Major Raverty has suggested that Bâmiyân may be a mistake for Walian,[37] and it is certainly consonant with Chinghiz Khân's policy that he should have punished that place after his men had suffered defeat there.

Whether it was Bâmiyân or Walian, we are told that he laid siege to the place, and met with a firm resistance. He built a large mound of earth, on which he planted his wooden battering engines, which he covered with the wet skins of cows and horses to prevent them from being fired by the enemy, but the town still held out, and the Mongols' store of ammunition began to get exhausted. During the siege Muatugan, the son of Jagatai, was killed by an arrow from the walls, and Chinghiz was determined to be bitterly revenged, and having animated his soldiers to renewed efforts he at length captured the town. Every living creature, man and beast, was destroyed, the mother of Muatugan entering the town with the soldiery superintended the hecatomb. The buildings

29 D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 301 and 303.
30 *Op. cit.*, p. 310. 31 *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, p. 290 note.
32 *Op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 303. 33 D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 294.
34 Bretschneider, *Notices*, &c., p. 62.

35 D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 294; Erdmann, p. 423; *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, p. 173.
36 *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 291 and 1019 notes.
37 *Op. cit.*, p. 290, note.

in the town were destroyed, it was re-named Maubaligh, *i.e.*, city of woe, or unfortunate city: the environs were reduced to a desert, and it remained so for a hundred years.[38]

An incident of the siege shows the hard lines of Mongol policy sometimes. We are told that Jagatai was absent when his son was killed, and returned while the place was being demolished. His father desired that the death of the young prince should be concealed from him, and an excuse was therefore made for his absence. A few days later Chinghiz being at table with his three younger sons, and feigning to be angry, reproached them for not being obedient to his orders, especially fixing his eyes on Jagatai. The latter, afraid, went on his knees, and protested he would die rather than disobey his father, a vow which he repeated. Thereupon Chinghiz said to him:—"Your son, Muatugan, has been killed. I forbid you to complain." Struck as by lightning by these words, Jagatai nevertheless restrained his tears, but after the meal was over he withdrew for a while to recover himself.[39]

Chinghiz Khân now continued his advance. We are told that he marched so rapidly that for two days his men had not time to cook their food. When he reached the field of Parwan,[40] he asked Kutuku and another general to point out to him the positions of the two armies, and shewed them how they should have chosen their ground better, and blamed all of them for the recent defeat.[41]

The defection of Saifu'd-dîn and his men had reduced Jalâlu'd-din's forces by one half, and although he had, according to Ibn-al-Athîr, sent a doughty message to Chinghiz Khân after the late fight, bidding him, "choose a battle-field, and he would meet him there,"[42] he was constrained to retire from Ghaznî, where he left a garrison, towards the Indus, the probable reason being, according to Major Raverty, that he claimed the western parts of the Panjâb and also of Sindh as successor to Mu'izu'd-dîn Ghûrî. Chinghiz, who was informed of the division in his camp, advanced rapidly towards Ghaznî, where he arrived 15 days after Jalâlu'd-dîn had left it, and where he left Maḥmûd Yelvaj as governor. Jalâlu'd-dîn had posted Uz Khân, called Orkhan by D'Ohsson, at Kajla, with a small force to keep the Mongols in check till he could get across with his family and valuables, but he was defeated, and had to retire.[43] Nissavi tells us the Sultân had since his departure from Ghaznî suffered from a severe colic, which hardly permitted him to go about, even in a horse-litter. He was, nevertheless, obliged to mount, as he heard the enemy's vanguard had reached a place called Hardir. He accordingly hastened against them, and surprised them in their camp, and having killed most of them returned in safety to his camp.[44]

When Chinghiz came up he gave the command of his right wing to his son, Jagatai, and of the left to his other son, Ogotai, retaining the centre in his own hands, where he surrounded himself with 600 of his guards.[45] Ukar Kiljeh and Kutur Kiljeh were ordered to advance some distance in front, and to try and capture the Sultân alive.[46]

The place where Chinghiz came up with him was on the Indus, at a point nearly opposite the Nîlâb ferry. It was in September 1221. The small Khwârizmian army found itself with the river behind it, and the Mongols ranged in a bow-shaped formation around it on three other sides, and enclosing it in. According to Mîrkhond, Jalâlu'd-dîn had had the boats on the Indus sent away, so that his soldiers might not be tempted to rely on them, reserving one only for the passage of his harem, but it unfortunately broke in pieces, and the ladies had to remain in the camp. Jalâlu'd-dîn commanded the centre, his left wing, which was covered by a mountain that prevented the Mongols from turning it, was entrusted to his *vazîr*, while Amîn Malik commanded the right. The latter began the struggle, the left wing being used as a reserve, Nissavi reports how Jalâlu'd-din put himself at the head of some of his men, and charged the main body of the enemy so bravely that they were thrown into disorder, and a broad way was cloven asunder to where Chinghiz should have been, but he had retired, after having had his

[38] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 294 and 295; De la Croix, pp. 310 and 312; Erdmann, p. 423.
[39] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 295 and 296.
[40] This fact makes it again probable that Bamian has been mentioned by Juveni and others instead of Walian.
[41] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 305. [42] *Id.*, p. 303 note.
[43] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 290 and 291 notes.
[44] De la Croix, pp. 314 and 315.
[45] *Id.*, pp. 315 and 316.
[46] Abu'l-ghâzî, p. 124; Erdmann, p. 430.

horse killed under him, and secured another mount, in order to bring up fresh troops. This advantage nearly won him the victory, for a rumour spread among the Mongols that the Sultân had broken their main body. Chinghiz restored the fight by his personal bravery. Knowing that the Sultân had weakened his left wing, he ordered Bela Noyan to traverse some bye-ways in the mountain, which a native of the place told him was possible. He, accordingly under this man's guidance marched without losing many men between rocks and precipices, and fell upon the Sultân's left wing from behind, and being much weakened it could not resist.[47] Another account says that the Mongols made their chief attack upon Amîn Malik, and the right wing, which fled towards Peshâwar. According to some accounts, he was killed by a body of Mongols who were posted on that side. This is not quite certain, however, and it is possible he escaped and afterwards met with his death in Sindh.[48] The left wing was also broken and towards noon the Sultân was left with but 700 brave men of the centre, with whom he made daring but unavailing charges, and the ranks of the enemy, who had been ordered to take him alive, drew closer and closer.[49]

Thereupon Ujash Malik, also called Akhas, son of Khân Malik, seized the bridle of his horse, and dragged him away. He bade a sorrowful adieu to his wives, and having taken off his armour and arms, except his sword, bow, and quiver full of arrows, he summoned a fresh charger, had it saddled, and boldly jumped with it from the bank into the rapid Indus, which flowed eight or ten yards below, and with his buckler on his back and holding his standard aloft he swam over in safety.[50] Abu'l-faraj, apparently quoting Juveni, says that when in mid-stream he stopped and discharged a volley of arrows at the Mongols.[51] The gallant horse which had borne him over was kept by Jalâlu'd-dîn without being mounted until the siege of Tiflis in 1226.[52] Major Raverty says that there is a place on the west bank of the Indus, a little below Nîlâb, called Ghor-trap, or the Horse's Leap, which perhaps took its name from the incident just described.[53]

Some of the Mongol chiefs would have plunged into the river after Jalâlu'd-dîn, but were restrained by Chinghiz, and Juveni was told by a number of witnesses that they fired their arrows at the fugitives who had rushed in after their master, and that for a distance of an arrow's flight the water was reddened with blood. Chinghiz himself greatly admired the dashing feat, and, we are told, put his hand to his mouth, which was a sign of astonishment, and pointed it out to his sons as worthy of imitation, saying that such a son was worthy of his father. Jalâlu'd-dîn had thrown his treasures of gold and silver into the river, and these were partially recovered by divers employed by the Mongol chief.[54] The battle, according to Nissavi, was fought on the 9th of December 1221.[55]

The account followed by Miles and Raverty tells us that having reached the opposite bank the Sulṭân dismounted, loosened the girths, took off the felt saddle cloth together with his own tunic and cloak and his arrows, and laid them in the sun to dry, and spread his *chatr* or canopy on the head of his spear, which he stuck into the ground to shade him from the sun. He remained alone until the time of afternoon prayer, when about seven of his followers joined him, and a small tent was pitched for his convenience. "Whilst the light permitted he watched the proceedings of the Mongols, while the heavens above looked down upon him with wonder and amazement."[56]

Nissavi has a strange report that Jalâlu'd-dîn, pained by the screams of his family, who begged him to prevent them becoming the slaves of the Mongols, ordered them, before he crossed the river, to be drowned. Other authorities tell us, on the contrary, that his harem fell into the hands of Chinghiz Khân, who ordered all the males to be killed, including the Sultân's eldest son, a boy of eight years old, who had been captured in the recent fight.[57] Nissavi also has a pathetic account of the immediate fortunes of the Sulṭân when beyond the river.

[47] Rashîdu'd-dîn, quoted by De la Croix, p. 317.
[48] *Tabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 540 note.
[49] D'Ohsson, vol. I. p. 306.
[50] De la Croix, p. 318; *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 291 and 292 notes.
[51] *Chron. Arab.*, p. 294.
[52] Nissavi, quoted by D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 307 note.
[53] *Tabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 292.
[54] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 307 and 308; Erdmann, p. 431; Abu'l-ghâzî, p. 125; Abu'l-faraj, *Chron. Arab.*, pp. 293 and 294.
[55] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 308 note.
[56] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 293 note; *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, p. 177.
[57] De la Croix, pp. 319 and 320.

He says he got up into a tree to spend the night, and to secure himself from wild beasts, which were plentiful there.

As he was walking on the river bank he noticed a number of his men and officers, who, at the beginning of the late struggle had found a boat in which they had traversed the river amidst great dangers from rocks, &c. Among them were three officers, his particular friends, with whom he arranged plans. He was soon after joined by 300 horse, who told him 4,000 more had saved themselves by swimming two leagues from thence, but that they were in great distress from weariness and want of clothing. Presently an officer of his household, named Jamâlu'r-razad, who was not present at the battle, but having heard that his master had escaped, loaded a large boat with food, money, stuffs, bows and arrows, swords, &c. &c., with which he crossed the Indus. This very seasonable relief greatly pleased the Sultân, who appointed his benefactor steward of his household, and surnamed him Ikthiar-u'd-dîn, *i.e.*, the saviour of the faith.[53]

Northern India was at this time subject to the Turkish dynasty founded by Qutbu'd-dîn, Ibak-al-Mu'izi. On the death of Qutbu'd-dîn, about the year 607 A. H. *i.e.*, 1210, he was succeeded by his son, Arâm Shâh, who was speedily murdered. Thereupon a partial division of the heritage ensued. Qutbu'd-dîn left three daughters, one of these married Sultân Shamsu'd-dîn I-yal-tamsh, who had been much cherished by his father-in-law, and given the fief of Budâon. He was now raised to the throne of Dehlî. The other two daughters of Qutbu'd-dîn were successively married by Naṣiru'd-dîn Kabajah, of whom Minhaj-i-Sarâj tells us that on the death of his father-in-law, "he proceeded to Uchchah and possessed himself of the city of Multân and Sindustân (*i.e.* Siwistân, the modern Sihwân), and Diwal, as far as the seacoast. The whole he brought under his sway and subjected the fortresses, cities, and towns of the territory of Sindh, assumed two canopies of state, and annexed the country as far as the limits of Tabarhindah, Kuhram, and Sarsuti."[54] On the death of Qutbu'd-dîn the district of Lakhnâvati was appropriated by the Khalaj chiefs, while Lahor was sometimes seized by each of the two brothers-in-law above named, the rulers of Dehlî and of Sindh respectively, and sometimes by Malik Taju'd-dîn Yaldus of Ghaznî.[55]

When Jalâlu'd-dîn, after crossing the Indus as we have described, had collected a few men about him, he set out eastwards. Raverty says he entered the Chul desert tract of Jaruk, still called, perhaps, from this fact, Chul-i-Jalâli,[56] and sent on some one to explore, who reported that he had found a body of 2,000 Hindus encamped on the hills of Bilalah and Nikalah. Jalâlu'd-dîn attacked and dispersed them and appropriated their horses, and thus mounted some of his followers. Having heard that the Mongols were pursuing him, he now retired towards Dehlî, and sent an envoy to I-yal-tamsh to recall the friendship which had hitherto subsisted between their peoples, and asking for shelter. I-yal-tamsh charged this envoy with having conspired against him, and put him to death, and excused himself from granting him a settlement on the ground that the climate would injure the Sultân's health, but offered to welcome him if he would go on to Dehlî, an offer which perhaps meant that he would thus get him into his power. He sent a messenger with presents to excuse the murder of the envoy. According to Minhaj-i-Sarâj he, on the contrary, sent an army against him.[57] At all events it was plain that he would not be welcomed at Dehlî, so he turned his steps elsewhere, and despatched a force into the hills of Jud, in the midst of the Sindh-Sâgar Doâb, which defeated the Khôkars, and returned with a great booty. Jalâlu'd-dîn married the daughter of the Rai of Khôkar, while the latter's son, who was given the title of Kutlugh, joined him with a force. D'Ohsson apparently calls this chief the prince of Judi. He says he had 1,000 horsemen and 5,000 foot soldiers with him; the Sultân, who had 4,000 men with him, defeated this army also. Its chief was struck by an arrow and killed, and he secured much booty.

There had long been strife between the Khôkars and Kabajah, the ruler of Sindh,

[53] De la Croix, pp. 320 and 321.
[54] *Tabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 532.
[55] *Id.*, p. 530.
[56] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirt*, p. 293 note; *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, p. 178.
[57] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 293 and 294 notes; Erdmann, p. 432. [The Jud or Judi of the text is the Salt Range of the Jhelam District; Jud being still the Muhammadan name for the Sakeśar Peak.—Ed.]

already named, who was encamped near Uchchâ or Uch, with 20,000 men. Jalâlu'd-dîn now sent Jahân Pahlavan against the latter at the head of 7,000 men. They surprised Kabajah in the night, and completely defeated him. He fled to an island on the Indus, and Jalâlu'd-dîn occupied Uchchâ. Presently he reached Multân, and on the Sultân's demand paid him a considerable sum. Meanwhile the hot season being at hand Jalâlu'd-dîn withdrew to the Salt Range, and captured a fortress called Bisiram or Bisram, where he was wounded in the hand by an arrow.[58] The Mongols impelled him to move further, and he approached Multân, where Kabajah, knowing he was hard pressed, refused him admittance. He then went on to Uch, where he stayed two days, and which he fired, and thence went on to Siwastân or Sihwan, already named, which was held by a deputy of Kubajah, Fakhru'd-dîn Salari, who sent out a detachment, which was beaten, and he then thought it best to submit. Jalâlu'd-dîn entered the town, where he remained a month, conferred a robe of honour on Fakhru'd-dîn, whom he appointed his deputy in Sindustân, and then went on to Dibal and Damrilah, at the mouth of the Indus. There he encamped, its Abyssinian governor having meanwhile taken flight in a boat, and there he founded a Jâmi' Masjid on the ruins of an idol temple. Thence he sent a force under Khas Khân towards Nahrwalah, in Gujarât, which returned with a vast booty.[59] He remained in this district till the Mongols returned home to their own country, when he also retraced his steps across the Indus. Thus did the young Sultân evade his merciless pursuers, to whom we will now turn.

Chinghiz Khân was not likely to allow him to escape without an effort. He accordingly sent Bela Noyan and Durbai Noyan, called Turtai by Raverty, and Durmun by Miles, with 20,000 men across the Indus in pursuit of him. They speedily reached the district formerly governed by Qamru'd-dîn Karmânî, and which had recently been seized by one of the Sultân's Amîrs, a district which Raverty calls Banban or Banian. Here was the strong fortress of Nandanah, called Bebeh by Erdmann, and rightly Biah by D'Ohsson, who says one of Jalâlu'd-dîn's officers was in command of it, and that it was taken with great slaughter.[60] The Mongols now advanced upon Multân, along the western bank of the Jhelam. Finding the river there unfordable, they constructed a bridge by means of rafts. They then invested the town, and battered it severely with catapults for 42 days, but were eventually obliged to raise the siege on account of the terrible summer heat. They therefore contented themselves with plundering the district round Multân, Lahor, Peshâwar, and Mâlikpûr, recrossed the Indus, and went back to join their master.[61] Meanwhile Chinghiz Khân, whose policy was to stamp out every ember of dissatisfaction, had despatched three fresh armies, southwards and westwards and northwards, under his sons, Jagatai and Ogotai, and the general Ilchikadai respectively.

Abu'l-ghâzî says that Jagatai was sent to the provinces of Kesh and Makran.[62] De la Croix, apparently following Rashîdu'd-dîn, says he took 60,000 men with him, and was sent to the provinces of Sindh and Kirmân, to prevent Jalâlu'd-dîn from sheltering there.[63] He says further that Makrân at this time appertained to Sindh.

His account is that Jagatai first captured the various principal places in Kirmân, then turned to Makrân, and captured Tiz which Ishtakhri names as a sea-port of Makrân and some other places, and then wintered in Kilanjâr,[64] which Wolff identifies probably with a portion of the modern Baluchistân. Its ruler was the Salar Ahmad, who was submissive, and supplied the invaders with forage and other necessaries.

As he meant to stay there some time the soldiers built themselves houses, and even got themselves flocks of sheep. Their quarters were far apart, and they had plenty of slaves to wait on them. They planted gardens, and began, in fact, to behave as if they meant to settle there altogether. Presently, however, the hot winds, which prevail there in summer, began to blow,

[58] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 294 note.

[59] *Id.* pp. 294 and 295 note.

[60] D'Ohsson, vol. I. pp. 309-310. Erdmann, p. 432; *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 536 note.

[61] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 536 note; Erdmann, p. 432; D'Ohsson, vol. I. p. 310.

[62] *Op. cit.* p. 138.

[63] De la Croix, p. 332.

[64] This name is very probably corrupt. Raverty says it also occurs as Lanjar, Kanjar, and even Lanhar, and Erdmann gives the variants Debuyeh Ketur and Dehuseh Kebur. De la Croix, pp. 336, 337; *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 1074; Erdmann, p. 433; and note 326.

many of the invaders were stricken down, and the rest were reduced to great weakness. This prevented them from attacking Fars and part of Khuzistân, which were under the authority of Ghiâsu'd-dîn, Jalâlu'd-dîn's younger brother. We read that he sent envoys to the countries of Kesh, Kachh, Makrân, and the port of Surat, and received their submission; troops being sent to those who were not submissive, and that having put governors in the districts and towns he had conquered, Jagatai marched northwards to rejoin his father.[65]

While Jagatai was overrunning the province, now called Baluchistân, Ogotai marched upon Ghazni, at this time, we are told, called Dâru'l-Mulk, or the Royal City, the famous capital of the great Indian conqueror Maḥmûd and of his descendants. The statement that it was now attacked and destroyed is not easy to reconcile with that already made that it submitted to Chinghiz Khân, who put Maḥmûd Yelvaj there as its ruler, unless it had in the meantime revolted like Herat, &c. However this is to be explained, we read that the place now resisted bravely. Twice the citizens broke down the mounds on which the besiegers had planted their engines, while they disabled 100 of their battering rams, but it was of no avail. The wall of the town presently fell and filled up the ditch with its ruins, over which the Mongols hurried. The commander and his followers died fighting. The place was then sacked during four or five hours, the artisans were transplanted to Mongolia, while the citizens who remained alive were allowed to ransom their houses.[66] Ogotai now advanced upon Ghûr, the reduction of whose various fortresses is described by Minhaj-i-Sarâj alone, and in a way which is so embarrassing that it is impossible to reduce his narrative to order. We read that Ogotai having reached Pul-i-Ahingarân, *i.e.*, the Blacksmith's Boundary, near Firûzkôh, halted and pitched his camp. Thence he sent the Juzbis Saadi and Mankadhu or Mankadah, and some other Noyans, with a large force to subdue Seistân.[67] The Noyan Abaka was sent with a large force against the fortress of the *Ashiyar* of Gharjistân.[68] Another force under the Noyan Ilji was sent into the hill country of Ghûr and Herat. In short, says, our author, *Shahnahs* and bodies of troops were appointed to invade every part of Ghûr, Khurâsân, and Seistân, and during the whole of that winter slaughter was carried by these Mongol divisions into all the townships and villages.[69]

We will examine these expeditions in greater detail.

To begin with Seistân. Rashidu'd-dîn says Ogotai sent to ask his father's permission to invade Seistan, but received orders to rejoin him on account of the great heats, so leaving his prisoners in charge of Kiku Noyan, he advanced northwards to rejoin his father by the Garmsîr road.[70] The *Huang-yuan* says Ogotai approached Bu-si-ze-dan, *i.e.*, Bost in Seistan, and wished to besiege it.[71] To return to the account of Minhaj-i-Sarâj, he says that the force which had advanced to the gate of Seistân took that place by assault, and it had to fight in every quarter of it before it was subdued, for the people there, women and men, great and small, all resisted obstinately with knife and sword, and all were killed.[72]

Let us now turn to the campaign against the fortress of Ashiyar. In order to understand this we must digress somewhat. When Chinghiz Khân marched across the Hindu Kûsh into Afghanistân, he left behind at his camp at the hill of Numan between Ṭâlikân and Balkh, his heavy baggage and treasures, since it was impossible to traverse the mountains of Gharjistân with such *impedimenta*. He left a small force in charge of this camp. Meanwhile a number of neighbouring fortresses had not surrendered. The fortresses of Gharjistân, says Minhaj-i-Sarâj, were Rang or Zang, Bindar or Pindar, Balarwan or Parwan, Laghri, Siya-Khanah (variants of the name are Shina Khanah and Sata Khanah), Sabekji or Sabankji, and Ashiyar. The majority of these fortresses were galleries on the faces of the mountains, &c.[73] Within the fortress of Ashiyar, we are told, was a Gharjah Amîr, of

[65] Erdmann, p. 433; *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 1074 and 1075 notes; *Shajrat-ul-Atra'k*, pp. 187 and 188; De la Croix, pp. 336 and 338.

[66] De la Croix, pp. 335 and 336.

[67] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî, p.* 1047.

[68] Raverty says *Ashiyar* is the plural of *Shar*, which was the title borne by the rulers of Gharjistân. *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 1043 note.

[69] *Id.* 1048.

[70] D'Ohsson, vol. I, p. 317; Erdmann, p. 432 and 433.

[71] Bretschneider, *Notices, etc.*, p. 67.

[72] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, p. 1048.

[73] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣirî*, pp. 1071 and 1072.

great determination and energy, named Amîr Muhammad the Maraghani. He started from Ashiyar with a large force to try and secure the vast booty which the Mongols had collected, and he seized on as many wheeled carriages laden with gold and other wealth as he could in the Mongol camp, set free a large number of captives, and secured many horses.

Ogotai having, as we have seen, reached Pul-i-Ahingarân, sent the Noyan Abaka, who was the commander of 10,000 Manjanikchis or catapult workers, against Ashiyar, which he proceeded to attack. As it was too strong to storm they blockaded it, and this blockade lasted for fifteen months, until the people inside, reduced to great distress, were constrained to eat the bodies of those who were killed or died, and *inter alia*, it was reported that there was there a woman of the minstrel class who had a mother and a female slave. Both having died, she dried their bodies and sold the corpses for 250 dinars of pure gold, after which she also died. The blockade having lasted for fifteen months and ten days, only about 30 men remained alive inside. They seized the Amîr, Muhammad the Maraghani, killed him, and threw his head near the Mongol camp, hoping thus for better treatment. When the Mongols saw the head they at once assaulted and carried the fortress and killed every one inside, and then proceeded to capture the other strongholds of Gharjistân.[74]

MISCELLANEA.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI EBN ABI TALEBI.

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Continued from Vol. XIII. p. 272.

188. Honour is acquired in two ways—by acting justly, and helping our fellow men.

189. The bitterness of this life is the sweetness of the next.

190. He who is modest is worthy of respect.

191. Do not deceive him who asks your advice, nor be angry with him who exhorts you.

192. He who consults a wise man reigns, but he who takes no advice perishes.

193. The tongue of wisdom is truth, that of folly falsehood.

194. The speech of a man is the balance of his intellect.

195. Direct your tongue and you will be safe.

196. To eat in moderation keeps off many diseases of the body.

197. Speak the truth even against your own interests.

198. A little politeness is better than high rank.

199. The food of the world is poison, and its furniture rottenness.

200. Blessed is he who puts on the tranquillity of a contented mind as a garment, and puts away prodigality.

201. The fidelity of a man is known by his oaths.

202. He is your brother who helps you in poverty.

203. The learning of a man is better than his gold.

204. To pay debts is a part of religion.

205. By benefiting your enemy you will subdue him.

206. He is your brother, who helps you with his wealth, and not by the mention of his relationship.

207. Wealth is increased by giving alms liberally.

208. Sell earthly things in exchange for heavenly and you will gain.

209. If you rise early you will be prosperous.

210. Good works make life happy.

211. The troubles of man come from the tongue.

212. He gives twice who gives cheerfully.

213. Trust in God and He will satisfy you.

214. Act in such a way that you may obtain in old age what you missed in youth.

BOOK NOTICES.

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LIII. Part I. No. 2; 1884.

The first paper is a valuable contribution by Mr. V. A. SMITH, Bengal Civil Service, on the Gold Coins of the Imperial Gupta Dynasty.

After some preliminary remarks, the most important of which will be noticed below, Section II. deals with the leading features of the types and devices of the coins, and the principles on which Mr. Smith's classification of them is based. We are glad to find here that he dissents entirely from the theory that the female figure on the reverse of these coins is intended invariably to represent Pârvatî or Durgâ. The Early Guptas were certainly not exclusively of the Vaishnava religion. But, at the same time,

[74] *Tabakat-i-Nasiri*, pp. 1071—1077.

there is nothing whatever in their history to lead to the supposition that they made any such profession of the Śaiva faith, as would be implied by their adopting so uniformly the figure of Pârvatî on their coins. As Mr. Smith suggests, the interpretation of this figure as Pârvatî can be due to nothing but the fact that it is identical in all essential points with the figure on the Indo-Scythian coins, which is connected there with the name of Αρδοκρο or Αρδοχρο,—coupled with the supposition that this represents a Sanskṛit word, *Ardhôgrâ*, and that the latter is capable of being interpreted to mean 'half Śiva,' *i.e.* his consort Pârvatî, in allusion to his form of Ardhanârîśa, or the god half male and half female. *Ardhôgrâ* is a *possible* Sanskṛit formation; and that is all that can be said for it. We have no lexicographical authority for such a compound having been ever formed and used; and, if it should be formed, it certainly could not have the meaning of Pârvatî as the half of Ugra or Śiva. Mr. Smith's conclusion is that the female figure represents, in almost every instance, the goddess Śrî or Lakshmî,—not specially as the consort of Vishṇu, and therefore symbolical of the Vaishṇava religion; but simply as representing Fortune, Victory, or regal splendour.—As regards the 'bird-standard,' which appears first on the coins of Samudragupta,—Mr. Smith, differing from Professor Wilson and General Cunningham, finds himself unable to accept it as representing Garuḍa, and, while preferring the simple term 'bird-standard,' as involving no theory, shews a decided inclination to agree with Mr. Thomas' interpretation of it as a peacock. The copper coins of Chandragupta, however, shew plainly that it is intended for Garuḍa; for the larger specimens have on the reverse the similar representation of a bird, with wings spread out sideways, and also with *human arms* stretched out sideways and downwards between the wings and the legs; this cannot be meant for anything except Garuḍa. The same bird, with human arms, occurs also on the seal of a Gayâ copperplate grant of Samudragupta, which, though the plate itself seems to be spurious, has apparently an antique and genuine seal attached to it;—also on the seal of a grant of the *Mahârâja* Śarvanâtha of Uchchakalpa, a feudatory of the immediate successors of the Early Guptas;—and also on the seal of the Râjim grant of Tîvaradêva (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVII. Pl. vi.)

Section III. is devoted to the so-called 'monograms,' which are found on most of the Gupta gold coins. As Mr. Smith points out, the term 'monogram' is a misnomer; since these marks certainly contain nothing in the way of a combination of alphabetical characters. The more correct term would be 'emblems,' or 'symbols.' The true purport of these symbols still remains unexplained. But the theories that they denote mint-cities, or mint-masters, or that they are due to nothing but a blind copying of the Indo-Scythian coins, must certainly be abandoned. And Mr. Smith's suggestion that they are of a religious nature, appears worthy of further consideration and inquiry, as being perhaps the closest guess to the true meaning of them that has as yet been made.

Section IV. deals with a question to which but little attention has as yet been paid,—that of the weights of the coins. And the results of Mr. Smith's experiments seem to shew that,—whereas the coins of Nara-Bâlâditya,[1] and others of the same class, clearly represent the ancient Hindu weight and coin called *suvarṇa*, and weighing 80 *raktikâs*, or, as Mr. Smith's results seem to shew, 146 grains,—the coins of the imperial Early Guptas denote at least three very different standards of weight, of approximately 125, 130, and 134-35 grains respectively, and follow old Roman, Lydian, and Macedonian standards.

Sections V. and VI. deal with the Find-spots of the Gupta coins, and as a result, with the questions of the Early Gupta Mint-cities and Capital. The hitherto generally accepted opinion has been that Kanauj was the Capital of the Early Guptas. The facts put together by Mr. Smith, however, "indicate, unmistakably that the Gupta gold "coinage was struck and chiefly current in terri-"tories far to the east of Kanauj; and that these "territories may be roughly described as the "Province of Benares, with some adjoining dis-"tricts;" and Mr. Smith, following a suggestion made by General Cunningham, selects Paṭna, the ancient Pâṭaliputra, as the head-quarters of the

[1] Mr. Smith, following Mr. Thomas, writes the first part of this name *Nâra*, with the vowel of the first syllable long (which has been thought to be an abbreviation of *Nârâyaṇa*) and attaches to it the syllables *gupta*. But in the specimen figured by him, as also in General Cunningham's coins, and in the coin belonging to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the name on the obverse is very distinctly *Nara*, with the vowel of the first syllable short. The coins furnish no authority whatever for the addition of the syllable *gupta*; for the character between the king's feet is certainly not *gu*, as Mr. Thomas read it. Nor is it *śrî*, as Mr. Smith suggests. According to the specimen figured by Mr. Smith, and according to four others, the character is distinctly *grê*. On one other coin there is a slight mark which might turn it into *śrê*; but this is very doubtful. The legend on the reverse is not exactly *Bâlâditya*, but *Vâlâditya* for *Bâlâditya*. As in the case of this coin, Mr. Thomas interprets as *gu* a character that is between the feet of the standing figure on the obverse of a gold coin of Vishṇu-Chandrâditya (*ante* Vol. XII. p. 10). But the real reading there is *u*.

eastern dominions of the Gupta kings, with the probability of their having also had important seats of government at Mahôba, Khajurâho, and Kâlañjar. This conclusion, as regards Pâṭaliputra, is well in accordance with the position of the localities in which the Gupta stone-inscriptions are found; and with the fact that at least two of those inscriptions mention Pâṭaliputra, whereas none of them mention Kanyâkubja or Kanauj. But, as regards the value of the evidence of coins on such a point, it must always be borne in mind that *gold* coins may easily be found, even in considerable numbers, at places far distant from those in which they are struck or are properly current, having been transported for purposes of commerce, or as votive offerings by pilgrims; and that the same want of conclusiveness, to a certain extent, attends the inference that may be drawn from the finding of *silver* coins also. On the other hand, *copper* coins would never be exported for such purposes; and the existence of them to any considerable extent in any particular locality, would be a most sure and certain sign that the capital of the king by whom they were issued was in or very close to that locality. The copper coins of the Early Guptas, however, that have as yet been found, are so very few and rare, that no conclusion can be arrived at on the support of them.

The remainder of the paper is occupied with Mr. Smith's catalogue and detailed descriptions of the coins examined by him, and with his readings of the legends on them.

In his introductory remarks, Mr. Smith suggests that the name of the founder of the family was not simply Gupta, as it is usually accepted, but Śrîgupta, which form he uses throughout; the grounds for this being—that the past participle, *gupta*, 'protected,' can hardly stand alone for a proper name; whereas Śrîgupta, 'protected by Śrî or Lakshmî,' gives a suitable meaning, and is a complete name;—and that the Chinese pilgrim I-tsing (about A.D. 673 to 690) speaks of a king Śrîgupta, who preceded his time by five hundred years. This is a point that has doubtless occurred to others also; but it is not so easy to dispose of it. In the well-known name of the Buddhist saint Upagupta,[2] we have a precisely similar instance of a past participle, meaning 'hidden, concealed,' standing by itself for a proper name. And, where *śrî* is an integral part of a proper name, it is customary to emphasise it, and to prevent the possibility of doubt, by inserting the honorific prefix *śrî* before it,—thus, *mahâdêvyâṁ śrî-Śrîmatyâm = utpannaḥ*, "born of the queen-consort, the glorious Śrîmâtî," in line 2 of the 'Barnarak' inscription;[3] and *śrî-Śrîpathâyâṁ puri*, "at the glorious city of Śrîpathâ," in line 6 of the Byânâ inscription.[4] And, finally, the word *gupta* does not appear at all in the name of Ghaṭôtkacha, the son of the founder of the family; it is only in the case of Ghaṭôtkacha's son Chandragupta I., and his successors, that the word is of necessity only an integral part of a fuller name. There seems no objection, at present, to accepting 'Gupta' by itself as the name of the founder of the family.[5] And it is quite possible that it is not originally the Sanskṛit participle at all, but is simply a Sanskṛitised form of a foreign name.

Following Mr. Thomas and others, Mr. Smith allots the first coin figured by him to Ghaṭôtkacha, the son of the founder of the family. This, however, is by no means a certainty; and, indeed, facts tend strongly to negative the correctness of the assignment. Mr. Smith has pointedly impressed upon us that the coins attributed to Ghaṭôtkacha have peculiarly distinctive features of their own. Thus, at page 121, he speaks of "the Hindû character of nearly all the Gupta gold coins." Whereas, at p. 127 he writes—"The coins of Ghaṭôtkacha "possess no distinctive Hindû characteristics. "The king, who sacrifices at a fire-altar, grasps a "peculiar rose-headed standard, which seems obviously intended to symbolize the rayed sun. "The Sun and Fire are, in mythology, almost "convertible terms; and I think it may fairly be "assumed, on the evidence of the coins, that "Ghaṭôtkacha (though he may have been a Hindû), was a worshipper of the solar fire, as his "Indo-Scythian predecessors undoubtedly were." And again, at p. 129, he speaks of "the undisputed solar character of Ghaṭôtkacha's coinage." The emblem interpreted as a 'fire-altar,' however, is not a peculiarly distinctive feature of the coins attributed to Ghaṭôtkacha; for it appears again on some of the coins of Samudragupta, on one attributed to Chandragupta II., and on one of Kumâragupta. And we have it uniformly throughout the series of coins of the later Indo-Scythians, who were contemporaneous with the Early Guptas in the Pañjâb:[7] in these coins it is

[2] Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. I. p. 182; Vol. II. pp. 88, 93, 273.

[3] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVI. p. 73. [4] *ante* p. 10.

[5] In line 15 of the Girnâr inscription (*Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. II. p. 135), Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî reads *Guptasya kâl-âgaṇanâṁ vidhâya*, "counting from the time of Gupta;" and this would seem to settle the question, and to shew that the name was Gupta, not Śrîgupta. It happens, however, that the correct reading of the original here is *Gupta-prakâlê gaṇanâṁ vidhâya*, "making the calculation in the reckoning of the Guptas."

[7] See, for instance, the two coins figured by Mr. Thomas, *ante* Vol. XII. p. 9.

always coupled with the *triśûla*, the special emblem of the Śaiva creed; which is certainly against the symbol being a distinctive sign of solar worship. In fact,—though other scholars, as well as Mr. Smith, interpret it as a 'fire-altar;' and though Mr. Smith states, at p. 126, that "in at least one "specimen in the British Museum collection, the "grains of incense falling on the fire-altar are "plainly indicated,"—it is still a fair matter of argument as to whether the emblem may not be a vessel containing the sacred *tulasî*-plant, as has been suggested, or even something of an entirely undenominational character. There has always been a tendency to connect the Early Guptas specially with solar worship, by accepting them as belonging to the Sûryavaṁśa or lineage of the sun. And it is doubtless this tendency, coupled with "the connection which existed between the "*aśvamêdha*-ceremony and solar worship," which has influenced Mr. Smith in suggesting, at p. 129, that Samudragupta also, "though a good Hindû, "may have been, as so many Hindûs still are, "specially devoted to the worship of the sun."[8] This tendency, however, is due to nothing but a mistake, originating with Dr. Mill's mislection of the Allahâbâd inscription,[9] where, in line 30, he reads *rôma-charmaṇaḥ ravi-bhuvô bâhur=ayam= uchchhritaḥ stambhaḥ*," "of this child of the Sun, though clothed in hairy flesh, this lofty pillar is the arm"; while the original has *âchakshâṇa iva bhuvô* &c., "this pillar has been erected, as if it were an arm of the earth declaring (the glories of Samudragupta)." There is, as a matter of fact, nothing whatever to connect the Early Guptas with solar worship, till the time of the last of them, Skandagupta, of whose reign we have the Indôr plate, of the year 146, which opens with an invocation of the sun, and records a grant to a temple of the sun at that town. So far as epigraphical evidence goes, it was only at this period that sun-worship became at all general in the more strictly Hindû part of northern India; and it was undoubtedly introduced by a purely sun-worshipping race from the north-west frontier of India, who then began to overrun the country, and finally overthrew the Early Guptas. The 'rayed-sun standard,' however,—if this is the correct interpretation,[10] —is a far more distinctive symbol; as it appears nowhere again in any of the Early Gupta coins, except,—without the staff, and as a symbol only,[11]—on one coin, bearing the name of Chandra (Pl. iii. No. 2), which is attributed to Chandragupta II. There is, in fact, nothing in the numismatic details of the coins attributed to Ghaṭôtkacha to connect them conclusively with the undoubted coins of the Early Guptas. Again, like his father before him, Ghaṭôtkacha was not a paramount sovereign, but only a subordinate ruler, his title being simply that of *Mahârâja*. The title indicative of supreme sovereignty in those times was *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, which was assumed for the first time by Ghaṭôtkacha's son Chandragupta I. On Mr. Smith's own shewing, therefore (p. 156), Ghaṭôtkacha's rank was not such as to entitle him to issue a coinage; and we have no reason to expect to find any coins of his time, any more than of his father, of whom none have been found. And finally, the name of Ghaṭôtkacha does not appear on the coins that are attributed to him. The name on the obverse, under the left arm of the king, inside the spear, is Kâcha,;[12] which, meaning 'glass, crystal,' &c., is a very different word from *utkacha*, 'having the hairs (*of the body*) standing erect (*through pleasure*),' which is the second component of the name of Ghaṭôtkacha. And the marginal legend, commencing at the top, behind the king's head,—not, as Mr. Thomas and Mr. Smith take it, at the

[8] The connection of Samudragupta with the *aśvamêdha*-coin rests chiefly upon the occurrence of a certain unexplained syllable on that coin (Pl. ii. No. 9), and on the indubitable Lyrist-coin of Samudragupta (Pl. ii. No. 7).—It is a little doubtful whether this syllable is identical on the two coins; or whether it is not *si* on the former, and *sê* on the latter. But, however this may be, the same syllable *si* or *sê*,—again with nothing to explain it,—occurs also on one of the coins, belonging to General Cunningham, of the later Indo-Scythian series of the Pañjâb.

[9] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. III. p. 344.

[10] This, however, is open to argument. In the case of the coin attributed to Chandragupta II., Mr. Smith himself interprets the symbol as a 'wheel' (p. 130). Precisely the same symbol, without the staff, occurs also at the beginning of a Buddhist inscription at Mathurâ (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. Pl. xvi. No. 22.) And this instance, as well as the general design of the symbol, is certainly in favour of interpreting the symbol as a form of the Buddhist wheel, rather than as a rayed sun or planet with the unnecessary addition of a circle round the ends of the rays.

[11] The only other coin, at all connected with the Early Gupta series, on which this symbol is known to appear again, and as a standard, is a coin belonging to General Cunningham, of Jaya-Prakîrṇayaśas, of about the period of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Âdityasêna.—A very similar symbol or standard, but more elaborate in its details, is on the rock at Tuśâm, below the inscription which, as translated, records the conquest of Ghaṭôtkacha by a Tushâra king Vishṇu (*Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 139, and Pl. xl.) This, however, is nothing but a piece of pure fabricated history. The Vishṇu of this inscription is the *god*. The word *tushâra* is used in its meaning of 'frost.' And the syllables that have been manipulated into the name of Ghaṭôtkacha, are, in the original, *dânav-âṅganâ*, 'the women of the Dânavas or demons.'

[12] Mr. Smith gives this name as "*kacha*; which is sometimes read as *kâcha*." But the coin figured by him has distinctly the vowel *â* attached to the first syllable; as also have the coins belonging to General Cunningham, Mr. Gibbs, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and apparently the coin figured by Mr. Thomas in *Archæol. Surv. West. India*, Vol. II. Pl. vii. No. 1.

bottom, in front of his feet,—is *K[â*]chô*[13] *gâm=avaj[i*]tya karmabhir=uttamair=jaya[ti*]*, "Kâcha, having conquered the earth, is victorious by (*his*) excellent deeds." There is no room here for the syllables *ghaṭô* before the *k[â*]*; and here, as below the king's arm, the *k* is formed in such a way as to shew distinctly that it is the sole consonant of the syllable, and is not merely the lower part of *tk*. The coins, therefore, are coins of a king named Kâcha, not Ghaṭôtkacha; and, as pointed out above, the two names are utterly distinct. Nor does the legend on the reverse, *sarva-râj-ôchchhêttâ*, 'the exterminator of all kings,' suffice to shew that these are Gupta coins; much less that they are coins of Ghaṭôtkacha. This epithet does, it is true, occur in some of the Gupta inscriptions. But there is nothing distinctive about it, to restrict the use of it to the Gupta kings. And, in four of the five instances in which it does occur,—*viz.* the Mathurâ, Bihâr, and Bhitari inscriptions, and the spurious copper-plate spoken of above,—it is to Samudragupta that it is applied. Only in the Bilsaṇḍ inscription is there any possibility of applying it to Ghaṭôtkacha; and there, also, the probability is that it applies to Samudragupta. Accordingly, on the analogy of the similar expressions, *apratiratha, parâkrama*, and *kṛitânta-paraśu*, which are applied in inscriptions to Samudragupta and occur on undoubted coins of Samudragupta,—this legend, *sarva-râj-ôchchhêttâ*, shews, if it proves anything at all, that the coins on which it appears are coins of Samudragupta. The name of Kâcha, however, prevents this attribution. Who the Kâcha of these coins was, cannot at present be said. The name is of rare occurrence. But it *is* met with elsewhere; *e.g.* in the case of two kings or chieftains, Kâcha I. and Kâcha II., mentioned in an inscription of the fifth or sixth century A.D. in the Ajaṇṭâ Caves.[14] The Kâcha of these coins, however, is probably to be looked for among the later Indo-Scythians, who were contemporaries of the Early Guptas in the Pañjâb and the north-west of India.

THE SANSKRIT READER. SAMSKRITAPATHAVALI, Vol. I. No. I. January 1884, Published and printed by the Proprietor of the Nirṇayasâgara Press, Bombay.

The study of Sanskṛit has been greatly facilitated by the introduction of Prof. R. G. Bhâṇḍârkar's two books. But the chief aim in preparing these excellent books was, we think, to simplify the intricacies of grammar, and to present the subject in an easily intelligible form. They contain, therefore, rather too much grammar and too little reading. Sanskṛit forms an important part of the studies taught in High Schools and Colleges in India; and the majority of students, who present themselves at the University Examinations, select Sanskṛit as their second language. But though Sanskṛit has been so largely studied, it is not uncommon to find that students, who can readily repeat a string of grammatical forms, however recondite and difficult, are hardly able to construe a single sentence, or to speak in the way in which people spoke Sanskṛit when it was a living language. That is to say, they have no command of the language. The reason is not far to seek. The standard works, the *Kâvyas* and the *Nâṭakas*, are too high for beginners, and cannot be much utilized without the help of a teacher, which is beyond the reach of many students. This monthly Magazine has, therefore, been undertaken to meet the desideratum of a good reading-book, which students can read and understand by themselves. The Sanskṛit Reader contains, for the present, 16 pages. It is divided into four parts. Part I. contains sections 1-3, adapted for Anglo-Vernacular Standards IV—VI. respectively, and consists of easy exercises for translation. Care is taken that these exercises contain words and expressions with which students are familiar in Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar's books; but when any new words or forms occur, explanatory foot-notes are given. Part II. is meant for students of Standards VI. and VII. It includes a collection of choice words, expressions, and idioms, from various Sanskṛit writers, with their English equivalents. Part III. is intended for the candidate classes in High Schools. In it, it is proposed to give abstracts of the standard Sanskṛit *Kâvyas, Nâṭakas, Kathâs, &c.*, on the plan of Lamb's well known *Tales from Shakespeare*." Part IV. is expected to serve as reading for more advanced students. It contains elegant extracts from original Sanskṛit works, with full explanatory notes in English. Thus it is intended that this serial shall be useful to those for whom it is meant, and shall be read as a companion to Prof. Bhâṇḍârkar's books. The parts and sections are so graduated as to meet the requirements of all classes of students, from beginners to undergraduates. It also aims at supplying interesting reading to those who do not read with a view to examination. The numbers are to be issued monthly, at a very small rate of subscription. We cannot too highly commend this undertaking, and hope that it may be widely known and used.

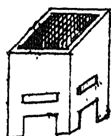
[13] The asterisks denote vowels and syllables that fall beyond the edges of the specimens examined.—After *jitya* there is a doubtful mark, somewhat like *pra*, or *du*, which may perhaps be part of a word or words falling in every specimen examined beyond the edge of the coin.

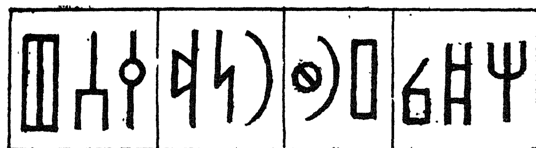
[14] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 130.

SABÆAN INSCRIPTION ON AN INCENSE-BURNER.

BY E. REHATSEK.

THIS little cubical vessel which has been dug up in Mareb, the ancient capital of Ḥaḍramût (Genesis X. 26), is, according to a drawing by the owner of it, a lady in Aden, represented by the adjoining figure. It has little legs and small apertures. Of the inscription, which consists of four words, most excellent rubbings were sent to me on two slips of paper, by Prof. Peterson, but no clue was given as to the order in which the words succeed each other on the four sides of the incense burner; fortunately this is not material, because, according to my interpretation—which I now proceed to give in the order I suppose the words to stand—the sense would not be different, no matter how the words, all of which are triliteral, succeed each other. The inscription is to be read from right to left, as I have shown the words, and would stand thus on the four sides of the vessel:—





Hebrew transliteration.

חדך מרו רנד קשט

1. The Arabic transliteration of this word is حضک *Ḥaḍak*; no such word exists however, and two resembling it most, namely حدق *Ḥadaq* and حسک *Ḥasak*, both designate thorny shrubs, whilst the root חדק *Ḥadaq* is in the Hebrew dictionary explained as not in use in that language, but to designate in Arabic the thorny shrub *melongena spinosa.*

2. About the signification of the two first letters of this word there can be no doubt whatever, because their equivalents in Arabic مُر and in Hebrew מר designate *myrr*, and the third letter has in Sabæan, Hebrew, and Arabic the same meaning, namely *and.* It appears to have been added to this word merely for the sake of symmetry to make it triliteral like the others.

3. The transliteration of this word is رند *rand*, explained in the *Qâmûs* as a sweet-smelling tree, also *lignum aloe* and even as *myrtle;* but Forskall, in his *Flora Aeg.*, *art.* CXIX, calls it *Artemisia pontica.*

4. The transliteration of this word is قسط which means *justice* when vocalised thus قِسط *qisṭ*; but this signification being evidently unsuitable for our inscription, we must take it vocalised thus قُسط *qusṭ*, when it means according to the *Qâmûs* and other Arabic dictionaries, the *costus* or *costum*, a kind of aromatic root of India and of Arabia. It was known already to the Greeks, who named it κόστος, *Kóstos*, which is evidently the same word as the Arabic, Latin, and Sabæan; so that we learn that this word has, like the one for *myrrh*, passed, during the lapse of ages, into several languages almost unchanged.

The four substances mentioned, and occurring in the inscription as two couples joined by the copula *and*, were, no doubt, all used as fumigatory perfumes in the incense-burner.

The English rendering of the inscription is:—

Ḥadak, myrrh and, rand, costus;

or more specially:—

Melongena spinosa, myrrh and, *artemisia pontica, costus.*

AN INSCRIPTION OF SIVADEVA AND AMSUVARMAN FROM NEPAL.

BY CECIL BENDALL, M.A., M.R.A.S.

The original of this transcript is in Gôlmâḍhiṭôl, Bhatgaum, and forms one of a series discovered by me in the valley of Nêpâl in November last. As my attention has been called by one of the Editors of this Journal to the interest attaching to its date, I publish now, at his request, a transcript and translation, in anticipation of my fuller study of the whole series. The few hours available for work of this kind before I leave India would have been insufficient but for the kind assistance of my friend Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî.

The present inscription should be compared with others of the same two rulers, Śivadêva and Aṁśuvarman, published in this Journal in 1880 (Vol. IX. p. 168 ff.) by Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî and Dr. Bühler, which give the dates of Saṁvat 34 and 39 (referred to the Śrî-Harsha era) for Aṁśuvarman. As we know from Hiouen Thsang that Aṁśuvarman flourished in the first half of the VIIth century A.D., the date of this inscription may contribute to the solution of the vexed questions as to the eras between the Śaka and that of Śrî-Harsha. Containing *three* numerals, of which the first is the symbol for 300, it can hardly refer to any other era than that commencing A.D. 319, which is still regarded by some as the Gupta-Valabhî era.

TEXT.

[1] स्वस्ति मानगृहादपरिमितगुणसमुदयोद्भा[सित-
दि]शो ब-

[2] प्पपादानुद्ध्यातो लिच्छविकुलकेतुर्भट्टारकमहा-
राजश्रीशिवदे-

[3] वः कुशली माखोष्टंसत्सरद्रङ्गनिवासिनः प्रधान-
[जनपुर]स्सरा-

[4] न्ग्रामकुटुम्बिनः कुशलपरिप्रश्नपूर्व्वं समाज्ञाप-
[यति] विदि-

[5] तम्भवतु भवतां यथानेन प्रख्या[तामल]विपुल-
- - - - प-

[6] राक्रमप्रशमितामितविपक्षप्रभावेन महासामन्तां-
शुवर्म्म-

[7] णा विज्ञापितेन मयैतद्गौरवाद्युष्मदनुकम्पया च
कूबेर्व्व-

[8] त्यधिकृतानामत्र समुचितस्त्रिकरमात्रसाधनायैव
प्रवे-

[9] शो लेख्यदानपञ्चापराधार्थन्त्वप्रवेश इति
प्रसादो वः

[10] कृतस्तदेवं वेदिभिरस्मत्प्रसादोपजीविभिरन्यैर्वा न

[11] केश्चिदयमन्यथाकरणीयो यस्त्वेतामाज्ञां विल-
ङ्घ्यान्यथा कु-

[12] र्य्यात्कारयेद्वा तमहमातितरान्न मर्षयिष्यामि ये
वास्मदू-

[13] र्द्ध्वंभूभुजो भवितारस्तैरपि धर्म्मगुरुभिर्म[- -
कृ]तप्रसा-

[14] दानुवर्तिभिरियमाज्ञा सम्यक्परिपालनीयेति समा-
ज्ञापना

[15] दूतकश्चात्र भोगवर्म्मा श्वामी(*sic*) संवत् ३१८
ज्येष्ठशुक्लदिवा दशम्याम्

TRANSLATION.

Hail! From Mânagriha. The illustrious Śivadêva, meditating on the feet of Bappa, who has illuminated the quarters by the day-spring of his countless virtues, being in good health, to the cultivators resident in the villages of Mâkhôshṭaṁ and Satsaradraṅga (?) under the lead of their headmen, with due enquiries after their health, addresses the following order:—

"Be it known to you that, at the request of the great feudatory Aṁśuvarman, who by his renowned . . . doughty and . . . prowess has subdued the might of his innumerable foes, out of regard for him and compassion for you, I grant you this boon, namely that the officials of Kûbêrvatî[1] are allowed entrance for the levying only of not more than the three taxes, but not for granting writings or for the five offences. Therefore this boon must not be infringed by our dependants who have cognisance of this, nor by any other parties whatsoever: and whosoever, in contravention of this order, does so infringe or cause infringement, him I will in no wise suffer; moreover such kings as shall be after us, ought, as guardians of religion and (*thus*) as followers of grants (*made* . . . .), to preserve my order in its entirety. In this matter the executive officer is Bhôgavarman Svâmin. Saṁvat 318, on the 10th of the bright fortnight of Jyêshṭha.

THE GAHARWARS AND RATHORS.[1]

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D.

With regard to the events that led to the change of dynasty in Kanauj at the time of the accession of the so-called Râṭhors, I would venture to make a suggestion for further consideration. The Basâhi land-grant,[2] published in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 321ff., seems to me to throw light on this point. I do not think the significance of the

[1] ? 'treasury-officers,' in spite of the somewhat barbarized form.

[1] Revised and reprinted from the *Centenary Review* of the Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1784 to 1883, Part II. Appendix I.

[2] See below, p. 101 ff.

historical notices contained in the opening verses of that grant has been quite correctly understood.

The *vijayî* or 'victorious king' of the second verse is Chandra Deva himself, whose descent is described in that verse. The following verse (No. 3) relates the circumstances under which he obtained the throne of Kanauj. In this verse, it is stated that, after the death of a king Bhoja, there were troublous times under a king Karṇa,[3] to which Chandra Deva put an end by possessing himself of the country. The king Bhoja, I take to be Bhoja Deva II. of the earlier Kanauj dynasty, who reigned about A.D. 925-50; for his father Mahendra Pâla was still reigning in A.D. 921.[4] Bhoja Deva II.'s son, Vinâyaka Pâla Deva, may, therefore, be put down to A.D. 950-75. About this time a *Râjâ* Kokalla II., of the Kalachuri dynasty, was on the throne of Chedi.[5] He and his successors, Gâṅgeya Deva and Karṇa Deva, carried on many successful wars. They must have invaded the territories of Mahoba and Kanauj; for Gâṅgeya Deva is recorded to have died at Prayâga, and his coins are found on the site of Kanauj. Karṇa Deva must have reigned about A.D. 1025-50, as he is recorded to have been a contemporary of Bhîma Deva of Gujarât (A.D. 1022-72) and of Bhoja Deva of Dhâr (A.D. 1021-42).[6] This makes him also a contemporary of Chandra Deva, the first Râthor king of Kanauj (about A.D. 1050). I take it, therefore, that the inscription refers to Karṇa Deva of Chedi.

Further, in the second verse, Chandra Deva is called a son of Mahiala, which is either a mere provincialism, or a clerical error for Mahîtala. By the same name (Mahîtala) Chandra Deva's father is called in the Râhan land-grant of Govinda Chandra, published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Proceedings* for 1876, p. 131.[7] Usually his father is called Mahîchandra; while his son is always called Madanapâla.[8] This fact shows that the term *Chandra* was by no means so distinctive, as is often thought, of the Kanauj royal family. Terms like *chandra*, *tala*, *pâla*, were interchangeable appendages to the actual name; and Mahîchandra might also call himself Mahîtala or Mahîpâla. The Sârnâth inscription of Mahîpâla is dated A.D. 1026,—a date which synchronises with Chandra Deva's father Mahîchandra, *alias* Mahîpâla. The father of the Sârnâth Mahîpâla was Vigrahapâla; while the father of Mahîchandra is called Yaśo-Vigraha. As *Pâla* and *Chandra* are interchangeable, I take Vigrahapâla and Mahîpâla of Benares as likely to be the same as Yaśo-Vigraha and Mahîchandra (*alias* Mahîpâla), the ancestors of Chandra Deva. Dates and names favour the identification.

But more, the date of Vigrahapâla and Mahîpâla is from A.D. 991 to 1058, which synchronises with the date of the Chedi rulers, Kokalla II., Gâṅgeya, and Karṇa.[9] The Chedi rulers were of the Haihaya race;[10] and Vigrahapâla is said to have married Lajjâ, a princess of the Haihaya race.[11] The Pâlas of Benares and the Kalachuris of Chedi, therefore, were closely allied. Now Vinayakapâla Deva of the earlier Kanauj line[12] possessed Benares about A.D.

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[3] Not *Karla*, as given in the transcript in the Bengal Journal; see note 7 below, and p. 103, note 8.

[4] See General Cunningham's remarks in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX p. 85.—[These remarks and dates, however, must be accepted with caution.—ED.]

[5] *id.* p. 85. [6] *id.* p. 86.

[7] The Basâhi plate spells *Mahiala*, but the Râhan plate spells *Mahîtala*. The name Mahîtala means 'the very earth.' It is an unusual name, and if it were not for the fact that it agrees with the metre (Upendravajrâ) of the verse in which it occurs, one would be inclined to look upon it as one of the clerical errors (for Mahîpâla) with which this particular record abounds. The copper-plate is among the Society's collection, where I have examined it, and verified the correctness of the printed transcript of the second verse. As it is, 'Mahîtala' evidently owes its origin merely to the exigencies of the metre. Of the other grant, published in the Journal for 1873, I have not seen the original, which is in the Lucknow Museum. But I possess, through the kindness of Mr. J.F. Fleet, a very carefully prepared ink-impression, which clearly shows the name to be Mahiala, not Mahiâla as published in the Journal. In all probability 'Mahiala' is a clerical error, apparently for 'Mahitala;' but the latter is not required by the metre of the verse (No. 2), which is a śloka, and which admits of reading 'Mahîpâla' equally well. I may add here that the ink-impression clearly proves the name of the predecessor of Chandra Deva to be Karṇa, not Karla, as given in the transcript in the Bengal Journal. The signs for ṇ and l, which often occur in the grant, are easily distinguishable from each other, and the sign of ṇṇ in the name is a distinct double ṇṇ.

[8] There may have been a special reason for Madana reverting to the ancestral title of 'Pâla,' in the fact of his extending his kingdom over portions of the old Pâla empire. For two inscriptions of his, dated in his 3rd and 19th years, have been found at Bihâr and at Jayanagar near Lakhî-Sarai respectively. (See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 154.) The Madanapâla of these inscriptions is usually placed among the later members of the proper Pâla dynasty; but beyond the fact of the title of 'Pâla' there is nothing in favour of that theory.

[9] See a subsequent paper in this Journal on the Pâla Râjâs; also *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVII. Part I. p. 394.

[10] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. IX. p. 77.

[11] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVII. Part I. p. 394.

[12] *id.* Vol. XXXI. Part I. p. 5.—[But see note 4 above.—ED.]

950-75; but, according to the Sârnâth inscription, in A.D. 1026, Mahîpâla of the Bihâr (and Bengal) line is in possession of Benares. The latter therefore must have changed hands in the interval. This must have occurred in the "troublous times," when the Chedi kings conquered Kanauj, while the Pâlas (allied to them by marriage) conquered Benares.

I imagine the events to have occurred thus. Towards the end of the tenth century the Kalachuris and the Pâlas, being allied, attacked the kingdom of Kanauj from the south and east; the former took Kanauj, the latter Benares; for Jayapâla, the father of Vigrahapâla, is recorded to have conquered Allahâbâd.[13] While the direct descendants of Mahîpâla continued to rule the Bihâr and Bengal kingdom, including Benares,—one of his younger sons, Chandra Deva, obtained for himself the kingdom of Kanauj, from the Kalachuri king Karṇa, and founded a new dynasty in Kanauj, which henceforth took from him its special name *Chandra*, in order, perhaps, to distinguish itself from the original stock of Pâlas. Hence Vigrahapâla and Mahîpâla, though named as the ancestors of Chandra Deva, are never included in the royal list of Kanauj.

But further, the Basâhi plate of Saṁvat 1161 distinctly states, that Mahîpâla and Chandra Deva were of the Gahaṛwâr race of Râjpûts.[14] The same statement occurs in the land-grant, published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Proceedings* for 1876, p. 130. So far as I am aware, it does not occur in any of the land-grants of the Râṭhor kings of Kanauj, except these two. In all the other grants, I think, no information whatever is given regarding the particular Râjpût clan to which the kings professed to belong. The Râṭhor clan is not mentioned in any of them. It has always been taken for granted that the kings of Kanauj were of the Râṭhor clan. For this notion there appears to be no other ground than the tradition of the Râṭhor princes of Jodhpur in Mârwâr, who affirm that Sivajî, their ancestor, was a son of a child of Jaya Chandra[15] of Kanauj. Now Jaya Chandra is a historical personage; he was the last of the Kanauj kings, who fell in battle with Shahâb-u'd-dîn Ghorî, as testified by contemporary Muhammadan historians.[16] Sivajî also is a historical personage, a real ancestor of the Mârwâr Râṭhor house. The connecting link between Sivajî and Jaya Chandra is a child, otherwise unknown, who is said to have escaped the wreck of his father's house and reign. History, I believe, knows nothing about him; and the tradition about him suspiciously resembles similar traditions of princely houses, who claim ancient descent by the agency of some mysteriously born or preserved child. In any case, if the tradition is correct, it fails to account for the remarkable fact, how a family which was originally Gahaṛwâr, as stated in their own grants, turned into Râṭhors. In a matter of this kind the evidence of a contemporary land-grant is of more value than a tradition. But, in fact, the traditions, confused and sometimes contradictory as they are, rather support the theory here put forward. It is said that "the Gahaṛwârs are of the same family as the Râṭhors, with whom they deem themselves on an equality and with whom it is said they never intermarry." The last statement, however, is only partially true. It does not appear that the modern Râṭhors can be traced further back than the Kanauj family; and Colonel Tod says that a doubt hangs over the origin of the Râṭhor race; by the bards they are held to be descendants of Kaśyapa.[17] In reference to the latter point, it may be noticed that the Gahaṛwârs are of the Kâśyapa *gotra* or order; though the Râṭhors now profess to be of the Śâṇḍilya *gotra*. All these circumstances point to the conclusion that the so-called Râṭhors were an offshoot of the Gahaṛwârs; and it may well be that about the time of Mahîpâla a separation took place in the Gahaṛwâr clan, possibly on religious grounds; for the Pâlas professed Buddhism, while the Chandras were Brâhmanists. The separation was marked by the secession of the latter to Kanauj, and by a change in their nomenclature (*Chandra* and Râṭhor, for *Pâla* and Gahaṛwâr). "The

[13] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVII. Part I. p. 384.

[14] The name is spelt गाहडवाल *gâhaḍawâla* in the grants; the modern spelling is गहड्वाड़ *gahaṛ'wâṛ* or (usually) गहरवार *gahar'wâr*. See Elliot's *Races of the N. W. Provinces*, Vol. I. p. 121.

[15] [This is the way in which it has become customary to write his name. But, in the inscriptions, it is written Jayachchandra (Jayach Chandra),—compounded of *jayat* and *chandra*, not *jaya* and *chandra*.—ED.]

[16] See Major Raverty's Translation of the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî*, p. 470.

[17] See his *Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 88. (Reprint, pp. 67, 68.)

Gaharwârs are despised by the other Râjpût tribes," according to Tod.[18] The original reason of this treatment may have been their heretical faith in the time of the Pâlas. The Râṭhors would not be the only offshoot from the Gaharwâr clan; the well-known Bundels (of Bundelkhaṇḍ) are another prominent instance of Gaharwâr descent. Again,—"The Gaharwârs assert that they were originally masters of Kanauj; local tradition confirms their claims; and the Gautama Râjpûts attribute their own residence and possessions in the Lower Doâb to the bounty of a Gaharwâr Râja of Kanauj." This tradition evidently refers to the Râṭhor rulers of Kanauj, and confirms the statement of their land-grants, that they were Gaharwârs. Again,—"The present chief of the Gaharwârs resides at Kantit near Mirzapur, and, tradition says, Gadan Deo, who by some is reckoned the son of Mânika Chandra, brother of Jayachandra, the Râṭhor, came from Benares about the end of the 11th century, and settled at Kantit." This, as Sir Henry Elliot points out, is a confused tradition. Perhaps it points to the secession and emigration from Benares under Chandra, at the time of Mahîpâla. In any case, it clearly establishes the closest relationship between the Râṭhors and Gaharwârs. Again,—"Benares is generally considered the original country of the Gaharwârs, who, it is often asserted, are descended from ancient kings of Benares;" and their chief seat is still in the Benares Division and in Bihâr. This makes in support of the theory that the Pâla kings of Bihâr and Bengal, who also ruled in Benares, belonged to the Gaharwâr clan, and consequently were closely related to the Râṭhors of Kanauj.[19] It is true there is an indistinct tradition, which ascribes the Pâla Râjâs to the Bhûîhâr race.[20] But there is no proof of it. In their inscriptions the Pâlas make no mention of their caste. On the other hand, there are various incidental notices in them, which indicate their having been of a Râjpût caste. Thus Vigrahapâla is said to have married the princess Lajjâ of the Haihaya race; this would hardly have occurred if the Pâla Râjâs had really belonged to a nondescript race, like the Bhûîhârs.

I only throw this out as a suggestion. It is by no means a new one; Mr. Prinsep already made it in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. Part I. p. 670. But much additional information in support of it has since come to light.

[18] *Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 116.

[19] See the traditions, above quoted, of the Gaharwârs and Râṭhors in Elliot's *Races of the N. W. Provinces*, pp. 121-124; and Sherring's *Hindu Tribes and Castes*, Vol. I. pp. 140, 141, 175-177.

[20] See *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 147; *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LIX. p. 68. For an account of the Bhûîhârs see Elliot's *Races of the N. W. Provinces*, Vol. I. p. 21.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 59.)

No. CLV.

Basahi plate of Govindachandra.

Samvat 1161.

The original plate containing the inscription now published is in the Government Museum at Lucknow. It was originally found in the village of 'Basâhi,' two miles to the north-east of the head-quarters town of the 'Bidhunâ' Tahsîl in the 'Etâwah' District in the North-West Provinces, and was first brought to notice by Mr. E. T. Atkinson, of Allahâbâd. "The village is in a small *khêrá* or mound, into which a Ṭhâkur cultivator was digging for bricks to build a house. He came on the remains of a *pakká* house, in the wall of the *dálán* of which there were two recesses (*ták*) and in each of these recesses was a plate,"[1]—*viz.* the present plate, and a plate of the same king of Saṁvat 1174, which also now is in the Lucknow Museum. These two inscriptions have been published by Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 314ff. I now edit the inscription of Saṁvat 1161, to accompany the preceding paper by Dr. Hoernle on the dynasty to which it belongs.

The plate measures about 1′ $4\frac{5}{8}$″ by $10\frac{3}{4}$″, and is inscribed on one side only. It is quite smooth, the edges being neither fashioned thicker nor raised into rims; but the inscription is in perfect preservation throughout. The seal, which is massive, is circular, about $2\frac{1}{2}$″ in diameter; it has, in relief on a slightly counter-

[1] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 314.

sunk surface,—across the centre, the legend *Śrîmad-Gôvindacha[n]dradêvaḥ*; in the upper part, Garuḍa, half-man and half-bird, kneeling and facing full-front; and in the lower part, either a *śaṅkha*-shell or a *chauri*. Also the plate itself has a *śaṅkha*-shell, with a barbed arrow below it, engraved on the left margin. The seal slides on a ring about $\frac{1}{16}''$ thick and $3\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter, which had been cut when the grant came under my notice. This ring runs on a smaller ring, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $2\frac{3}{8}''$ in diameter, which also had been cut. And this second ring runs loosely through the turned-over end of a copper band,—about 1″ broad at the widest part, and tapering to the other end; and with a pattern of cross-lines on part of the outside of it,—which is secured by a rivet which passes through a small hole in the top of the plate. The weight of the plate is 7lbs. $12\frac{3}{4}$oz., and of the seal, two rings, band, and rivet, 2lbs. $13\frac{1}{4}$oz.; total, 10lbs. 10oz. The characters are Nâgarî. The language of the inscription is Sanskṛit throughout.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Vâsudêva (line 1), or the god Kṛishṇa or Vishṇu, followed by a verse in praise of the same god under the name of Dâmôdara. It then continues,—In the lineage named Gâhaḍavâla (l. 2),[2] there was a victorious king, the son of Mahiala, named Chandradêva (l. 4), who,—when, on the death of king Bhôja (l. 3) and king Karṇa, the world became troubled,—came to the rescue and became king, and established his capital at Kanyâkubja (l. 5). His son was Madanapâla (l. 6). His son was the famous Gôvindachandra (l. 7), the maker of the grant. Lines 8 and 9 record the date, in words and figures; *viz.* Saṁvat 1161, Ravidina or Sunday, the fifth day of the bright fortnight of the month of Pausha,—corresponding, by the northern reckoning, according to the Tables in General Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, to Sunday, the 25th December A. D. 1104. Line 9 proceeds to record that, having bathed in the river Yamunâ at the place called Asaṭikâ or Âsaṭikâ, and having done worship to the Sun (l. 10) and Śiva and Vâsudêva, Gôvindachandra issues his commands to all the *Mahattamas* and other people of the village of Vasabhî (l. 11) in the Jîâvatî *pattalâ*, to the effect that the said village of Vasabhî,—bounded on the east by the village of Vândhamauä (l. 13); on the west by the village of Vaḍathalâ; on the south by the village of Pusaulî; and on the north by the village of Sâvabhada,—was granted by him, on the occasion of the *uttarâyaṇa-saṁkrânti* (l. 16) or the sun's commencement of his progress to the north, to the Brâhmaṇ Âlhêka (l. 15), of the Bahvṛicha *śâkhâ*, and the Gautama *gôtra*, with the three *pravaras* of Gautama and Avitatha and Aṅgirasa,—the son of Kalpê or Kalyê, and the son's son of Mêmê. Lines 17 to 21 contain five of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses. And lines 21 and 22 record that the charter was written, *i. e.* composed, by the Paṇḍit Vijayadâsa, the son of Kûkê, with the permission of the *Purôhita* Jâgûka, the *Mahattaka*[3] Vâlhaṇa, and the *Pratîhâra* Gautama.

Of the villages mentioned in this inscription, Vasabhî is of course the modern 'Basâhi' itself. Vândhamauä is the modern 'Bândhmau,' three miles to the east of 'Basâhi.' Pusauli still exists under the same name, two miles to the south of 'Basâhi.' And Sâvabhada is the modern 'Sabhâd', two and a half miles to the north by west of 'Basâhi.' These identifications were made by Mr. Atkinson. Jîâvatî, the name of the *pattalâ* or district in which Vasabhî was situated,—and Vaḍathalâ, on its western boundary,—have not been identified; but Mr. Atkinson suggested the modern 'Jiva-Sirsânî,' the 'Jiwe-Sirsanî' of maps, eight miles south-east of 'Basâhi,' for the former,—and the modern 'Bantharâ,' one and three-quarter miles to the west of 'Basâhi,' for the latter. Asatikâ or Âsatikâ on the Jamnâ, where Gôvindachandra bathed before making the grant, has not been identified.

[2] Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra took Gâhaḍavâla to be the name of the founder of the dynasty, instead of the dynastic name; and he mixes up Bhôja and Karṇa with this family. Thus, in *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLII. Part I. p. 315, he writes—"a dynasty, of which one Gâhaḍavâla was the founder and Karlla" (*sic*) "the last prince. One of the descendants, some unknown generations removed from Gâhaḍavâla, was Mahiâla" (*sic*) "and after some generations Bhôja, who does not appear to have been the immediate predecessor of Karlla" (*sic*); and he straightway proceeds, through the introduction of Bhôja into this family, to "make the dynasty of Gâhaḍavâla to be the same with that of Dêvaśakti" (see General Stacy's grant, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XVII. Part I. p. 70ff. and Vol. XXXI. Part I. p. 14f., and the 'Dighwa-Doobaneshar' grant, *id.* Vol. XXXIII. Part I. p. 321ff.)—All this is utterly untenable. The text is perfectly plain, if properly understood; and the purport of it is as I have given it.

[3] See note 30 below.

TEXT.[4]

[1] Ôṁ Ôṁ Namô bhagavatê Vâsudêvâya || Tam[5]=âdyaṁ sarvva-dêvânâṁ Dâmôdaraṁ upâsmahê | trailôkyaṁ yasya vakt=îva |[6]

[2] krôḍ-ânta-sthaṁ vali-trayî || Vaṁsê(śê) Gâhaḍavâl-âkhyê pa(ba)bhuva vijayî nṛipaḥ | Mahiala-sutaḥ śrîmân=Nala-Nâbhâga-sanni-

[3] bhaḥ || Yâtê[7] śrî-Bhôja-bhûpê vivu(bu)dha-vara-vadhû-nêtra-sîm-âtithitvaṁ śrî-Karṇṇê[8] kîrtti-śêshaṁ gatavati cha nṛipê kshm-âtyayê jâyamânê | bha-

[4] rttâraṁ yaṁ va(dha)ritrî Tridivavibhu-nibhaṁ prîti-yôgâd=upêtâ trâtâ viśvasâ[9]-pûrvvaṁ samabhavad=iha sa kshmâpatiś=Chandradêvaḥ || Dvi-

[5] shat[10]-kshitibhṛitaḥ sarvvân=vidhâya vivaśân=vaśê | Kanyâkuvjê(bjê)[11]=karôd=râjâ râjadhânîm=aniṁditâṁ || Tên[12]=âjani dvishad-ilâpa-

[6] ti-danti-siṁhaḥ kshôṇîpatir=Madanapâla iti prasiddhaḥ | yên=âkriyanta va(ba)huśaḥ samara-prava(ba)ndhâḥ sannarttita-prahata-śatru-kava(ba)ndha-va(ba)-

[7] ndhâḥ || Tasmâd=ajâyata narêśvara-vṛiṁda-vaṁdya-pâdâraviṁda-yugalô jvalita-pratâpaḥ | kshôṇîpatîndra-tilakô ripu-raṁga-bhaṁgî Gô-

[8] viṁdachaṁdra iti viśruta-râjaputraḥ || Saṁvat sahasaikê[13] êka-shashṭy-uttara-śat-âbhyadhikê Pausha-mâsê śukla-pakshê paṁchamyâṁ Ravidinê_ṅkê saṁva-

[9] t 1161 Pausha su(śu) di 5 Ravau | ady=êh=Âsatikâyâṁ sakala-kalmasha-kshaya-kâriṇyâṁ Yamunâyâṁ snâtvâ yathâ-vidhânaṁ ||[14] mantradêva-ṛishi[15]-ma-

[10] nushya-bhûta-pitṛi(trî)ṁs=tarpitvâ[16] | sûryaṁ bhaṭṭârakaṁ sarvva-karttâraṁ bhagavaṁtaṁ Śivaṁ viśv-âdhâraṁ Vâsudêvaṁ samabhyarchya | hutavaham hutvâ ||(|) Jîâvatî[17]-

[11] pattalâyâṁ Vasabhî-grâmê samasta-mahattama-janapadân=saṁvô(bô)dhayati ||(|)[18] yathâ grâmô=yaṁ mayâ kshêtra-vana-madhûk-âmr-âkâsa(śa)-pâtâla-sahi-

[12] taḥ[19] sa-daśâparâdha-daṇḍaḥ bhâgakûṭaka-daśava(ba)ṁdha-viśatiaṭhû(?)[20]prasth-âkshapa-ṭalaprastha-pratîhâraprasth-âkara-turushkadaṇḍa-varavajhê(?)-hi-

[13] raṇya-sarvv-âdâya-saṁyuktaḥ ||(|) pûrvvasyâṁ Vâṁdhamauä-grâmaḥ paśchimâyâṁ Vaḍathalâ[21]-grâmaḥ dakshiṇasyâṁ Pusauli[22]-grâmaḥ uttarasyâṁ Sâvabhada[23]. ||[24]

[14] grâna(ma)ḥ êvaṁ chatur-âghâta-viśuddhaḥ | mâtâpitrôr=âtmanaś=cha yaśaḥ-puṇya-vivṛiddhayê | jala-vudvud[25]-âkâraṁ jîvitaṁ dâna-bhôga-phalâṁ lakshmî[ṁ*] jñâtvâ |

[15] Va(ba)hvṛicha-śâkhinê Gautama-gôtrâya Gautama-Avitatha-Aṅgirasa[26]-tripravarâya Mêmê-pautrâya Kalpê(?lyê)-putrâya jyôtir-vidê vrâ(brâ)hmaṇa-Âlhê- ||[27]

[16] kâya mahârâjaputra-śrîmad-Gôviṁdachaṁdradêvêna uttarâyana(ṇa)-saṁkrâṁtau kuśa-pûtêna hast-ôdakêna chaṁdr-ârkkâṁ yâvat śâsanatvêna pradattaḥ ||

[17] Yê[28] yâsyanti mahîbhṛitô mama kulê kiṁvâ parasmin puras=têshâm=êsha may=âṁjalir=virachitô n=âdêyam=asmât=kiyat | dûrvvâ-mâtram=api su-dharmma-ni-

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[4] From my own ink-impression.

[5] Metre, Slôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

[6] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary.

[7] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[8] Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra read *Karllê*; but wrongly.

[9] Read *viśvâsa*.

[10] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh.)

[11] After *vjê*, an *avagraha*, which does occur in line 8, appears to have been engraved and cancelled.

[12] Metre, Vasantatilaka; and in the following verse.

[13] Read *sâhasrikê*.

[14] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary. If required at all, it should have been inserted after *snâtvâ*.

[15] Read *dêv-arshi*.

[16] Read *tarpayitvâ*.

[17] Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra read *Jiâvant*; but I think the last *akshara* is *tî*, not *nt*, though the burr of the copper makes it look rather like *nt*.

[18] This mark of punctuation should properly stand after *yathâ*.

[19] This phrase, *âkâśa-pâtâla-sahita*, 'with the sky above and the lower regions below,' seems to furnish some authority for Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî's suggested explanation of *bhûmichchhidranyâya* (*ante* Vol. XIII. p. 80, note 44), as including everything below the soil and everything above the ground up to the sky.

[20] Read *viṁśaty-aṭhû(?)*.

[21] Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra read *Vadavvalâ*; but wrongly. In his translation, he gives *Vêdhabhala*.

[22] Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra read *Pusôṇî*; but wrongly. In his translation, he gives *Pusâni*.

[23] Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra read *Sâvahada*; but wrongly.

[24] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary, especially standing, as it does, in the middle of a compound.

[25] Read *budbud*.

[26] Read *Gautam-Âvitath-Âṅgirasa*.

[27] This mark of punctuation is unnecessary, especially standing, as it does, in the middle of a word.—Read *brâhmaṇ-Âlhêkâya*.

[28] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[18] ratâ dattaṁ mayâ pâlyatâṁ vâyur=vvâsyati tapsyati pratapanaḥ śrutvâ munînâṁ vachaḥ || Va(ba)hubhir[29]=vasudhâ bhuktâ râjabhiḥ Sagar-âdibhir=yasya yasya

[19] yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasu[ṁ*]dharâṁ sa vishṭhâyâṁ kṛimir=bhûtvâ pitṛibhiḥ saha majjati || Bhûmiṁ yaḥ pra-

[20] tigṛihṇâti yas=tu bhûmiṁ prayachchhati | tâv=ubhau puṇya-karmmâṇau niyataṁ svargg̱a-vâsinau || Taḍâgânâṁ sahasrêṇa vâjapêya-śatêna cha | ga-

[21] vâṁ kôṭi-pradânêna bhûmi-harttâ na śuddhya(dhya)ti || Likhitaṁ cha purôhita-śrî-Jâgûka | mahattaka[30]-śrî-Vâlhaṇa | pratîhâra-śrî-Gautama | êshâṁ saṁ-

[22] matyâ paṁḍita-śrî-Kûkê-putra-Vijayadâsên=êti ||

THE EXPLANATION OF THE TERM PALIDHVAJA.

BY K. B. PATHAK, B.A.; MIRAJ.

The term *pâlidhvaja*, or *pâlikêtana*, is of frequent occurrence in inscriptions, and also in Jaina books; but no satisfactory explanation of its meaning has as yet been arrived at.

I have, however, lately come across a passage in the *Âdi-Purâṇa*, given below, in which Jinasênâchârya, the preceptor of the Râshṭrakûṭa emperor Amôghavarsha I., while dwelling on the subject of flags, incidentally explains this term.

We learn from what he says, that the term *pâlidhvaja*, or *pâlikêtana*, does not itself mean any particular kind of flag, but denotes a peculiar arrangement in rows of the ten kinds of flags described below;—*pâli*, in Sanskrit, in fact, signifies 'a row.' In each direction, a hundred and eight flags of each kind,—or, in other words, a thousand and eighty flags in all,—are ranged in lines. Thus, the total number of flags, in the four directions, is four thousand three hundred and twenty. We are further told that the Lord Jina adopted the *pâlidhvaja*, as an indication of his universal empire over the three worlds after the conquest of *Môha* or *Mâyâ*, or 'delusion.' Lakshmîsênabhaṭṭâraka, the head of the Jaina *Maṭh* at Kolhâpur, says that some years ago a *pâlidhvaja* was constructed there in honour of Mahâvîra.

TEXT.[1]

स्रग्वस्त्रसहसानाब्जहंसवीनमृगेशिनां ।
वृषभेभेंद्रचक्राणां ध्वजा[:*] स्युर्द्दशभेदकाः ॥ 219
अष्टोत्तरशतं ज्ञेयाः प्रत्येकं पालिकेतनाः ।
एकैकस्यां दिशि प्रोच्चास्तंरगास्तोयधेरिव ॥ 220
पवनांदोलितस्तेषां केतूनामंशुकोत्करः ।
व्याजुहूषुरिवाभासीज्जिनेज्यायै नरामरान् ॥ 221
स्रग्ध्वजेषु स्रजो दिव्या[:*] सौमनस्या ललंबिरे ।
भव्यानां सौमत(न)स्याय कल्पितास्त्रिदिवाधिपैः ॥ 222
श्लक्ष्णांशुकध्वजा रेजुः पवनांदोलितोत्थिताः ।
व्योमांबुधेरिवोद्भूतास्तरंगास्तुंगमूर्त्तयः ॥ 223
बर्हिध्वजेषु बर्हालीं लीलयोत्क्षिप्य बर्हिणः ।
रेजुर्ग्रस्तांशुकाः सर्प्पबुध्ये(द्ध्ये)व ग्रस्तकृत्तयः ॥ 224
पद्मध्वजेषु पद्मानि सहस्रदलसंस्तरैः ।
नभस्सरसि फुल्लानि सरोजानीव रेजिरे ॥ 225
अधः प्रतिमया तानि संक्रांतानि महीतले ।
भ्रमरान्मोहयंति स्म पद्मबध्या(द्ध्या)नुपातिनः ॥ 226
तेषां तदातनीं शोभां दृष्ट्वा नान्यत्रभाविनीं ।
कंजान्युत्सृज्य कात्स्न्र्येन लक्ष्मीस्तेषु पदं दधे ॥ 227
हंसध्वजेष्वभुर्हंसाश्चंच्वाग्रसितवाससः ।
निजां प्रसारयंतो वा द्रव्यलेश्यां तदात्मना ॥ 228
गरुत्मध्वजदंडाग्राण्यध्यासीना विनायकाः ।
रेजुः स्वैः पक्षविक्षेपैर्लिलंघयिषवो न्मु(नु) खं ॥ 229
बभुर्नीलमणिक्ष्मास्था गरुडाः प्रतिमागताः ।
समाक्रष्टुमिवाहींद्रान् प्रविशंतो रसातलं ॥ 230
मृगेंद्रकेतनाग्रेषु मृगेंद्राः क्रमाधित्सया ।
कृतयत्नां विरेजुस्ते जेतुं वा सुरसामजान् ॥ 231
स्थूलमुक्ताफलान्येषां मुखलंबीनि रेजिरे ।
गजेंद्रकुंभसंभेदात् संचितानि यशांसि वा ॥ 232
उक्षाः शृंगाग्रसंसक्तलंबमानध्वजांशकाः ।
रेजुर्व्विपक्षजित्येव संलब्धजयकेतनाः ॥ 233
उत्पुष्करैः करै रूढध्वजा रेजुर्गजाधिपाः ।
गिरींद्रा इव कूटाग्रनिपतत्पृथुनिर्झराः ॥ 234

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[29] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following three verses.

[30] This, which is a very unusual word, is probably a mistake for *mahattama*, which we have in line 11.—Dr. Râjêndralâl Mitra read *mêhattaka*, which he translated by 'accountant'; but the first syllable is *ma*, not *mê*.

[1] The original manuscript is in Old-Kanarese characters.



चक्रध्वजास्सहस्रारैश्चक्रैरुत्सर्प्पदंशुभिः ।
बभुर्भानुमता सार्द्धं स्पर्द्धां कर्त्तुमिवोद्यताः ॥ 235
नभः परिमृजंतो वा श्लिष्यंतो वा दिशांगनाः ।
भुवमास्फालयंतो वा स्फूर्ज्जंति स्म महाध्वजाः ॥ 236
इत्यमी केतवो मोहनिर्ज्जयोपार्ज्जिता बभुः ।
विभोस्त्रिभुवनेशत्वं शंसंतोऽनन्यगोचरं ॥ 237
दिश्येकस्यां ध्वजास्सर्व्वे सहस्रं स्यादशीत(ति)युक् ।
चतसृष्वथ ते दिक्षु शून्यद्वित्रिकसागराः ॥ 238

Âdi-Purâṇa, chap. XXII.

TRANSLATION.

(Verse 219). There are ten kinds of flags, such as those of garlands, cloths, peacocks, lotuses, geese, eagles, lions, bulls, elephants, and wheels.— (220.) A hundred and eight flags of each kind, raised aloft in each direction and resembling the waves of the ocean, are to be known as *Pâlidhvajas.*[2]— (221.) The group of those streamers flowing in the wind, shone, as if it were desirous to invite the gods and men to the worship of Jina.— (222.) In the garland-flags, heavenly wreaths of flowers, made by the gods, hung for the delight of the virtuous.[3]— (223.) The fine-cloth-flags,[4] moved and raised by the wind, shone like big waves, rising in the ocean of the sky.— (224.) In the peacock-flags, peacocks, sportively throwing up their plumage, and with cloth in their mouths, shone, swallowing the discarded skins of snakes which they mistook for the snakes (*themselves.*) — (225.) In the lotus-flags, lotuses, by the spreading of a thousand leaflets, blown about in the sky which resembled a lake, shone as though they were real lotuses.— (226.) The images of them, reflected below on the surface of the earth, deceived the black bees which followed them from an idea that they were real lotuses.— (227.) Seeing their beauty at that time, nowhere else to be found, Lakshmî abandoned all the lotuses, and took up her abode in them.— (228.) In the geese-flags, geese, holding white cloths in the points of their beaks, appeared to extend the whiteness of their bodies[5] in the shape of a white cloth.— (229.) Eagles, seated on the tops of the eagle-flags, shone as if desirous to take flight, with their faces turned upwards by the movements of their wings.— (230.) The eagles, reflected on a ground studded with blue gems, appeared like the images of eagles entering the lower world to catch the kings of the serpents.— (231.) On the lion-flags, lions, about to spring, appeared intent upon vanquishing the heavenly elephants.— (232.) The large pearls, hanging from the faces of the lions, looked like fame acquired by breaking open the temples of great elephants.— (233.) Bulls, with long streamers attached to the tips of their horns, shone as if they had gained banners of victory by conquering their foes.— (234.) Large elephants, holding flags with their uplifted trunks, shone like lordly mountains with torrents descending from their peaks.— (235.) Flags of wheels, having a thousand spokes with waving streamers, shone as if desirous of rivalling the sun.— (236.) The great banners shone, as if brushing the sky, and as if embracing the women who are the distant regions, and as if causing the earth to shake.— (237.) Thus these flags, gained by his victory over delusion, shone, announcing the undivided sway of the Lord over the three worlds.— (238.) In one direction, all the flags were one thousand and eighty[6]; and, in the four directions, they were four thousand three hundred and twenty.

THE MALAYAS OF THE MUDRARAKSHASA, AND THE DOMINIONS OF KING PARVATESVARA.

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In his Introduction to the *Mudrârâkshasa,* lately published in the Bombay Sanskṛit Series, Mr. Têlaṅg has succeeded in determining the geographical positions of most of the various peoples and localities whose names are mentioned in the play.

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[2] The commentator renders *pâlidhvajâḥ* by *śrêṇi-dhvajâḥ* and *parivâra-dhvajâḥ.*

[3] On this the commentator remarks,—*chitra-likhitâ na tu sâkshât.*

[4] Another reading is *śukl-âṁśuka-dhvajâ.*

[5] The commentator explains *dravya-lêśyâṁ* by *śarîra-śuklatâṁ.*

[6] Conf. केतवो हरिवस्त्राब्जबर्हिणेभगरुत्मतां ।
स्रगुक्षहंसचक्राणां दशधोक्ता जिनेशिनः ॥ १० ॥
तानेकशश्शतं चाष्टौ ध्वजान्प्रतिदिशं स्थितान् ।
वरिवस्यन्नगाश्चक्री स तद्गुद्धावनैः परं ॥ ११ ॥
Âdi-Purâṇa, chap. XXXIII.

There is one name, however, *viz.* Malaya, about which he expresses himself with doubt. His remarks are :—"Malaya, if our reading is correct, is the only southern locality alluded to in the play. It is near the southernmost extremity of the Western Ghâṭs." And, a little further on, in concluding his examination of the various elements that constituted the armies of Chandragupta and Malayakêtu, the son and successor of Parvatêśvara, in their successive attempts upon Pushpapura, he writes—"A review of all these names shews that, except the name Malaya, they, one and all, belong to the northern parts, and most to the northern frontier, of India."

These quotations seem to shew that Mr. Têlaṅg has misgivings as to the correctness of the reading of the name of Malaya, on the grounds—I. that the localities, alluded to in the play, all belong to the country north of the Vindhyas ;—II. that there is no locality known by the name of Malaya in the north ;—and III. that it is, therefore, identical with the Malaya which is situated near the southern extremity of the Western Ghâṭs.

If this statement be analysed, it will be found to involve two suppositions ;—I. that the name Malaya, occurring in the play, is meant to be the name of a *locality* ; and II. that, as there is no locality of this name in the north, it must be identified with the country of that name in *southern* India.

Now the word Malaya is never used singly in the play. It is always found conjoined with others, so as to form compound words. It occurs for the first time at page 48, in the compound मलयनरपति, which is the reading of all the copies consulted by the editor. The name of this *Malayanarapati* is Siṁhanâda. The passage, where the word is next met with, occurs at page 204. The reading adopted there by the editor is मलअणअराहिबो (=मलयनगराधिपो) In its place, the manuscripts marked P. and M. seem to read मलयजणाधिबो (=मलयजनाधिपो) which is softened to मलयजणाहिबो in manuscript E. The Bengal text of Professor Târânâth Tarka-Vâchaspati, *i.e.* the copy denoted by B., gives मलअजणबदाधिबो (=मलयजनपदाधिपो) ; and manuscript G. reads simply मलआहिबो (=मलयाधिपो). The word occurs for the last time at page 221. Here the text reads मलयनृपतिः—whereas manuscripts B. E. and N. give मलयनरपतिः—and G. gives मलयजनाधिपः

We must here consider what the word *Malaya* is commonly used to denote, as a name of a locality. Mr. Têlaṅg observes that it is used to signify either the mountain Malaya, or the country about it; it is never known to stand for a particular place or city.

If the reading मलअणअराहिबो at page 204 be accepted as correct, it must be taken to mean either "the lord of the city of Malayanagara," or, what is equally probable, "the lord of the country so named after its capital Malayanagara." In either case, the name Malayanagara must be interpreted as "the city of the Malaya people." To interpret it as "the city named Malaya (मलयनामकनगर)," goes against the fact that there was no place of that name. Nor can it be understood to mean "the city situated on the Malaya mountain," or "in the country named after it"; for that way of interpretation is unusual. Thus, then, it follows that the word *Malaya* is used to denote a particular tribe, and not a locality. Independently of this, the readings of manuscripts P. M. and E. here, and of manuscript G. at page 221, prove the same fact. They state in clear terms that Siṁhanâda was the lord of the Malaya people (मलयजनाधिप).[1] Hence the word मलयनरपति occurring in the text at page 48 and in the foot-notes at page 221, and its equivalent मलयनृपति in the text at page 221, must be interpreted in the same way. And in support of this interpretation, I would refer to page 207 of the play itself, where the words शकनरपति and यवनपति are used in a similar way. In conformity with this view, the reading मलआहिबो of G., which apparently stands alone, must be understood to mean "the lord of the Malayas." That this is the meaning intended to be conveyed by it, is evident from the variant मलयजनाधिपः given by the copy for मलयनृपतिः at page 221. The correctness of the text of B. is open to much suspicion. Its reading मलअजणबदाधिबो is not

[1] The term जनाधिप is not so loosely used as the term नृप, नृपति, नरपति, &c., which simply mean 'a king.' It denotes something more, *viz.* a king of a particular tribe or people (जन).

supported by any of the manuscripts consulted by Mr. Têlaṅg. It, therefore, appears that the superfluous syllables बद are spurious additions. If these redundant syllables are rejected, the copy will be found to agree in many respects with manuscripts P. and M., and, in material points, with manuscript E. also. Thus the copies P. M. E. and B. will be all in favour of the reading that is rendered into Sanskṛit by मलयजनाधिपः "the lord of the Malaya people."

The omission of the syllables जन in the reading मलआहिवो, and the addition of the syllables बद in the reading मलअजणबदाधिबो, seem to be due to a preconception that the word *Malaya* designates a country here. And this must have originated from the fact that Kulûta and Kâśmîra, both names of countries, are mentioned immediately before and after Malaya.

Mr. Têlaṅg expresses considerable doubt as to whether the reading मलयनगर given by the other manuscripts, is right; and there is little doubt that the reading *is* incorrect. Though the copies are here almost equally divided in reading मलअजणाहिवो and मलअणअराहिवो, still their unanimous concurrence at page 48 in reading मलयनरपति, and not मलयपुरपति,—which ought to have occurred at least as a variant[2] if मलअणअराहिवो were correct,—inclines us to believe that the original reading in this place was मलअणराहिवो, and that a second अ was afterwards interpolated by ignorant copyists. By this slight alteration, the various readings of page 204 are made to accord one with another. मलअणराहिवो is the same thing as मलअजणाहिवो; since the word नर is synonymous with जन. For its interpretation it may be compared with मलयजनाधिप, मलयनरपति, शकनरपति &c. The reading thus arrived at renders irrelevant all search for the assumed Malayanagara, which appears to be simply the production of a clerical error.

From all that is set out above, it follows that *Malaya*, as used in this play, was the name of a people, and not of a locality. It now remains to attempt to identify the people, and to ascertain their geographical position.

The internal evidence furnished by the play certainly points to the northern frontier of India as the seat of these people. The territory of the prince Malayakêtu must have been bounded by the states of Kâśmîra and Kulûta, and the land of the Malayas; for the kings of these provinces are represented, by a secret agent of Châṇakya, to be all intent on seizing the kingdom of the prince and partitioning it among themselves. Hence the Malayas must be looked for in the vicinity of Kulûta and Kâśmîra.

We turn now to the testimony of the Chinese traveller, Hiuen Tsiang, who observes that to the north of *K'iu-lu-to* (Kulûta) there was the country of *Lo-u-lo* (Lahul). Still further to the north he places the country of *Mo-lo-so*, which would thus fall just about on the eastern boundary of the Kâśmîra of the seventh century. The name and position accord so well with the brief description of the land of the Malayas given by the author of the play, that it makes it almost certain that the country of *Mo-lo-so*, spoken of by the Chinese pilgrim, must be the land of the Malayas. General Cunningham, it is true,—in identifying the country mentioned by Hiuen Tsiang with Marpo or Ladâk,—prefers reading *Mo-lo-po* for *Mo-lo-so*. But *Mo-lo-so* seems to be so easily derivable from such a word as *Malayavâsa*, 'the habitation of the Malayas,' that I would accept it as the proper reading. And Marpo itself is derivable from any such synonymous expression as *Malayapada*, which has the same meaning.

Thus, then, both the internal evidence of the play, and the independent testimony of the Chinese traveller, agree in locating *Mo-lo-so* or Malayavâsa, 'the habitation of the Malayas,' on the northern frontier of India, and somewhere on the eastern limits of the Kâśmîra of the seventh century.

The result thus arrived at will enable us to ascertain the position of the kingdom of the king P a r v a t ê ś v a r a, or Śailêśvara, as he is generally called in the play. The name Parvatêśvara or Śailêśvara literally means 'the king of the mountain,' by which is commonly understood the Himâlaya mountains. What portion of the Himâlayan range formed the kingdom of Parvatêśvara, can be easily determined from the geographical data given at

[2] It may be remarked in further corroboration of my supposition, that, even at page 221, no such variation as मलयनगराधिपः or मलयपुरपतिः is to be found.

page 204 and repeated at page 221 of the play. It must have been surrounded by Malayavâsa, Kâśmîra, and Kulûta, respectively, on its northern, western, and southern frontiers, the remaining side being protected by the main range of the Himâlayas; and the tract so defined is run through by a western offshoot of the Himâlayas, whose spurs cover the whole of it. If my identification of the territory of Siṁhanâda with the district of *Mo-lo-so* or *Malayavâsa* be correct, then it follows that the province thus determined was the seat of the kingdom of Parvatêśvara and his successor Malayakêtu.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NATESA SASTRI PANDIT.

VIII.—THE MOTHER-IN-LAW BECAME AN ASS.

Little by little the mother-in-law became an ass—*varavara mâmi kaḻudai pôl ânâḷ*, is a proverb among the Tamiḻs, applied to those who day by day go downwards in their progress in study, position, or life, and based on the following story:—

In a certain village there lived a Brâhmaṇ with his wife, mother, and mother-in-law. He was a very good man, and equally kind to all of them. His mother complained of nothing from his hands, but his wife was a very bad-tempered woman, and always troubled her mother-in-law by keeping her engaged in this work or that throughout the day, and giving her very little food in the evening. Owing to this the poor Brâhmaṇ's mother was almost dying of misery. On the other hand, her own mother received very kind treatment, of course, at her daughter's hands, by whom the husband was so completely ruled over, that he had no strength of mind to oppose her ill-treatment of his mother.

One evening, just before sun-set, the wife abused her mother-in-law with such fury, that the latter had to fly away to escape a thrashing. Much vexed at her unhappiness she ran out of the village, but the sun had begun to set, and the darkness of night was fast overtaking her. So finding a ruined temple she entered it to pass the night there. It happened to be the abode of the village Kâḷi (goddess), who used to come out every night at midnight to inspect her village. That night she perceived a woman—the mother of the poor Brâhmaṇ—lurking within her *prâkâras* (boundaries), and being a most benevolent Kâḷi called out to her, and asked her what made her so miserable that she should leave her home on such a dark night. The old Brâhmaṇî told her story in a few words, and while she was speaking the cunning goddess was using her supernatural powers to see whether all she said was true or not, and finding it to be the truth she thus replied in very soothing tones:—"I pity your misery, mother, because your daughter-in-law troubles and vexes you thus when you have become old, and have no strength in your body. Now take this mango," and taking a ripe one from out of her hips, she gave it to the old Brahmaṇî with a smiling face—"eat it, and you will soon turn out a young woman like your own daughter-in-law, and then she shall no longer trouble you." Thus consoling the afflicted old woman, the kind-hearted Kâḷi went away. The Brâhmaṇî lingered for the remainder of the night in the temple, and being a fond mother she did not like to eat the whole of the mango without giving a portion of it to her son.

Meanwhile, when her son returned home in the evening he found his mother absent, but his wife explained the matter to him, so as to throw the blame on the old woman, as she always did. As it was dark he had no chance of going out to search for her, so he waited for the daylight, and as soon as he saw the dawn started to look for his mother. He had not walked far when to his joy he found her in the temple of Kâḷi.

"How did you pass the cold night, my dearest mother?" said he. "What did you have for dinner? Wretch that I am to have got myself married to a cur. Forget all her faults, and return home."

His mother shed tears of joy and sorrow, and related her previous night's adventure whereon he said:—

"Delay not even one *nimisha* (minute), but eat this fruit at once. I do not want any of it. Only if you become young and strong enough to stand that nasty cur's troubles, well and good."

So the mother ate up the divine fruit, and the son took her upon his shoulders and brought

her home, on reaching which he placed her on the ground, when to his joy she was no longer an old woman, but a young girl of sixteen, and stronger than his own wife. The troublesome wife was now totally put down, and was powerless against so strong a mother-in-law.

She did not at all like the change, and having to give up her habits of bullying, and so she argued to herself thus—"This jade of a mother-in-law became young through the fruit of the Kâḷi, why should not my mother also do the same, if I instruct her and send her to the same temple." So she instructed her mother as to the story she ought to give to the goddess, and sent her there. Her old mother agreeably to her daughter's injunctions went to the temple, and on meeting with the goddess at midnight gave a false answer that she was being greatly ill-treated by her daughter-in-law, though, in truth, she had nothing of the kind to complain of. The goddess perceived the lie through her divine powers, but apparently seeming to pity her, gave her also a fruit. Her daughter had instructed her not to eat it till next morning and till she saw her son-in-law.

As soon as morning approached the poor henpecked Brâhmaṇ was ordered by his wife to go to the temple and fetch his mother-in-law as he had some time back fetched away his mother. He accordingly went, and invited her to come home. She wanted him to eat part of the fruit, as she had been instructed, but he refused, and so she swallowed it all, fully expecting to become young again on reaching home. Meanwhile her son-in-law took her on his shoulders and returned home, expecting, as his former experience had taught him, to see his mother-in-law also become a young woman. Anxiety to see how the change came on overcame him and at half way he turned his head and found such part of the burden on his shoulders as he could see to be like parts of an ass, but he took this to be a mere preliminary stage towards youthful womanhood! Again he turned, and again he saw the same thing several times, and the more he looked the more his burden became like an ass, till at last when he reached home his burden jumped down braying like an ass and ran away.

Thus the Kâḷi, perceiving the evil intentions of the wife disappointed her by turning her mother into an ass, but no one knew of it till she actually jumped down from the shoulders of her son-in-law.

This story is always cited as the explanation of the proverb quoted above—*varavara mâmi kaḷudai pôl âṇâḷ*—little by little the mother-in-law became an ass, to which is also commonly added *ûr varumbôdu ûḷaiyîda talaippaṭṭâḷ*—and as she approached the village she began to bray.

IX.—THE STORY OF APPAYYA.[1]

अपूपेन हताः चोराः
हता खड्गेन केसरी ।
तुरंगेण हतं सैन्यम्
विधिर्भाग्यानुसारिणी ॥

In a remote village there lived a poor Brâhmaṇ and his wife. Though several years of their wedded life had passed they unfortunately had no children; and so being very eager for a child, and having no hope of one by his first wife, the poor Brâhmaṇ made up his mind to marry a second. His wife would not permit it for some time, but finding her husband resolved, she gave way, thinking within herself that she would manage somehow to do away with the second wife. As soon as he had got her consent the Brâhmaṇ arranged for his second marriage and wedded a beautiful Brâhmaṇ girl. She went to live with him in the same house with the first wife, who, thinking that she would be making the world suspicious if she did anything suddenly, waited for some time.

Îśvara himself seemed to favour the new marriage, and the second wife, a year after her wedding, becoming pregnant, went in the sixth month of her pregnancy to her mother's house for her confinement. Her husband bore his separation from her patiently for a fortnight, but after this the desire to see her again began to prey upon his mind, and he was always asking his first wife as to when he ought to go to her. She seemed to sympathise fully with his trouble and said:—

"My dearest husband, your health is being daily injured, and I am glad that your love for her has not made it worse than it is. To-morrow you must start on a visit to her.

[1] [Compare the tale of Fattû, the Valiant Weaver, *ante* Vol. XI. p. 282 ff.—ED.]

It is said that we should not go empty-handed to children, a king, or a pregnant woman: so I shall give you one hundred *apûpa* cakes, packed up separately in a vessel, which you must give to her. You are very fond of *apûpas*, and I fear that you will eat some of them on the way: but you had better not do so. And I will give you some cakes packed in a cloth separately for you to eat on your journey."

So the first wife spent the whole night in preparing the *apûpa* cakes, and mixed poison in the sugar and rice-flour of those she made for her co-wife and rival; but as she entertained no enmity against her husband the *apûpa* cakes for him were properly prepared. By the time the morning dawned she had packed up the hundred *apûpas* in a brass vessel, which could be easily carried on a man's head.

After a light breakfast—for a heavy one is always bad before a journey on foot—the Brâhmaṇ placed the brass vessel on his head, and holding in his hand the kerchief containing the food for himself on the way started for the village of his second wife, which happened to be at a distance of two days' journey. He walked in hot haste till evening approached, and when the darkness of night overtook him, the rapidity of his walk had exhausted him, and he felt very hungry. He espied a wayside shed and a tank near his path, and entered the water to perform his evening ablution to the god of the day, who was fast going down below the horizon. As soon as this was over he untied his kerchief, and did full justice to its contents by swallowing every cake whole. He then drank some water and, being quite overcome by fatigue, fell into a deep slumber in the shed, with his brass vessel and its sweet, or rather poisonous, contents under his head.

Close by the spot where the Brâhmaṇ slept there reigned a famous king who had a very beautiful daughter. Several persons demanded her hand in marriage, among whom was a robber chieftain, who wanted her for his only son. Though the king liked the boy for his beauty, the thought that he was only a robber for all that prevented him from making up his mind to give his daughter in marriage to him. The robber-lord, however, was determined to have his own way, and accordingly despatched one hundred of his band to fetch away the princess in the night without her knowledge while she was sleeping, to his palace in the woods. In obedience to their chieftain's order the robbers, on the night the Brâhmaṇ happened to sleep in the shed, entered the king's palace and stole away the princess, together with the cot on which she was sleeping. On reaching the shed the hundred robbers found themselves very thirsty —for being awake at midnight always brings on thirst. So they placed the cot on the ground and were entering the water to quench their thirst. Just then they smelt the *apûpa* cakes, which, for all that they contained poison, had a very sweet savour. The robbers searched about the shed, and found the Brâhmaṇ sleeping on one side, and the brass vessel lying at a distance from him, for he had pushed it from underneath his head when he had stretched himself in his sleep. They opened the vessel and to their joy found in it exactly one hundred *apûpa* cakes.

"We have one here for each of us, and that is something better than mere water. Let us each eat before we go into it," said the leader of the gang, and at once each man swallowed greedily what he had in his hand, and immediately all fell down dead. Lucky it was that no one knew of the old Brâhmaṇî's trick. Had the robbers any reason to suspect it they would never have eaten the cakes. Had the Brâhmaṇ known it he would never have brought them with him for his dear second wife. Lucky was it for the poor old Brâhmaṇ and his second wife, and lucky was it for the sleeping princess, that these cakes went, after all, into the stomachs of the villainous robbers!

After sleeping his fill the Brâhmaṇ, who had been dreaming of his second wife all night, awoke in haste to pursue the remainder of his journey to her house. He could not find his brass vessel, but near the place where he had left it he found several men of the woods, whom he knew very well by their appearance to be robbers, as he thought, sleeping. Angered at the loss of his vessel he took up a sword from one of the dead robbers and cut off all their heads, thinking all the while that he was killing one hundred living robbers, who were sleeping after having eaten all his cakes. Presently the princess's cot fell under his gaze, and he approached it and found on it a most beautiful lady fast asleep. Being an

intelligent man he perceived that the persons whose heads he had cut off, must have been some thieves, or other wicked men, who had carried her off. He was not long in doubt, for not far off he saw an army marching up rapidly with a king at its head, who was saying, "Down with the robber who has stolen away my daughter." The Brâhmaṇ at once inferred that this must be the father of the sleeping princess, and suddenly waking her up from her sleep spoke thus to her:—

"Behold before you the hundred robbers that brought you here a few hours ago from your palace. I fought one and all of them single handed and have killed them all."

The princess was highly pleased at what she heard, for she knew of all the tricks the robbers had previously played to carry her off. So she fell reverently at the Brâhmaṇ's feet and said:

"Friend, never till now have I heard of a warrior who single-handed fought one hundred robbers. Your valour is unparalleled. I *will* be your wife, if only in remembrance of your having saved me from falling into the hands of these ruffians."

Her father and his army was now near the shed, for he had all along watched the conduct of the robber chieftain, and as soon as the maidservants of the palace informed him of the disappearance of the princess and her cot, he marched straight with his soldiers for the woods. His joy, when he saw his daughter safe, knew no bounds, and he flew into his daughter's arms, while she pointed to the Brâhmaṇ as her preserver. The king now put a thousand questions to our hero, who, being well versed in matters of fighting, gave sound replies, and so came successfully out of his first adventure. The king, astonished at his valour, took him to his palace, and rewarded him with the hand of the princess. And the robber chieftain, fearing the new son-in-law who single-handed had killed a hundred of his robbers, never troubled himself about the princess. Thus the Brâhmaṇ's first adventure ended in making him son-in-law to a king!

Now there lived a lioness in a wood near the princess's country, who had a great taste for human flesh, and so once a week the king used to send a man into the wood to serve as her prey. All the people now collected together before the king and said:—

"Most honoured king, while you have a son-in-law who killed one hundred robbers with his sword, why should you continue to send a man into the wood every week. We request you to send your son-in-law next week to the wood and have the lioness killed."

This seemed most reasonable to the king, who called for his son-in-law and sent him armed to the teeth into the wood.

Now our Brâhmaṇ could not refuse to go for fear of losing the fame of his former exploit, and hoping that fortune would favour him, he asked his father-in-law to have him hoisted up into a big banyan tree with all kinds of weapons, and this was done. The appointed time for the lioness to eat her prey approached, and as she saw no one coming for her, and as sometimes those that had to come used to linger for a short time in the tree in which the Brâhmaṇ had taken refuge, she went up to it to see that no such trick has been played upon her this time. This made the Brâhmaṇ tremble so violently that he dropped the sword he held in his hand. At that very moment the lioness happened to yawn and the sword dropped right into her jaws and killed her. As soon as the Brâhmaṇ saw the course which events had taken, he came down from the tree and invented a thousand stories of how he had given battle to the terrible lioness and overcome her. This exploit fully established his valour, and feasts and rejoicings in honour of it followed, and the whole country round blessed the son-in-law of their king.

Near this kingdom there also reigned a powerful emperor, who levied tribute from all the surrounding countries. To this emperor the father-in-law of our most valorous Brâhmaṇ, who, at one stroke, had killed one hundred robbers and, at another, a fierce lioness, had also to pay a certain amount of tribute; but trusting to the power of his son-in-law, he stopped the tribute to the emperor, who, by the way, was named Appayya Râja, and who, as soon as the tribute was stopped, invaded his dominions, and his father in law besought the Brâhmaṇ for assistance.

Again the poor Brâhmaṇ could not refuse; for if he did all his former fame would be lost. So he determined to undertake this adventure also, and to trust to fortune rather than give up the attempt. He asked for

the best horse and the sharpest sword and set out to fight the enemy, who had already encamped on the other side of the river, which flowed at a short distance to the east of the town.

Now the king had a very unruly horse, which had never been broken in, and this he gave his son-in-law; and, supplying him with a sharp sword, asked him to start. The Brâhmaṇ then asked the king's servants to tie him up with cotton strings tight on to the saddle, and set out on the expedition.

The horse, having never till then felt a man on its back, began to gallop most furiously, and flew onwards so fast that all who saw it thought the rider must lose his life, and he too was almost dead with fear. He tried his best to curb his steed, but the more he pulled the faster it galloped, till giving up all hopes of life he let it take its course. It jumped into the water and swam across to the other side of the river, wetting the cotton cords by which the Brâhmaṇ was tied down to the saddle, making them swell and giving him the most excruciating pain. He bore it, however, with all the patience imaginable. Presently the horse reached the other side of the river, where there was a big palmyra tree, which a recent flood had left almost uprooted and ready to fall at the slightest touch. The Brâhmaṇ, unable to stop the course of the horse, held fast on to the tree, hoping thus to check its wild career. But unfortunately for him the tree gave way, and the steed galloped on so furiously that he did not know which was the safer—to leave the tree or to hold on to it. Meanwhile the wet cotton cords hurt him so that he, in the hopelessness of despair, bawled out *appa! ayya!*[1] On went his steed, and still he held on to the palmyra tree. Though now fighting for his own life, the people that were watching him from a great distance thought him to be flying to the battlefield armed with a palmyra tree! The cry of lamentation *appa ayya*, which he uttered, his enemy mistook for a challenge because, as we know, his name happened to be Appayya. Horror-struck at the sight of a warrior armed with a huge tree, his enemy turned and fled. *Yathâ râjâ tathâ prajâḥ*—"As is the king so are the subjects,"—and accordingly his followers also fled. The Brâhmaṇ warrior (!) seeing the fortunate course events had again taken pursued the enemy, or rather let his courser have its own furious way. Thus the enemy and his vast army melted away in the twinkling of an eye and the horse, too, when it became exhausted, returned towards the palace.

The old king had been watching from the loftiest rooms of his palace all that had passed on the other side of the river, and believing his son-in-law had, by his own prowess, driven out the enemy, approached him with all pomp. Eager hands quickly cut the knots by which the victorious (!) Brâhmaṇ had been held tight in his saddle, and his old father-in-law with tears of joy embraced him and congratulated him on his victory, saying that the whole kingdom was indebted to him. A splendid triumphal march was conducted, in which the eyes of the whole town were directed towards our victorious hero.

Thus, on three different occasions, and in three different adventures, fortune favoured the poor Brâhmaṇ and brought him fame. He then sent for his two former wives and took them into his palace. His second wife, who was pregnant, when he first started with the *apûpa* cakes to see her, had given birth to a male child, who was, when she came back to him, more than a year old. The first wife confessed to her husband her sin of having given him poisoned cakes and craved his pardon; and it was only now that he came to know that the hundred robbers he killed in his first adventure were all really dead men, and that they must have died from the effects of the poison in the cakes, and since her treachery had given him a new start in life he forgave her. She, too, gave up her enmity to the partners of her husband's bed, and all the four lived in peace and plenty for many a long day afterwards.

OMENS FROM THE FALLING OF HOUSE LIZARDS.

BY K. RAGHUNATHJI.

MEN.

If a lizard falls on a man's head or top-knot, he will be happy; if on the exact spot where the hair is tied by a knot, it causes a disease; if on the ends of the hair, it means ruin, and if on the skull, it denotes death. If a lizard

[1] Which in Tamiḻ are exclamations of lamentation, meaning, Ah! Alas!

falls on the forehead wealth is obtained; if on the right cheek, any wealth specially wished for is obtained; if on the left cheek, the man is blessed with a sight of his deceased relations; and if in the middle of the cheek, he will get his "daily bread."

If a lizard falls on the eye-brows, there will be a loss of wealth, but if between them, there will be an accretion of wealth. If it drops on to the right eye, the omen is good, but if on to the left, imprisonment is sure to follow.

If a lizard fall on to the right ear, gain, but if on to the left, trouble will follow. Should one fall on to the nose, it is lucky, but if it fall on to the end of it it is calamitous. If one fall on to the mouth, a feast of sweet dishes is imminent; if on to the upper lip a beating, but if on to the lower lip, wealth and splendour. If one should fall on to the joined lips, death is certain, and if below the lips and above the chin, know there will be enmity with the king. If one fall on to the throat, there will be a meeting with friends, and if below it, there is a fear of the action of enemies.

If a lizard fall on to the right shoulder, there will be a success shortly, but defeat if one falls on to the left shoulder. The greatest happiness ensues on a lizard's falling on to the middle of the hand, but if it fall on to the other parts of the hand or on to the back of it, loss of property is sustained. If one falls on to the wrist, it means jewels and ornaments, and if on to the fingers, it means the fulfilment of the heart's desire, but if on the nails, a loss of wealth.

If a lizard falls on to the back, there will be news of friends, and if on either side, a meeting with an absent brother. A lizard falling on to the heart increases happiness, on to either breast, fortune; into the arm-pits, bestows happiness on the women of the household.

A lizard falling on to the left upper arm, will cause much agony of mind, but good luck if on to the right arm. If one fall on to the left hand, a quarrel will arise in the family; if on to the left wrist, a loss of property will be sustained. If one fall on to the back of the left hand or fingers, it gives fame or renown; but if on the nails of the left hand it will cause destruction, and if on to the middle of the left hand, it brings wealth.

If a lizard fall on to the belly, it brings riches; on to the waist, clothes; and on to the navel, victory and fame. If on to the buttocks, it brings disease, on to the anus, death; on to the thighs, a loss of clothes; on to the pubes, destruction of property; on to the private parts, a sore disease; on to either knee, imprisonment; on to the ankle-bone, the death of a wife.

If a lizard fall anywhere below the knees to the feet, it bodes a journey; on to the feet, imprisonment; and on to the feet joined together, death; on to the heel, it will cause happiness; but on to the toes, a son's death; and on to the toe-nails, the death of domestic animals and household servants.

But the luckiest thing of all is that of a lizard falling on the soles of the feet, as then all enemies are sure to perish!

Women.

If a lizard fall upon the head of a woman, she becomes wealthy; but if upon her skull it means death; upon the knot of the hair, disease; and on to the end of the hair, death. If one fall on the neck there will be constant strife; if on the forehead, a loss of property; and if on the right cheek, be sure that widowhood will be her lot. But if a lizard fall on her left cheek she will meet her beloved; and live long, if it fall on the right ear.[1] She will obtain golden ornaments if it falls on her left ear. There will be misery if it falls on her right eye, but if on the left eye the *Śástras* assure her that she will meet her absent husband.

If a lizard fall on her nose, she will get some disease; if on the upper lip, strife; if on the lower lip, wealth and splendour; and if on the closed lips, destruction. If a lizard fall below the lips, and above the chin, strife will follow; if on to the mouth, a sweet feast; if on to the throat, ornaments; if on to the shoulders, ornaments set with precious gems; if on to the loins, immediate happiness and wealth; if on to the back, enmity with brothers; if on to either side, she will meet her brothers.

If a lizard fall on a woman's right hand, a loss of property will be incurred; if on to her

[1] But some say that this means misery.

left hand, there will be gain; if on the right wrist, anguish and loss of wealth; if on the left wrist, she will get ornaments; if on the middle of either hand, very great happiness; if on to the back of either hand or of the fingers, ornaments; if on the nails, destruction; if on the breasts, great sorrow; if on the heart, increase of happiness, and if on the parts about the belly, she will be blessed with a virtuous boy.

If a lizard fall on to the belly of a girl, she will get married early; if on to the belly of a woman, it bodes luck; if on to the navel, an increase of good fortune; if on to the anus, death; if on to the waist, clothes; and if on to the private parts, she will suffer from some disease.

A woman will be blessed with a child, if a lizard fall on her thighs; if on the knees she will suffer imprisonment; if on any part between the knees and the ankles, loss of wealth; if on the ankle-bone, death; if on the right foot she will have to go to her native country. Immense wealth and a son are hers on whose left foot a lizard falls, and she will be rich in grain if one falls on her toe-nails.

GENERAL.

Should a lizard fall while a person is sleeping on a bed, consider it lucky; while sitting down, either lucky or unlucky. If a lizard fall on a dining plate, after the meal is over, it is a sign of friendship between brothers; if on the body of a person while walking, that will befall an enemy which was to have happened to himself.

If a lizard fall on food after it is served, throw it away; and if one falls on a plate on which food has not yet been served, it brings fear, grief, and disease. If one fall on the fire at which a man's food is about to be cooked, his wife dies. If one fall in a temple, the king dies; if in an assembly, it causes the death of the president; if in the middle of the house, the death of the owner of the house; if between two persons, the best one of the two dies. If one fall while a man and woman are cohabiting, they become separated from each other for the rest of their lives; but if one falls while they are *in coitu* and on the man's private parts, it is lucky, and the woman is blessed with eight very beautiful sons.

If any one sees two lizards fight and drop down, all his troubles are at an end and his household will become happy. If a lamp is extinguished by the falling of a lizard, the household will be ruined, but this may be averted by not living in the house for the next three months. If a lizard falls on any part of the clothing, it destroys position in society, and raises quarrels; if on to a sword or other implement of war, enemies will perish; and if on a horse or other riding animal, painful travelling will be the result.

If a lizard falls on a person on his birthday, birth-planet, on the day on which he has *bârâvâ-chandra*,[2] at the time of *Vaidhṛiti*, *Vyatîpâta*, the *Utpâta* day, eclipses, *Yamaghaṇṭa*, *Mṛityuyôga*, *Dagdhayôga*, *Kâlinî*, *Śravaṇa*, or other unlucky stars, be sure that evil will befall him.

If a lizard falls upon any person, and runs towards the east, then any event he is looking for will end according to his expectations. If it runs towards the south-east danger is to be apprehended from fire; if towards the south, death; if towards the south-west, strife; if towards the west, gain of wealth; if towards the north-west, disease; if towards the north, much profit; and if towards the north-east, then any event anxiously expected will end according to expectation.

If a lizard falls on a person on the first day of the moon, then all things will be propitious to him; if on the second day, he gets a kingdom; if on the third day, gain; if on the fourth, sickness; if on the fifth, sixth, and seventh days, wealth; and if on the eighth, ninth, and tenth days, death. If it falls on the eleventh day, he will be blessed with a son; if on the twelfth day, with both son and wealth; if on the thirteenth day, he will sustain a loss; if on the fourteenth, loss of wealth; and if at the full moon or new moon, loss of brothers and wealth.

If a lizard falls on a person on a Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, or Friday, he will gain wealth; but if on a Sunday, Tuesday, or Saturday, he will lose it.

If a lizard falls on any one at the time of the first two signs of the zodiac, *viz.* :—*Mêsha* or

[2] When the moon enters into the twelfth sign from his birth star.

Vṛishabha, there will be gain; if in *Maithuna* or *Kanyâ*, he will be blessed with a daughter; if in *Siṁha*, he will suffer loss of wealth; if in *Tulâ* or *Vṛiśchika*, he will obtain rich clothes; if in *Dhanus* or *Makara*, wealth; if in *Kumbha*, great loss; and if in *Mîna* or *Karka*, joy.

Excepting at the *Śûla*, *Vajra*, *Vyatîpâta*, *Paridhi* and *Vaidhṛiti yôgas* (or junctions of planets), the falling of a lizard at any of the *yôgas* is lucky.

Excepting the periods of *Nâga* and *Chatushpada*, when it occasions lamentation, and of *Bhadra*, when it produces death, the falling of a lizard during the astronomical period called *Karaṇa*, of which there are eleven, is lucky.

If a lizard falls during *Aśvinî*, the first of the twenty-seven lunar asterisms, it gives health and wealth; if during *Bharaṇî*, the second asterism, it produces disease; during *Kṛittikâ*, loss of wealth; in *Rôhiṇî* or *Mṛiga*, wealth; in *Ârdrâ*, death; in *Punarvasû*, gain of wealth; in *Pushya*, gain; in *Âślêshâ*, death; in *Maghâ*, welfare; in *Pûrvâ*, an increase of illness in the family; and in *Uttarâ*, *Hastâ*, *Chitrâ* and *Swâti*, it is lucky; while in *Viśâkhâ* loss of wealth will be sustained. In *Anurâdhâ* it gives a kingdom, in *Jyêshṭhâ* it causes ruin; and in *Mûla* it gives happiness; but in *Pûrvâ* it causes death. In *Uttarâ*, it is lucky; in *Śravaṇa*, it gives a kingdom; in *Dhanishṭhâ*, it causes ruin; in *Śatatârakâ* it bestows happiness; in *Rêvatî*, it gives a kingdom; and in *Pûrvabhadrâ* or *Uttarabhadrâ*, it is lucky.

The fall of a house-lizard on a person, or a field-lizard (*sârdâ*) running up his body are both unlucky; but if a house-lizard is found creeping up him, or a field-lizard falls upon him, it is lucky. If a field-lizard falls on a person and tries to creep up him, it is luckier than when it merely falls upon him. If a field-lizard climbs up any one's body with its face upwards, and an ordinary lizard (*pâl*) descends down anyone with its face downwards, then luck is instant.

Methods of Averting Evil.

In order to avert the evils arising from the fall of a lizard, the sufferer should have recourse to the following means:—When touched by a lizard he should immediately bathe in the clothes he wore at the time; he should drink a mixture of the five products of the cow, *viz.*, dung, urine, milk, curds, and clarified butter, and, putting melted butter into a cup, he should look into it. Whether weak or strong, if a man has any regard for his welfare, this should be his first care. He should next perform the *Puṇyâha-vâchana* ceremony, which is as follows:—

A golden image of a lizard is made, ten *pâl* in weight, or as near it as the sufferer can afford. It is dressed in a piece of red cloth and worshipped with sandal paste, flowers and grains of rice. In front of it are then placed an earthen jar on grains of rice decorated with cloth, flowers, and grains of rice, and filled with the five kinds of ambrosia (*pañchâmṛita*), *viz.* milk, curds, clarified butter, honey and sugar; the five products of the cow (*pañchagavya*), the five jewels (*pañcharatna*), *viz.*, gold, diamond, amethyst, emerald, and pearl; five kinds of leaves (*pañchapallavas*), *viz.*, the four figs and the mango; and the seven kinds of earth (*saptamṛittikâ*), *viz.* from an elephant's stable, from a horse's stable, from a king's gate, from under the *khaskhas* grass (*andropogon muricatum*), from where four roads meet, from a cow's stable, and from an anthill. The whole is then worshipped with sandalwood, flowers, grains of rice, turmeric, red and scented powders, with offerings of sweet dishes, the waving of incense, a lighted butter lamp and camphor. The sacrificial fire is then lighted and fed with wood of the *khair* (an acacia), sesamum and clarified butter; a prostration before it is made with a low bow and joined hands, and forgiveness is asked. By this act the worshipper is blessed with long life, wealth, victory, health, prosperity and posterity.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 92.)

The division which Ogotai sent under the Noyan Ilji towards the mountains of Ghur and Herat apparently assailed Firuzkoh, which Minhaj-i-Saraj tells us was the capital of the Sulṭâns of Ghur. It had been attacked by the Mongols under the Juzbi Uklan in the year 1220, but

after assailing it for twenty days the invaders had withdrawn again.[1] The second attack, to which we are now referring, took place two years later, and its governor, Malik Imad-u'd-dîn Zangi, with the people there, were slaughtered.[2]

Another exploit of a portion of Ogotai's army in 1222 was an attack upon Saif Rud, which is described as the most powerful fortress in the mountains. I do not know its situation. Raverty says the name is also written Sankaran, it was also written Balarwan, Yalarwan or Badwan. When the Khuârezm Shâh Muḥammad retired westwards he left it in charge of the Malik Kutb-u'd-dîn Husain, who was ordered to put it in a state of defence. He had barely time to build a reservoir to contain 40 days' supply, when the Mongols overran Ghur and drew near, under the Noyans Mangutah, Karachah and Utsuz,[3] and for 50 days they attacked it with great loss on either side. There were a great many quadrupeds in the fortress, and they killed as many as they could dry, and the rest, 24,400, died for want of water, and were thrown over the rampart, and we are told the face of the glacis for a depth of 40 *gaz* was completely strewn with their carcases; half a *man* of water and a *man* of grain were assigned to each person except the governor, who had a *man* of water, one-half for his ablutions and one-half for drinking purposes; the former was afterwards given to his horse, which was the only horse that remained alive there. When the siege had lasted 50 days only another day's supply of water remained. The Malik thereupon convened the men in the fortress, and proposed that the next day they should put the women and children to death with their own hands, and, having thrown open the gateway and concealed themselves in some place inside, when the Mongols entered they should rush in upon them and fight them until they had attained martyrdom. They made up their minds to follow this advice and bade adieu to each other, when that very night there came a heavy fall of rain and snow, so that, to use the rhetorical language of our author, "they who had endured the thirst of 50 days, and during that time had not drunk the sherbet or their fill of water, drank from the coverings of the tents and *sayah-bans* so much snow water in satisfying their longing that for a period of seven days after smoke issued from their throats along with their saliva." The summer was now virtually over, and the rainy season at hand, and this supply of water would last them a month or more. The Mongols, seeing this raised the siege, "and went to hell till the following year."[4] The next year after the defeat of Jelal-u'd-dîn the Mongols (as I argue, a portion of Ogotai's army), again appeared at Saif Rud. Its governor, the Malik Kutb-u'd-din Husain had meanwhile put it in a state of repair, constructed fresh reservoirs, and provisioned it amply. The investment continued for two months, but in vain, when the people, who had grown weary and exhausted, in spite of the advice of the governor, agreed to a truce by which the people should go down into the Mongol camp for three days, and dispose of the commodities they possessed for gold and silver, cattle and woollen garments as they required, and that after this truce the Mongols should march away. For two days the traffic went on amicably and without interruption, but on the evening of the second day the Mongols concealed a number of armed men behind rocks, bales of clothes, pack saddles, and in the broken ground about their camp, and when the people came down as usual to do their bartering on the third day, and mixed with the besiegers, all at once the drums were beaten, a shout was raised, and the Musalmans seized and deprived of their arms or killed. A shrewd person, who was among the traffickers, and was named Fakhru'd-dîn Nishapuri, had a dagger in the leg of his boot, which he drew upon a Mongol who seized him. The latter let him go, and he escaped again to the mountains. This incident is made the text of a homily on prudence by our chronicler. He adds that 280 of the principal men of the place were treacherously captured on this occasion. The Mongols now proposed that the people of Saif-Rud should ransom their relatives, but the governor, Kutbu'd-din, would not hear of it. They thereupon fell upon and killed them with

[1] *Tabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, pp. 1007, 1055 and 1056.
[2] *Id.* p. 1057.
[3] The variants of this last name are Albar, Alsar, Absar, Atar, Asaz, Albasar or Alburz, Raverty, *Tabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, p. 1063 note.
[4] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, pp. 1062 and 1065.

their knives, stones, &c. &c. Preparations to renew the attack on the fortress were now vigorously made, but the governor was a man of resources. A large number of big stones were planted, so that a slight touch would send them rolling to the bottom, and other stones as big as millstones were fastened to beams, and these were fastened to the battlements by ropes. Meanwhile the garrison was divided into two sections, one behind the ramparts, the other behind the great blocks of stone, and orders were given that no one should move till the drums sounded. When at dawn next day the Mongols sent a force of 10,000 against the fortress, they were allowed to mount up about two arrow flights before the Musalmans showed themselves. When only a hundred yards separated them the kettle-drums were beaten inside, all raised a shout, the ropes were cut and the mill stones, beams, &c. went rolling down, and we read that from the summit of the hill to the bottom the Mongols and renegades lay prostrate together, and a great number of the Mongol grandees, Noyans and Bahadurs, "went to hell." This disastrous assault, which we are told took place in the year 620 Hj. *i.e.* 1223, put an end to the siege, which was now raised. A few days later the Mongols made another attempt to surprise the fortress of Tulak, but had to retire after losing many men.[5]

Having traced the operations of Ogotai and Chagatai, let us turn to the third army which was sent against Herat. When the news of Jelalu'd-dîn's victory at Parwan reached Khorasan, according to Minhaj-i-Saraj, in every town and city of Khorasan, wherever Mongol *shahnahs* or commissaries were stationed the people sent them to hell.[6] Among the places where an outbreak occurred after this fashion was Herat, which, unlike the other great cities of Khorasan, had been spared by the Mongols, as I have already described. The special chronicle of Herat, written by Mu'âyinu'd-dîn Muḥammad El Esfezari, gives some interesting details of this revolt, which have been abstracted by D'Ohsson.

Not far from Herat, in the district of Badghiz was a very strong fortress, called Kalyun.[7] D'Ohsson says it was afterwards also known as Nerretu. It was built on a rock, and the approach to it was so difficult that a narrow path, half a league long, had to be traversed, along which only two men could pass to reach it.[8] Minhaj-i-Saraj describes it "as an exceedingly strong fortress, the like of which for height and for solidity was not to be found anywhere. From Herat to Kalyun was a distance of 20 *farsangs*, the road mounting all the way to the foot of the rock on which the fort was planted. From the foot of this rock to the ramparts was another *farsang*." The height of the rock was about 1,000 cubits and the face of it like a wall, so that no living thing could mount it save reptiles. The summit was a plateau of a considerable extent. Within the fortress the inhabitants had dug seven wells in the solid rock, which were supplied with perennial water.[9]

The Mongols had already attacked the place twice without result, and feeling that they were certain to return, and would employ against them the soldiery at Herat, the garrison determined to compromise the people at the latter place so much with the Mongols that they would have to make common cause with them. They accordingly wrote to Abubekr and Mangatai,[10] saying they were willing to surrender, but that fearing the Mongols greatly they first wished to obtain a promise in writing from their Khân that their lives would be safe. The two governors already named promised to secure this, and also proposed to re-open communications between the two places. This was what the people at Kalyun desired, in order to secure their purpose. They thereupon despatched 70 brave men, disguised as merchants, who having concealed their arms in their bales entered the place separately and assassinated the two governors, whereupon the citizens of Herat put to the sword all the dependents of the murdered chiefs, and elected two others of their own.[11] Malik Mubarizu'd-dîn Sebzevari, who had been nominated governor of Firuzkoh by the Khuârezm Shâh Muhammad, and disagreeing with the people there had gone on to Herat, had the military supervision of the

[5] *Tabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, pp. 1065—1070.
[6] *Tabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, p. 1042.
[7] Erdmann calls it Kalebuin and D'Ohsson Calioun.
[8] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 311.
[9] *Tabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, p. 1052.
[10] Called Mingtai by D'Ohsson and Mengbai by Erdmann.
[11] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 311 and 312.

place while the civil administration was made over to the Khoja Fakhr-u'd-dîn Abdu'r-Rahman, who was apparently a Jewish banker of great wealth, and the two proceeded to put the place in a state of defence. When Chinghiz Khân heard of this outbreak he reprimanded Tului severely for his generosity to the Herat people, and sent his nephew the Noyan Ilchikadai, son of his younger brother Kachiun, with an army of 80,000 horsemen, and with the grim remark that inasmuch as the dead had come to life again, he was to take care this did not occur again, by cutting off the heads of the citizens and sparing nothing.[12] He set out in January 1222, and having reached the river of Herat halted for a month, while he collected his siege machinery, and also got together an army of 50,000 men from the neighbouring districts of Khorasan, Balkh and Shaburghan. This raised his army to 130,000 men, and he seems to have disposed the greater part of them in four bodies of 30,000 each, about the four sides of the city, and sent a menacing message into the place to say that those who resisted would be punished with death, while those who did not would be spared.

The place was well prepared for defence, and its governor was an indomitable person. Minhaj-i-Saraj describes him as "an aged man of fine and handsome presence, who rode through the city, fully armed and who arrayed in defensive armour and lance in hand fought against the infidels until he attained martyrdom."[13] The siege lasted for six months and seventeen days, during which several assaults were made, in each of which the Mongols are said to have lost 5,000 men. At length a long stretch of wall[14] was battered down, and according to one reading buried 400 of the besiegers in the ruins: another is that they took possession of the ruins. Dissension now arose inside, one party being for capitulating and the other for continuing the struggle. At length, on the 14th of June 1222, the Mongols forced their way in at the gate afterwards called the Khakiskar Burj or Gate of Arches, and began a terrible slaughter, neither age nor sex being spared, and for seven days a continual scene of bloodshed ensued, while the buildings were torn down and burnt. 1,600,000 people are said to have perished in this butchery, and Ilchikadai sent his master the most precious things he had captured, with several thousand young captives.[15] Having captured Herat Ilchikadai marched very naturally to revenge himself upon Kalyun, and when he reached the Kasbah of Aobah[16] he sent a body of 2,000 men with orders to return to Herat and to kill any fugitives who might have returned and re-occupied it. They thus slaughtered 3,000 more; D'Ohsson says 2,000 people. Of the famous men of Herat only Khalif Mulana Sherif-u'd-dîn Chugrutan remained alive. He had 15 companions with him, and they sheltered on a scarped rock in that district till the danger was over. This small band, which had only grown to 40 a year later, constituted the entire population of Herat, and they lived together in the great mosque, a proof of the terrible punishment the place received.[17] Meanwhile Ilchikadai proceeded to attack Kalyun, which was governed by Ikhtiyar-ul-Mulk, engrosser of the Imperial seals, assisted by two famous champions, sons of Abubekr, also called the Sozangar.[18] They were so tall that it was said when they accompanied Sultân Muhammed Khuârezm Shâh with their hands placed on his stirrups, their heads rose higher than his. They were also famous for their valour. The fortress was well provisioned, and abundantly supplied with men and weapons, and had only recently been conquered, together with the neighbouring fortress of Fiwar, by the Khuârezm Shâh. The garrison made numerous sorties, and so harassed their assailants, that the latter eventually surrounded the fortress with a wall in which were two gates with walls before them, or as some copies of the work say with a double wall, and men were assigned to keep watch at night. "A trustworthy person related how a fox was entrapped inside this wall between it and the fortress for a period of seven months and could not get away, showing how closely the place

[12] Erdmann, p. 424; *Tabakât-i-Nasiri*, p. 1049 note.
[13] *Tabakât-i-Nâsiri*, pp. 1050 and 1051.
[14] Erdmann says 40, and Raverty 50 ells.
[15] Erdmann, pp. 424 and 425; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 313; *Tabakât-i-Nâsiri*, pp. 1050 and 1051 notes; Abulghazi, pp. 137 and 138; *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, pp. 164 and 167.

[16] Raverty says it is a well-known place on the direct route from Herat to Kabul, but I cannot find it on my maps, nor Kalyun either.
[17] Erdmann, pp. 425 and 426; D'Ohsson, vol. I, pp. 313 and 314; *Shajrat-ul-Atrak*, 167.
[18] *Tabakât-i-Nâsiri*, pp. 1003 and 1052.

was watched." The siege had lasted for twelve months when Saadi, who had been attacking Seistan, as I have described, arrived with a reinforcement, and the attack became more vigorous. Meanwhile a pestilence broke out inside the fortress from the people constantly having to eat dried flesh, pistachio nuts and clarified butter. The place had held out for 16 months, and so many of the garrison had been carried off that but 50 persons remained alive, and of these 20 had swollen feet, one of the symptoms of the pestilence. A fugitive informed the Mongols of this, who thereupon made an assault. The garrison, we are teld, threw their gold and silver treasures and other valuables into the wells which they filled up with large stones and then burnt the rest. They then opened the gateway, drew their swords, threw themselves upon the Mongols, and were slaughtered.[19] About 10 *farsangs* from Kalyun, and within sight of it, was another fortress, named Fiwar of Kadas, and Minhaj-i-Saraj tells us if strange horsemen should reach the base of the former in the day the people there made a smoke and at night lighted a fire as a beacon, and *vice versâ*. We have seen how Arslan Khân of Kaialik and Tulan the Juzbi were sent by Chinghiz to attack the fortress of Walkh in Tokharistan, and how they captured it. They afterwards we are told, advanced upon Fiwar.[20] This stronghold was even more impregnable than Kalyun, and it is said that it could be defended by 10 men. The two Mongol chiefs pressed their attack for ten months, when provisions began to run short in their camp. They thereupon sent to Kalyun and brought up stores from that recently captured place. Meanwhile a messenger came down from the stronghold into their camp, and reported how nearly all the garrison were dead, not more than seven remaining alive, and of these four or five were ill. They then attacked and captured it, and put these seven to death. This, we are told, took place in the latter part of the year 619 Hj. *i.e.* 1222.[21]

The exact situation of Kalyun and Fiwar, beyond that they were somewhere in Ghur, I cannot identify.

This completes the account we can give at present of the Mongol campaign in the mountain country of Ghur, which is almost entirely derived from the *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣiri*. It will not be inopportune to conclude with a characteristic anecdote, showing what manner of men these were before whom the stupendous difficulties of campaigning in this most difficult country were overcome. The story is told of the Chief above mentioned, and whose name is given as Uklan the Juzbi by Raverty.[22]

Minhaj-i-Saraj tells us that on one occasion Habashii-Abd-ul Malik Saur-Zarrad, to whom the Mongols had given the title of Khusrau of Ghur, having returned to Ghur from Talikan with Chinghiz Khân's permission, reported that on a certain occasion when seated in the presence of the great conqueror Uklan the Juzbi and other Noyans, Uklan being the highest in rank, someone brought in two Mongols who had fallen asleep at their posts the night before. Uklan asked who had brought them, upon which a Mongol bent the knee and said he had done so, and being further asked what offence the men had committed he said they were mounted on horseback when he was going round examining the guards. He came up to them, and found them both asleep, and he passed on, and now he had brought them up. Uklan asked them if it was true, and they assented. He then said, cut off the head of one of them and fasten it to the double "pigtail" of the other. Parade him round the camp, then put him to death also. The accused and accusers all made obeisance, and the command was duly carried out. The Ghurian chief was astonished at what he saw, and said to Uklan, "There was no evidence or proof on the part of the accuser, and how was it the accused confessed, knowing their punishment would be death, which a denial would have saved them from." Uklân replied, "Why are you astonished? You Tajiks do such things, and tell lies. A Mongol, were a thousand lives at stake, would rather be

[19] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, pp. 1052 and 1054.
[20] *Ṭabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, pp. 1026 and 1054.
[21] *Id.* 1055.
[22] Major Raverty's note on this name is utterly bewildering. He says that Uklan was the brother of But Tangri Kukju, who proclaimed Chinghiz Khân of Sugatu and of Tulan, all being sons of Mengely or Manglik, Chinghiz Khân's stepfather, and yet he says he was an Ulkunut Kunkurat. Nothing is more certain than that these other persons were not Olkhonuts or Ulkunuts but Urnauts, a very different tribe altogether, and if the relationship as stated by Raverty be authentic, then Uklan must be the same person who is called Sulṭân by Erdmann, and by him called a commander of the left, *op. cit.* p. 205.

killed than speak falsely; lying is your occupation, and this is why the Almighty God has sent a calamity like us upon you.[23]

Such was the Draconic code of the Mongols, and such also the stern virtue of the race, which like the rigid creed of the English Puritans, was a terrible ally against the frivolity and lack of principle on the other side.

ON THE DESCENT AND SPEECH OF THE TRANSGANGETIC PEOPLE.[1]

This is an interesting paper, and worthy of attention for its relations both to its special theme and to certain points in the general study of language upon which it touches. The author introduces his subject by pointing out the natural *nexus* of interest which leads us on from the institutions of India to their extension over neighbouring parts of the earth, and then to matters concerning the older history of the populations to whom they were communicated. A consideration of the geographical conditions of Further India shows him that the history of emigration in that peninsula is governed by the river-courses; and he assumes that the successive waves of population will have followed one another downward from the central uplands of the interior, each driving its predecessor to the lowest coast-line, or crowding it out of the fertile and desirable valleys into the bordering mountains. We find, then, in the Peguans, Cambodians, and Annamites the remains of prior settlements, expelled from their first seats by the intrusive Siamese and Burmese; and supporting indications are claimed to be discovered in the traditions of the various peoples, and the changes of location of their capitals. The south-western parts of China, also, are occupied by tribes that appear to be plainly related with the Siamese and Burmese. North of Yun-nan, again, are the original seats of the Tibetans, and not far away, on the middle course of the Hoang-ho, is the theatre of the earliest Chinese history. It is the question, then, whether any linguistic signs of relationship are to be traced among the four peoples thus inferentially brought into geographic neighbourhood.

Professor Kuhn here gives a sketch of the history of investigation among the transgangetic languages. A complete bibliography of the subject, prepared as an intended supplement to the present paper, he has decided to reserve for publication in another form. But he regards it as an unquestionable inference from the facts already made accessible, that the languages of south-eastern Asia fall into two groups, corresponding with the division of the peoples stated above: namely, Annamite and Peguan and Cambodian on the one side, and the rest of the peninsular tongues, along with the Chinese and Tibetan, on the other. And the movements that have carried the Burmese and Siamese southward, and crowded the Tibetans westward, up the course of the higher Brahmaputra, behind the Himalayas, are, we are told, to be ascribed with probability to the growing extension of Chinese power. The northern group is divisible into an eastern and a western sub-group, Chinese-Siamese and Tibeto-Burman, the latter having on the whole the more primitive character. There are perplexing diversities in the way of more detailed classification; and to account for them the author seems disposed to call in that *deus ex machinâ* of the classifier in difficulties, the influence of neighbouring tongues of a wholly different stock. Doubtless it would be better to let the problem simply pass as one yet unsolved.

The leading common characteristic of all these tongues is, as every one knows, their monosyllabism and their lack of grammatical structure, the place of which is to a certain degree supplied by a fixed order of arrangement of the words composing a sentence. As regards lexical evidence, Professor Kuhn considers the common origin of the languages in each of the two chief groups above distinguished to be proved by the agreement of numerals within the group, and the diversity of the groups by their discordance with one another in the same respect. It must be confessed, however, that the comparative table of numerals in the northern group, given by him in a note, is very far from convincing; as, on the other hand, for reasons to which he himself alludes (and which are abundantly illustrated, for instance, in American Indian languages), discordant numerals need not be disproof of relationship. The laws of arrangement in the sentence are looser in the Tibeto-Burman sub-group, which also makes freer use of auxiliary particles; and the order followed is by no means the same in all the languages. But this difference, we are told, should not be regarded as having grown out of an original agreement, but rather out of a condition of greater freedom of arrangement; and this must be held to involve the former possession of a fuller grammatical apparatus. The suggestion is a very ingenious

[23] *Tabakât-i-Nâṣiri*, pp. 1079 and 1081.

[1] Reprinted from the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. V. No. 1. *Ueber Herkunft und Sprache der transgangetischen Völker. Festrede . . . gehalten* . . . 25 July, 1881, von Ernst Kuhn. München, 1883. 4to, p. 22.

and significant one, and ought to be received with respectful attention, whether we are or are not ready at once to accept it. Our author proceeds to bring up facts from the various languages which may be regarded as giving it support. These are, in his opinion, manifold. The Chinese, in the first place, shows in some of its existing dialects and in its older phases remains of a greater fulness of phonetic form, especially having final consonants which the classical language has now lost. Similar facts are found in Siamese and Burmese. But the most striking case is the Tibetan; the written forms of this language, dating from the seventh century, present numerous consonant combinations, now silent except in certain dialects, and indicating former possession by its words of more than the single syllable to which they are now restricted. In some cases, it is asserted, these affixes have an apparent grammatical character; and Professor Kuhn ventures to claim that in the other languages also are seen signs of fusion of a numeral particle with the proper numeral: but, as already stated, the comparative table he gives to show this is extremely unconvincing. He regards, however, the evidence he presents as absolutely demonstrating that the Chinese monosyllabism is no original one, but a result of phonetic decay. Such is well known to be the opinion of Lepsius, and of more than one other recent authority; and the indications must be confessed to point decidedly that way, although by no means so unmistakably as is here assumed.

So far, however, as regards the bearing of this new (asserted) aspect of the Chinese upon the question as to an original root-stage of language in general, the views of our author are open to criticism; and it is the more desirable to spend a few words upon the matter, inasmuch as there are others now-a-days who go even further than he in claiming that the root-theory breaks down hopelessly if the support of Chinese original monosyllabism is withdrawn from under it. No misapprehension could well be greater than this. A root, in the first place, is not a phonetic element of a given extent. It is simply a significant element lacking any grammatical character, not admitting an analysis which demonstrates in it a formal part, marking it as a part of speech, a derivative from a more primitive word, or an inflectional form. A language composed only of such elements is a root-language, whatever be their length. Dissyllabism does not take away the radical character. There are languages enough to be found—for example, the ancient Egyptian and the modern Polynesian—of which the roots are in part or prevailingly of more than one syllable. One may be strongly persuaded that the really ultimate roots of human speech were monosyllabic, and may devise theories to account for these longer radical entities, without yielding their radical nature. A combination, for example, of root with root makes only a root, unless one of the two enters, with a recognized and correspondent value, into a whole series of combinations, becoming thus a modifier to its fellow in each combination. The lost Chinese finals have yet to be shown to possess in this way a grammatical character, before they can be held to prove the Chinese not a language of roots. That the Chinese and its relatives "have run a long career of development, and grown worn with age, like the languages of Europe," is of course true. All existing languages, so far as we know, have behind them the same immense past, and a past of never-ending growth and change. Of this past, the period covered by the development of the Indo-European inflective system is probably only a small part. At any rate, he who imagines that in determining the Indo-European roots he has arrived at a point anywhere near the actual beginnings of human speech is immensely mistaken. But that the Chinese has never had a development even remotely like that of European tongues is sufficiently shown by its present condition, which is as unlike as possible to that of the monosyllabic part of English, wherein are lacking neither parts of speech, nor derivatives, nor inflections. If the Chinese, in growing out of a presumable original monosyllabism, acquired nothing in the way of structure of which it could retain the results when phonetically decayed, it is still a root-language, and almost or quite as good as ever for the use long made of it:—namely, to show how a language destitute of grammatical structure can answer the needs even of a gifted and highly civilized people, and thus to take away all difficulty from the assumption that the first rude human beings made a language of roots serve their restricted purposes.

For the impregnable basis of the radicarian theory, as has been repeatedly pointed out, is twofold. In the first place, its theoretic necessity; since anything devised and created by human beings, as part of their progress upward toward a state of culture, must have begun with what is simplest in its kind. To regard men as using from the start words made up of a radical part and a formative or grammatical part is precisely equivalent to regarding them as having begun to fight and to work with tools that had handles. He who does not see this has still to learn what language is and what has been its history. The other and completely correlative part of the basis

is this: that, in the observable history of languages, we see abundant instances of the production of new formative elements, new signs of grammatical distinction; and that it is always and only by a reduction to formative or grammatical value of previously existing material elements of speech, whence a sound linguistic philosophy forces us to the inference that the same has been the case from the beginning, and that the way to grammatical expression lies only through combination. With regard to this point, Professor Kuhn is in a very hopeful state, as appears from the concluding paragraphs of his paper. He ventures there to raise a word of protest against what he calls the "hitherto accepted philosophy of language." The latter, he says, is at a loss to find out words of condemnation severe enough for languages guilty of mixing up material and form, by applying words of recognizably material content to those uses for which we provide by suffixes:—as is to a great extent the case in the tongues of which he has been treating. He, on the contrary, is inclined to note their analogy with such elements in his own language as *-thum*, *-schaft*, *-heit*, *-bar*, all of them demonstrably material in origin. "Wherever," he adds, "we see suffixes come into being, they come in this way; and we may with some reason (*mit einigem Rechte*) infer that they have in general been thus originated." Here is a very encouraging bit of independence and good sense; and the author has only to go on boldly on the same track to escape altogether the shackles of the now prevalent philosophy of language in Germany, and to substitute for it the true scientific and historical method. That philosophy has really as little to do with the science of language as the Hegelian philosophy with geology or zoology. The former is all well in its way, but it does not stand upon the same plane with the other, and nothing but detriment and confusion can come of their mixture. The only justifiable scientific method, in the study of language, as in every other branch of scientific inquiry, is to reason back from the known to the unknown. And the argument, as not long ago stated in the pages of the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. I. p. 337, runs thus:—If in the historical periods of language we see formative elements made by the agglutination of independent material words, and do not see them made in any other way, and if the grammatical relations thus provided for are of the same kind, and not less difficult, than those expressed by the other formative elements whose history is beyond our ken, then it necessarily follows, not merely that we have "some reason" to regard the latter elements as having been made in the same way as the former, but that we have no reason to regard them as made in any other way. That is to say, this is the only, and the sufficient, method of explanation of the structural growth of language, which the historical study of language has yet brought to light. Any other, even concurrent one, must wait for admission until a historical basis has been found for it. Moreover, this kind of reduction of material elements to a formal value is only one division of the most pervading of all movements in the development of language. It is not easy to see why Professor Kuhn should have referred only to the suffixes of our European languages. Their auxiliaries and form-words are a still closer parallel to the formative apparatus of less developed tongues and involve processes of adaptation as gross and coarse as any that the latter can exhibit. Thus, to take the nearest example at hand, the German and English alike have a substantive verb, expressing the fundamental grammatical relation of predication, which is pieced together out of fragments of three verbs having the material senses of 'grow,' 'stay,' and 'sit' (or else 'breathe'): the Romanic tongues have patched in 'stand' instead of 'stay.' And to denote its temporal and modal relations, they employ various verbs traceable to the material senses of 'turn,' 'seize,' 'be big or strong,' 'select' (with a probable further background of 'surround'), 'be under penalty' (perhaps ultimately 'have committed a crime'), and so on. Our phraseology, too, is crammed with examples of the same kind. What has the present accepted philosophy of language to say of such expressions, for example, as *es fällt mir ein* ('it falls in to me') or "it occurs to (*i.e.* 'runs against') me," for that extremely familiar but also transcendentally mysterious act of framing a sudden conception? And is not all our intellectual and moral language made up of such grossly material elements? Of their grossness, the mind that uses them is totally unconscious, and the intellectual action that underlies them is alike in all those who employ their unending variety. To say *heap-man* instead of *men* or *Männer*, to us who have the latter forms, is of an amusing rudeness; so would be *I shall have been*, if employed with etymological understanding of its elements by one accustomed to say *fuero*; but to one whose habitual expression it has become, the sense of the grammatical relation, of plurality and so forth, is in either case just as pure and as integral as is that of the synthetic form to its user. Those who have to learn a tongue of ruder structure do not find the character of their mental apprehensions degraded by it. The process of thought is the same with either instrument. To get at the

kernel of a nut, one may with nearly equal advantage avail himself of a rough stone, a polished hammer, or a patent nut-cracking machine; and while we may admire the superior ingenuity of the last, we do not fail to recognise in all alike the essentially human faculty of adapting means to ends, nor to acknowledge that the remote ancestors of those who now have machines possessed nothing better than stones; and we should especially laugh at any who maintained that the metal in their machines was never rude mineral that had to be dug out of the dirty ground. But this is what is virtually done by those who insist that in their languages the apparatus of formal expression has been always and only formal. In direct opposition to them, it is to be maintained that in no language does anything formal exist that was not first material. Investigation, experience, and sound anthropologic theory all unite to show this; and there is nothing against it but prejudice and pride. Our views of the history of language, in order to be defensible and abiding, must be made to fit into our general anthropology, as a consistent part of it; for language is simply one of the various acquisitions by which man has become what he is. Now what can we suppose to have been the mental condition and capacity of men who have not yet possessed themselves of speech? Certainly not superior to that of the comparatively cultivated races in the more recent stages of their history, but rather the contrary. We cannot help believing that there has been a gradual advance in intellectual grasp and reach, partly as a consequence of the gradual elaboration of speech. It would be, then, of the utmost degree of strangeness if in primitive times a loftier and freer mode of language-making was within reach than we now find attainable by ourselves; if those items of formal expression which in the period over which our observations extend have had to be slowly wrought out and adapted to their purpose from the general material of speech, could be struck off out of hand by the earliest speech-makers. Yet we have this palpable absurdity involved in the language-theories of a variety of schools: of those who hold that certain languages are "form-languages" and others not; or that speech began with sentences, which gradually begat words by a fissiparous process; or that pronouns are the endings of verbs, which have dropped off and set up an independent existence; or that the founders of each race of men produced the various existing languages complete "at a single stroke"—and so on through the whole list of *à priori* systems, which are saved from general and utter condemnation only by the too prevalent substitution of empty speculations for the scientific method of induction from facts.

Our author's concluding opinion, that we are not to infer mental infirmity in the races possessing these peculiar and structurally impoverished tongues, is to be received with unquestioning assent. Every race is entitled to be judged by the totality of its mental products, not by the capacity which it has exhibited in a single direction of mental activity; and no reasonable man will deny to the unaided originators of a culture like the Chinese a place in the front rank of humanity. But the skill and effect with which they are handled does not save the tongues themselves from the reproach of rudimentariness; and whatever eminence the Chinese and Tibetans may have attained in philosophy must be said to be in spite of their speech rather than by its aid. To extol the logicalness of a language of roots can hardly fail to imply against one that has parts of speech and inflections the charge of being in some measure illogical.

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

NARIAD, IN THE KAIRA DISTRICT.

Mr. H. H. Dhruva, of Surat, has submitted for inspection a rubbing of a Sanskṛit inscription in verse and prose, (30 lines of about 40 letters each, in Nâgarî characters; covering a space of about 1′ 9″ high by 1′ 4″ broad) from a well at Nariâd.—It is a *praśasti*, composed by an Udîchya Brâhmaṇ named Râmachandra (line 3), recording the building of the well by a Gurjara Baṇiyâ named Vêṇidâsa (l. 9), whose family had emigrated, under his ancestor Dêvavṛiddha (l. 6), from the Vaishṇava city of Stambhatîrtha (l. 5), the modern Khambay, and had settled at Naṭapatrâ (l. 11), where the well was constructed. The inscription is dated in the reign of the glorious Mudâphar (l. 26) (Muzaffar Shâh, the successor of the celebrated Maḥmûd Baigara of the Dôhad inscription of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1545), who appears to have been reigning at Aḥmadâbâd. The details of the date, given in words in line 17f., and in figures in line 26f., are—Vikrama-Saṁvat 1572 and Sâka[1] 1437 or 1438; Sômadina or Monday, the thirteenth day of the bright fortnight of the month Vaiśâkha,—corresponding, by the Tables in General Cunningham's *Indian Eras* and Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, to Monday, the 14th April A.D. 1515. The chief interest of this inscription

[1] The last figure of the Śâka date, in the units place, is almost illegible and is quite uncertain.

lies in its giving N a ṭ a p a t r a, as the ancient name of Nariâd. Mr. Dhruva states that it is still known by natives as N a ṭ a p u r a,—a substitute for the original name which he compares with their using Dadhipura, instead of the Dadhipadra of inscriptions, as the ancient name of Dôhad.

J. F. Fleet.

THE KONGUDESA-RAJAKKAL.

To the Editor of the Indian Antiquary.

Sir,—May I suggest the following as an explanation of the earlier portion of the puzzling list of kings given in the *Koṅgudêśa-Râjakkal*?

The chronicle says that the kings, Nos. 1 to 6 of the list (*ante* Vol. I. p. 361), were R a ṭ ṭ a s; and this assertion seems to afford a clue to the mystery.

In the Chronicle:—	*Râshṭrakûṭa dynasty:—*
1. Vîrarâya Chakravartî, (this is only his title; not his name).	Dantidurga (A.D. 753) subdued the W. Chalukyas.
2. Gôvindarâya I.	Krishṇa I. (c. A.D. 760).
3. Krishṇarâya.	Gôvinda II. (c. A.D. 765).
4. Kâlavallabharâya.	Dhruva Kalivallabha, (A.D. 778).
5. Gôvindarâya (the conqueror).	Gôvinda III., the final conqueror of the Gaṅgas (A.D. 803).

The chronicler has apparently transposed the names of Krishṇa I. and Gôvinda II.; and he is wrong in the relationships between Nos. 1, 2, and 3, but right as to the last two names.

Of No. 6 (Chaturbhuja Kanaradêva Chakravartî), the Chronicle says: "he was of the same race." The Râshṭrakûṭa Krishṇas were called 'Kannara;' and the chronicler would appear to be right, if, by his No. 6, he referred to Krishṇa (Kannara) IV. (A.D. 945). Up to this time the Gaṅgas or Koṅgus were certainly feudatories of the Raṭṭas (*ante* Vol. XII. p. 255); and the chronicler, not having been able to trace the relationship between Nos. 5 and 6, clearly intended, I think, to suggest that some successions were omitted.

In succession to No. 6, he places his son (No. 7) Tiru Vikramadêva Chakravartî; and this king may, in all likelihood, be identified with the W. Châlukya Taila II. (son of Vikramâditya IV.) "who lifted up the royal Châlukya family, which had been sunk down by the deceitful practices of the Râshṭrakûṭas" (*ante* Vol. VIII. p. 16). It will be noted also that Taila II. was the husband of Kannaradêva's grand-daughter Jâkabbâ. The date of Taila II. is A.D. 973; and the chronicler states specifically that he "governed Karnâṭa as well as Koṅgudêśam." Further, it will be seen that this chronology fits in pretty accurately with Mr. Fleet's opinion (*ante* Vol. VII. p. 101ff) as to the dates of the next kings (Nos. 8, 9, and 10) of the list given in the chronicle, who were Gaṅgas proper, and who probably again attained independence during the period when the suzerain Raṭṭa power was on the wane and before the consolidation of the W. Châlukya dominion following on the overthrow of the Raṭṭas.

It may eventually be found that the *Koṅgudêśa-Râjakkal* is tolerably accurate in its lists of suzerain kings, while, like most other native histories (?), it is utterly wrong as to its chronology

Coonoor. W. Logan.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

A Macaronic Verse of Gumani Kavi.

This and some subsequent verses were collected in Tirhut, and are said to be by G u m â n i K a v i of P a ṭ n â. His name however is quite unknown in Paṭnâ itself. Each verse consists of four lines; the peculiarity of them being that the first three are in Sanskṛit, and the last introduces a Hindî proverb.

पूर्वमसुप्यत येन खट्वया हाटकमय्या
तेन नलेन प्राप्ता वने क्वापदि तृणशय्या।
वक्ति गुमानिर्दैवशक्तिरिह नूनमसह्या
जिसी बिधि राखे राम उसी बिधि रहना भैया ॥

Nala, who formerly slept upon a golden couch, found in the forest, when reduced to misfortune, not even a bed of straw. Saith Gumâni, the power of fate, of a verity, is here shown to be unconquerable; yea,—"Stay in that state of life to which it hath pleased God to call thee."

G. A. Grierson.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI EBN ABI TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S.,
Principal, Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 92.

215. Languor in prayer weakens faith.

216. Shun what you ought to shun and you will be honoured.

217. Modesty, intelligence and liberality are the three parts of religion.

218. The death of wise and learned men is destructive.

219. The gaping mouth of avarice is not filled except in the grave.

220. Justice is the stability of a kingdom.

221. The reward of another life is better than the pleasures of this world.

222. To praise a giver too much is to ask for more.

223. The excellence of a speech consists in its brevity.

THE RELIGION OF THE ABORIGINAL TRIBES OF INDIA.

BY PROFESSOR J. AVERY, OF BOWDOIN COLLEGE, BRUNSWICK, MAINE, UNITED STATES.[1]

If an apology were needed for bringing to the attention of students of religion the crude notions of savage tribes regarding their relations to the unseen world, and the often revolting practices which have sprung therefrom, this would not be founded solely upon the claim which they rightly make upon Christian philanthropy, but as well on their scientific interest and value. If we have observed aright the course of thought at the present time, there is a growing disposition to study attentively all the systems of religion which at one time or another have been devised or accepted by men, with the view to discover their origin, and the laws which have governed their development. There is a tendency also to withdraw the study of religion from the exclusive dominion of sentiment, and to apply to it the same rigid canons of criticism which have been used so successfully in other fields of inquiry. There has been a time when the Christian Church viewed everything called religion outside its own fold much as the Greeks looked at the world beyond the confines of their peninsula, and lumped together alien beliefs of every variety and merit under the general title of heathenism; but, happily, a more appreciative spirit now prevails, and we are coming to see that there is much in other systems of belief which deserves our admiration. The study of religions has a scientific as well as a practical aim, and scholars have employed in it the inductive method of investigation with such a degree of success, that we may feel assured that the foundations are being laid for a science of religion. Indeed, some writers talk as if such a science were already constructed, but we are constrained to believe that this use of language is premature. So vast is the field of inquiry, so important is it that every part of its surface be explored and carefully mapped out, and so recently have scientific methods been employed in its survey, that investigators in this domain may well at present be content with modest claims for their study. It cannot be denied, then, that we shall not have a complete science of religions—much less of religion—until we shall have measured and deposited in its proper place in the building every variety of religious belief, no matter how crude it may seem, or how near the bottom of the social scale its professors may stand. If we feel any diffidence, therefore, in presenting a sketch of the religious beliefs and practices of the aboriginal tribes of India, it is not on the score of the subject possessing no intrinsic interest, but rather because of the present lack of materials in some parts of the field and our consequent inability to present the theme with the fulness of illustration desirable. And here we desire to express our great indebtedness to Colonel Dalton's invaluable work, the *Ethnology of Bengal*, without which many facts stated in the following pages would have been beyond our reach. Before proceeding with our inquiries, it will be useful if we state the location of the tribes to whom we shall repeatedly refer; for, though British power has existed in India for nearly two centuries, it has only been within a very recent period that we have been able to get trustworthy information concerning the aboriginal population; and even now that information is largely confined to a few persons, whom official duties or missionary efforts have brought into close relations with it. It has been usual to divide these primitive races into three groups—*viz.*, Tibeto-Burman, Kolarian, and Dravidian. Without entering upon the question of the correctness of this classification, or the ethnic connexion of its several members, we shall find it sufficiently convenient for our purpose.

The tribes comprising the first group are found in their most primitive condition scattered along the foot-hills of the Himâlayas, from Nepâl eastward to the farther extremity of Assam; thence along the range forming the eastern and southern border of that province back to the valley of the Ganges. Some tribes of the same stock are also found in the lowlands on either side of the Brahmaputra; but they have to so great a degree exchanged their ancient customs for those of the Hindûs, that they offer fewer points of interest for our

[1] Read before the Victoria Institute.

present inquiry than their kindred in the jungles upon the hills.

Following the route just indicated, we find on the northern border of Nepâl the Kirantis, the Limbus, and some other tribes of inferior importance. Passing across Sikhim and Bhutân, whose inhabitants, the Lepchas and Bhûtias, have adopted Buddhism, we come to the Akas, and next in order, to the Doflas, the Miris, and the Abors, which last tribe has settlements as far east as the Dibong, a northern tributary of the Brahmaputra. The Dibong serves also as an ethnic boundary, the tribes already named to the west of it showing a decided affinity to the Tibetans, and those beyond the stream exhibiting a closer likeness to tribes in Burmah. Between the Dibong and the Digaru are the Chulikata, or Crop-haired Mishmis. Next to these, on the north-eastern border of Assam, is another tribe, also called Mishmis, but differing in many respects from the one last mentioned. South of the Mishmis, partly within and partly beyond the eastern boundary of the province, are the Khamtis and the Singhpos. Now, turning westward, and still keeping within the mountain district, we come first to the numerous tribes of Nâgas spreading westward to about the 93rd deg. of E. long. On their western border are the Mikirs and the Kukis. Continuing in the same direction across the Kapili river, we meet, first, the Saintengs or Jaintias; next the Khâsias; and last of all, at the end of the range, the Gâros. At the foot of the Gâro hills are the Pani-Koch, a tribe partly converted to Hinduism. The tribes of the lowlands might be left out of view altogether, were it not that their conversion has not been so radical as to quite efface their primitive superstitions. The most important of these tribes are the Ahams, the Chutias, the Koch and the Kachâris. They are scattered here and there over the entire valley, and are reckoned as inferior castes of Hindûs.

Crossing the lower Ganges valley, and ascending the rugged highland which forms the core of India, we find ourselves in the home of a most primitive population. Here tribes of both the Kolarian and the Draviḍian stock, protected by the nature of the country, have long resisted the advance of a higher civilisation. Of the un-Hinduised Kolarians, the Santâls occupy the Santâl Parganas and the hill tracts of Orissa, on the eastern border of the highland. Adjoining this tribe, on the south and south-west are the Bhumij, the Mundas, the Kharrias, and the Hos or Larka-Kols. Still farther south, in the tributary states of Kaṭak, are the Juangs. In the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency are the Savaras. Directly west of the Kharrias are the Korwas, and, extending in scattered settlements across the plateau to the Narbadâ and Taptî rivers, are the closely-allied tribes of Kurs and Kurkus. Of the Draviḍian tribes, the Khonds live just north of the Savaras, in the tributary states of Orissa; the Orâons are found in Chutiâ Nâgpûr; the Pahâṛiâs or Mâlers occupy the Râjmahâl hills, where they overlook the Ganges; the Gonds spread over a large area in the centre of the plateau; while the Toḍas, Badagas, and one or two other small tribes, are far away on the Nîlgiri hills of Southern India. It is hardly necessary to add that the tribes of the last group do not represent the whole Draviḍian population; with the civilised portion, which constitutes the majority, we have here no concern. In addition to the tribes already named, there are certain partly-Hinduised tribes to whom we shall occasionally refer. These are the Cheros and Kharwars of the Shâhâbâd and Palamau districts; the Parheyas, the Kisans, the Bhuihers, the Boyars, the Nâgbansîs, and the Kaurs about Palamau, Sirgûjâ, and Jashpûr.

Proceeding now to the subject of our inquiry, after this preliminary explanation, we shall describe the religion of the aboriginal population under the following heads:—1st, the gods, and the kind of worship paid to them; 2nd, places of worship; 3rd, images and other representations of Deity; 4th, the priesthood; 5th, divination; 6th, witchcraft; 7th, the future life and the worship of ancestors; 8th, speculations regarding the origin of the world and of man; 9th, influence of Buddhism and Hinduism. It is almost needless to say that these tribes, without exception, and in common with the lower orders of men generally, have an unquestioning belief in the existence of spirits, both human and divine; sometimes they go even farther than this, and attribute to animals and inanimate objects immortal souls, like their own. The materialistic theories which have been reached

by the speculations of civilised philosophers seem never to have clouded their child-like faith. But, teeming as is the unseen world with beings created by a savage imagination, we are not to look for an orderly and consistent arrangement of powers and spheres of activity among these deities, such as we find in the Pantheons of Greece and Rome; rather, we are to expect the condition of things out of which these developed. Whenever such an elaborate system of theology is described as worked out by a tribe in other respects low down in the social scale, it is to be viewed with extreme caution, and by no means accepted as genuine, until attested by more than one skilful observer. An example in point is the account of the Khond religion by Major Macpherson. We shall be more likely to find confused and even flatly contradictory notions of the gods, blind attempts to properly adjust human relations with the higher powers. Though the gods served by these tribes are for the most part of a low order, scarcely rising above the level of their worshippers, still there are here and there indications of a dim conception of a God throned far above these inferior deities, and more deserving of reverence and love. We will first search for these. The Singhpos have a tradition that in a former sinless state they worshipped a Supreme God, of whose attributes they can give no account; but that they fell from that condition, and have since adopted the superstitions of surrounding tribes. The Abors and Miris have a vague idea of a God who is the Father of all; but as they connect him with the abode of the dead, and call him Jam Râjâ, it is easy to see that their conceptions are derived from the Hindû god, Yâma. The Kukis, who seem to have advanced farther in their reasoning, or borrowed more, believe in a Supreme God, whom they call Puthen, who not only created the world, but governs it and rewards men according to their deeds. It is in the last particular that their views are in marked contrast with those generally held by these tribes. Puthen has a wife, Nongjar, whose good offices as an intercessor with her husband can be secured by suitable offerings. The children of this benevolent pair are, like the other inferior gods, of a malicious disposition. With most of these tribes the sun is regarded as the impersonation of their highest god. The Gâros call him Saljang, or Ṛishi Saljang, and sacrifice white cocks in his honour. They say that he resided for a time on the Gâro hills with his wife, Apongma, and begat children, but subsequently returned to heaven, where he now dwells. The Bhuiyas call him Boram, and likewise offer to him a white cock at the planting season. He is worshipped by the Kharrias under the name Bero, and every head of a family is bound to offer to him five sacrifices in a lifetime, each oblation exceeding in value the last one. The Hos and Santâls call the sun-god Ṣing Bonga. He is represented as being self-created, and the author of the universe. He does not inflict suffering, but is sometimes invoked to remove it when appeals to the inferior gods have proved ineffectual. The Hos observe a yearly festival in honour of him, at which a white cock and the first-fruits of the rice harvest are offered. Among the Santâls, the head of the family, every third or fourth year, sacrifices a goat to Sing Bonga in an open space at sunrise. The Mundas pray to him when selecting the site of a house. The Korwas worship him under the name Bhagavan, a Sanskṛit word. The Muasis pay homage to both the sun and the moon. The Orâoṅs reverence the sun as Dharmesh,[*] the Holy One. They say that he created the world, and that he preserves men, unless thwarted by the malice of demons. No oblations are presented to him, since his good-will is already secured. The Khonds are divided into two sects, if Major Macpherson's statement can be trusted. One sect worship Baṛâ Pennu, who manifests himself in the sun, and is the creator and benefactor of mankind. The other sect have chosen as their highest object of regard his wife, the bloodthirsty earth-goddess, Târi, who demands a yearly offering of human victims. The Toḍas regard the heavenly bodies as gods, and address them in certain set phrases, but have no clear idea of their attributes or requirements.

It seems plain, from the facts cited, that most of the aboriginal tribes of India have some vague notion of a Power throned far above the world, who was concerned with its

[*] [This also must be Dharmeśa,=Dharmarâja,=Yama.—ED.]

creation; who manifests himself in the heavenly luminaries; whose disposition towards his creatures is benevolent, but is sometimes unable to reach its aim; and who demands from them only a distant and formal recognition, or none at all. Whether these are vanishing traces of a primitive revelation, or the result of their own reflections, or have been borrowed from the religion, particularly the Hari-worship, of the Hindûs, we will not here inquire. It is, at any rate, certain that the contemplation of their highest god has little effect in regulating conduct.

Another god of a similar character, but second in rank, is worshipped chiefly by the Kolarian tribes in Central India. This is Marang Buru, or Great Mountain. Remarkable peaks, bluffs, or rocks, not unnaturally suggested to their simple minds an idea of Divinity, and called forth their reverence. Since from such places descend the streams which irrigate the fields, Marang Buru has become the god to be invoked for rain. Offerings are made to him on the summit of the hill, or other object, in which he is supposed to reside.

It is not, however, with the superior gods and their decorous worship that we have most to do in describing the deities of these rude tribes. Their chief concern is to keep the peace with a host of minor gods, with whom their imagination has filled the whole realm of nature. In the forest, the field, the house—everywhere these beings throng. They are mostly of a jealous, revengeful disposition, and seem to take a malicious pleasure in teasing mankind. Fortunately, they are not insensible to human blandishments, and he is pretty sure to prosper who most assiduously cultivates their good-will, which can best be done by providing for them some toothsome dainty. It would be quite unnecessary to record lists of these lower gods, whose names are legion, since their attributes and the worship by which they are propitiated are everywhere of the same general type. A few characteristic examples will suffice. The Singhpos recognise three spirits called Nhats, who preside respectively over the higher, the lower world, and the household. Offerings of fowls, dogs, and on special occasions a buffalo, are made to them. The Chulikata Mishmis declare that the spirits whom they worship are mortal like themselves. The gods of the Abors and Miris dwell in the trees of the woods which cover their hill-sides. They love to kidnap children, whom they can generally be made to restore by proceeding to fell the trees in which they reside. The Nâgas say that their gods are created beings, and they are accustomed to vary their offerings according to the dignity of the recipient. Semes, the god of wealth, gets the larger domestic animals; Kuchimpai, the god of fertility, receives fowls and eggs; while Kangniba, who, on account of blindness, cannot distinguish offerings, gets nothing of any value. They believe that each disease is the work of a special demon, whose business and pleasure it is to spread it abroad; but his malicious design is sometimes thwarted by hanging bunches of withered leaves on the lintels of the door to frighten him, or branches of trees are stuck in the paths leading to the village, that the spirit may take them for untravelled ways. Since the tiger is of all beasts in India the most dreaded, it is not strange that a tiger-demon should be recognised. He is worshipped by the Kisans, who think in this way to escape the ravages of that animal. Among the Santâls in Râmgaṛh, only those who have lost relatives by the tiger think it necessary to propitiate the tiger-demon. The Gonds also pay him reverence. Since the deities of these tribes are anthropomorphic, it is a matter of course that gender should be allotted them; hence goddesses are frequently worshipped, and they show themselves not a whit behind their male consorts in malignant and blood-thirsty disposition. The Bhuiyas and Savaras, though recognising the benevolent sun-god, pay special honour to a savage goddess called Ṭhâkurâṇî,[5] who was formerly propitiated by human sacrifices. It is thought that upon her worship is founded that of the Hindû Kâlî, who once received human victims in this very part of India.

But the most remarkable system of human sacrifices, in connexion with the worship of female deities, was that instituted in honour of Târî, the earth-goddess of the Khonds. Since she

[5] [Ṭhâkurâṇî is the feminine of Ṭhâkur, *i.e.* Hari.—ED.]

presided over fertility, victims were immolated chiefly at the time of sowing. The persons destined for sacrifice, called Merias, were kidnapped from the plains or from other tribes, and, under strict guard, were petted and fed like cattle fattening for the slaughter. Children were allowed to grow up, and were encouraged to marry and rear families, but parents and offspring were equally devoted to the goddess, and were liable at any moment to be sacrificed to quench her thirst for blood. When the time of offering came, the body was hacked into small pieces, and each worshipper struggled to secure a shred of flesh or piece of bone to bury in his field. It has been about forty years since an end was put to these horrid rites by the combined efforts of Major S. C. Macpherson and General John Campbell. The Khonds say that Târî lives in heaven with her beneficent husband, Baṛâ Pennu, while numerous inferior gods roam the earth, seen by the lower animals, but invisible to men. It cannot be doubted that the custom of human sacrifice was once wide-spread in India, as indicated not only by the facts just stated, but by the practice of sham offerings existing among other tribes at the present time. The Orâoṅs and Gonds even now make a wooden or straw image of a man, and after prayer to a divinity for the blessings desired, sever its head with the stroke of an axe. As a general rule, the inferior gods stand in no clearly recognised relation of dependence upon the superior gods. Their will is usually exercised independently of higher control. We have noticed an interesting exception in the case of Kols, who assert that there are certain blessings reserved for the sun-god, Sing Bonga, to grant; and that offerings made to the lower gods will induce them to intercede with their master in behalf of the supplicants. One of the simplest, most child-like forms of worship is that practised by the Toḍas, on the Nilgiri Hills of Western India. Almost the sole means of support possessed by this tribe are their herds of buffaloes; hence these, together with the implements and persons specially connected with them, have come to assume a sacred character. Certain old cow-bells, said to have come originally from heaven, are worshipped as gods; and the priests or milkmen who tend the sacred buffaloes, of which several herds are specially set apart, are during their time of service also gods, and as such cannot be touched by any mortal. The duty of the priest is to perform a few simple rites daily before the cow-bells, and to care for his buffaloes, in which labour he is assisted by a semi-sacred herdsman. He can return at pleasure to ordinary human life, when, though no longer the embodiment of deity, he is treated with marked respect. The Toḍas believe in other gods, who are invisible, and whom the priest salutes as fellow-deities, but their ideas regarding them are extremely vague.

The residence of the gods is sometimes localised by these aboriginal tribes as heaven, some distant and lofty mountain peak, a huge rock, or a grove of ancient trees. Spirits who are likely to prove good neighbours, are sometimes enticed to take up their abode near a village by liberal offerings. Among the Kolarians of Central India every village has several sacred groves consecrated to tutelary gods. The trees in these groves must be left undisturbed, on pain of divine displeasure. It is true, as a rule, that the Tibeto-Burman and Kolarian tribes construct no temples nor images of their gods, while images, or something answering to them, are common among the Draviḍians. Still among the former tribes there is usually some spot where village or family worship is commonly performed, and which is marked by certain objects designed to suggest the sacredness of the place. The Gâros set up before their houses bamboo poles, with fillets of cotton or flowers attached, and before these make their offerings. The same thing is done by the Limbus. The Kachâris, the Bodo, the Mishmis, and some of the tribes of Central India worship the *sij* (*euphorbia*) plant as an emblem of deity. The Juangs, the Kharrias, and Korwas regard the ant-hill as a sacred place, and use it to take an oath, or to sacrifice upon. The Akas alone of these north-eastern tribes have images of their gods, and little huts to serve for temples; but, as they are partly converted to Hinduism, this custom is probably derived from that source. In the villages of Draviḍian tribes one finds some objects set up to represent the tutelary gods. These are often rude in shape—a lump of earth, a stone, or stakes of different heights to represent the two sexes.

Having spoken of the deities reverenced by these primitive races and of the worship

accorded to them, we proceed to describe the persons, whenever there are any such, whose special duty it is to perform that service. It may be said that, with few or no exceptions, all the tribes employ priests regularly or occasionally. When a tribe has no priests of its own, it borrows them from another tribe. Moreover, the office is usually not hereditary, but may be taken up or laid down at pleasure. In this respect the priesthood among the aboriginal population of India stands in marked contrast with that of the Hindûs. The Singhpos have no regular priests of their own, though members of the tribe sometimes act as diviners. The Buddhist priests of their neighbours, the Khamtis, are greatly esteemed by them. Among the Gâros the priest leads the same kind of life as the laity, and the only preparation needed by him before assuming the sacred office seems to be an ability to repeat the usual incantations. The Orâoṅs, when in want of a priest, discover the proper individual by divination. Taking a winnowing sieve in their hands, they march about the village, and are involuntarily led away by movements of the sieve to the right house. Among the Pahâṛiâs, persons desiring to enter the priesthood are required to retire for some days to the jungle, and commune in solitude with the deity. Before they are confirmed in their office they are expected to perform some marvellous act, as evidence of having acquired superhuman power. They wear their hair uncut while acting as priests. The same tribe have also priestesses as well as priests. Some tribes, that have in other respects adopted the religion of the Hindûs, employ the priests of neighbouring unconverted tribes to propitiate local deities. The distinction between priests and laity among most tribes is so slight that unconsecrated persons not unfrequently perform the offices of religion. The Juangs, who are among the lowest of all the tribes described, employ an old man as priest. Among the Kharrias the head of the family presides at offerings to the sun-god in behalf of the household, but a priest is employed to act for the community. The Kols allow certain elders or the heads of families to perform the service. Among the Santâls the head of the family offers the ancestral sacrifices, but other services are performed by village priests, who fit themselves for the purpose by prayer, fasting, and silent contemplation of some god until they are possessed by him. Among the Khonds a regular priest always officiated at the festivals in honour of the earth-goddess, but it appears that on ordinary occasions any one, who chose to do so, could assume the priestly functions, his reputation being dependent upon his skill as a diviner. We are told by Hodgson that among the Bodos and Dhimals the priests do not form an hereditary class, though it is not uncommon for the son to take up the business of his father; but that the elders of the people, heads of families or clans, frequently act as priests. We have already seen that among the Toḍas the manager of religious affairs is at once priest and god. His novitiate is passed by retiring to the jungle, and remaining there alone and without clothing for eight days, during which time he performs certain purificatory rites. On the eighth day he returns and enters upon the discharge of his duties.

Among the hill tribes generally the principal duties of a priest are to cure sickness, to ascertain coming events by divination, and to preside over the public offerings. The theory of the Nâgas that sickness is caused by a demon, who takes this way to gratify a personal spite against some mortal, is shared by other tribes. This being the diagnosis, the only rational course to pursue is to call in the priest. Among the Kukis, when this personage arrives, he first determines from the symptoms which one of the gods is offended. He then roasts a fowl, and eats it on the spot where the sick man was first seized with his malady. After throwing the fragments away, as an offering to the demon, he goes home. Should the gravity of the case demand the sacrifice of a larger animal, the priest collects his friends and shares the feast with them. In case the first application of the remedy does not prove effectual, it has to be repeated until the man dies or his resources fail. Among the Gâros, the priest, with the patient lying beside him, takes his seat near a bamboo altar, round which an assistant leads the animal to be sacrificed. From time to time it is taken away and washed, and then brought back and fed with salt and caressed. Its head is then severed with a single blow, and its blood smeared upon the altar. A somewhat more economical plan is in vogue among

the Bodos. The exorcist places before him on the ground thirteen leaves, with a few grains of rice upon each. Over these leaves, which represent the names of divinities, he causes a pendulum suspended from his thumb to vibrate, and the leaf towards which it moves indicates the god to be propitiated. An appropriate victim is then promised him, but only on condition that the patient recovers. The same use of a pendulum has been observed among the Pahâṛiâs. Sometimes the sickness is due to the spell of a witch, and then the following method is employed by the Kols for the detection of the offender. A large cone-shaped wooden vessel is placed apex downward upon the ground, and on this is laid a flat stone. A boy is made to balance himself upon the stone, while the names of all the people in the vicinity are slowly repeated. With the mention of each name a few grains of rice are thrown at the boy; and when the right name is uttered the stone moves, and he falls off. The foretelling of future events by the observation of omens is one of the most important functions of the priest; although the interpretation of these is among some tribes the duty of a special diviner, who is another person than the priest. Among the Singhpos the diviner holds over the fire joints of a large sort of grass until they explode, and then examines the position of the minute fibres thrown out beside the fracture. The Abors scrutinise the entrails of birds, but get the best results from pig's liver. They informed Colonel Dalton "that the words and faces of men were ever fallacious, but that pig's liver never deceived them." The Khâsias seek omens from the contents of eggs. The western Nâga tribes put the village under *tabû* when the omens are to be observed; and no one is permitted to enter or leave it, or to engage in labour for two days. This especially occurs when they are about to cut down the jungle for their rude agriculture. At this time all fire is extinguished, and new fire is produced by the friction of two sticks. When there is a birth or death in a family the house is put under *tabû* for five days, and no one but the inmates can enter or leave it. The same practice of *tabû* is observed among the Mishmis, who, when misfortune visits a house, thus isolate it by placing the sprig of a certain plant at the door. A common mode of divination among the Nâgas is to cut slices from a reed, and observe how these fall. They also kill a fowl, and notice how the legs lie. If the right leg lies over the left, the omen is favourable; but if the reverse is the case, it is unlucky. Among some of the tribes the diviners are called *ojhâs*, a Hindî word derived from *ojh*, "entrail." Among the Mundas a common way to ascertain which of the gods ought to be propitiated is to drop oil into water, at the same time naming a deity. If the globule remains whole, the right name has been pronounced, but if it divides, the experiment must be repeated. A method sometimes employed by the Orâoñs to show whether the god is pleased with a proposed sacrifice is to make a mud image of him, and to sprinkle upon it a few grains of rice; then the fowls designed for the sacrifice are placed before it, and if they peck at the rice the omen is favourable. Belief in witchcraft is not uncommon. The Kachâris regard sickness as frequently due to this cause; and, having discovered by divination the old woman exercising the spell, they flog her until she confesses, and then drive her from the village. This belief in witches, and wizards as well, appears to be most prevalent among the Kol tribes of Central India. Sometimes a magician pretends to have discovered that the evil influence proceeds from a rival in another village. The latter is then summoned and beaten until he finds it best to admit his fault. If he is unable to undo the evil caused by his spell, the beating continues, sometimes with fatal results. If the Gonds have reason to think that death has been caused by witchcraft, the funeral rites are postponed until the sorcerer has been pointed out. This is accomplished by the aid of the corpse. They first make a solemn appeal to it, and then taking it up carry it about the village. It will lead the bearers to the house of the guilty person, and if this is done three times it is regarded as conclusive evidence, and summary vengeance is inflicted upon him. It is easy to see that this is a convenient way to get rid of an obnoxious individual. Witches are supposed to have demon lovers, with whom they dance and sing at night in the forest. The Khonds believe that some women can transform themselves into tigers; and occasionally individuals endeavour to spread this impression regarding

themselves in order to extort presents from their neighbours as the price of immunity from their ravages. Trial by ordeal is also resorted to by the Gonds for the conviction of a person suspected of witchcraft; but it is so arranged as to make escape impossible in any case. The woman is securely bound and thrown into deep water. If she swims, she is guilty; if she sinks, she is drowned. Or the witch is beaten with castor-oil rods; if she feels pain, it is proof of guilt. Women, and those not always the old and ugly, are more often suspected of the black art than men are.

We have reserved to this place an important feature of the religion of the aboriginal tribes of India, namely, their views concerning future life and the customs connected therewith. While it is true that savage races generally have held to the survival of the soul after death, their notions regarding the character of the future life and its bearings upon the present existence have greatly varied. Among the lowest tribes the future life has been commonly imagined to be a continuation of the present life, though under conditions more favourable for physical enjoyment. In a more advanced stage of society, where the moral powers have reached a fuller development, men have looked upon that life as an opportunity to balance the accounts of this life, to render to every man according to that he hath done. We therefore proceed to inquire with much interest what these tribes have to say concerning the world of the dead. The Chulikata Mishmis deposit in the grave with the dead his weapons, clothes, and ornaments, and some food; but they affirm that this is done only as a mark of affection, and not with the idea that he can make any use of them. They declare that there is no future life, but that they and the gods whom they worship have but a temporary existence. The Juangs also are said to have no expectation of survival after death. The Mundas have a vague notion that the ghosts of the dead hover about, and they sometimes set apart food for them in the house. The same vagueness of conception is characteristic of the Orâoṅs. They say that those who have been killed by tigers are transformed into that animal; also that the ghosts of women who have died in childbirth hover about graves, clad in white garments, and having lovely faces, but hideous backs and inverted feet.[3] But as a general rule, the tribes not only believe in a future life, but are able to tell something more definite of its nature. The Abors think that the character of the future state is determined in some degree by present conduct, but this advanced conception is perhaps due to the Hindûs, whose god of the dead they have borrowed. Their neighbours the Miris share the same views, and bestow unusual care upon the bodies of the dead. They are completely dressed, and supplied with cooking vessels and every appliance for a journey, and are placed in graves lined with strong timbers to protect them from the pressure of the earth. The Eastern Nâga tribes believe that the future life is like the present one, or on the whole rather more to be desired. Their belief in immortality is shown by the care with which they place in the grave the belongings of the dead. The residence of the disembodied spirit is not necessarily a distant region. The Nâgas suppose that the soul hovers about its former abode, and considerable anxiety is felt for its convenience. Captain Butler mentions an instance where a native was buried midway between two villages in which he had resided at different times in order that his soul might most conveniently visit either. Some tribes place the body in a wooden hut, in the wall of which an aperture is made for the ghost to pass to and fro. When a Gâro dies, his soul goes to Chikmang, one of the highest mountain peaks in their country. Food is provided for the journey, and dogs are slaughtered to track out the path for him. Formerly slaves were killed at the grave to attend persons of note, but the custom was stopped by order of Government. A choice offering on such occasions, and probably for the same purpose, used to be heads of Bengalis from the plains. An incident observed by Colonel Dalton shows that the Gâros believe not only in the survival after death of the souls of men and animals, but in that of inanimate objects. Witnessing the funeral of a young girl, the friends were observed to break all the earthen vessels placed on the grave. In answer to inquiry he was told that only in this way could they be used by the girl, that for her the pieces would reunite. In other words, the

[3] [This is the universal Indian belief in the *churel*.—Ed.]

vessels must die like men; but their ghosts survive. The Khâsias, while burning the corpse, make offerings to the ghost, that it may be kindly disposed to them hereafter, but take little thought about the future life. The Kukis imagine a paradise in the north, where the good will enjoy abundance without labour, where the enemies one has slain will attend him as slaves, and the cattle he has killed in acts of hospitality will be restored to him. The wicked will be subjected to the worst tortures the imagination can devise. The Toḍa after death goes to a home in the west, where he is joined by the ghosts of his buffaloes, and goes on living just as before. It does not appear that he ever returns to trouble his relations.

According to what seems to be the prevailing view, however, the spirit acquires after death divine powers to some degree, and hovers about its former abode in a restless and uncomfortable state. It has wants much like those experienced in the body, and if these are not attended to it becomes malicious, and the cause of innumerable vexations to its kindred and neighbours. The Pani-Koch offer some of the first-fruits of the harvest to the ancestral spirits, clapping the hands to attract their notice. The priests of the Kirantis celebrate two festivals yearly to ancestors. Among the Kharwars, each family sacrifices annually a wether goat to the dead. The Hos celebrate a festival to the shades, after the sowing of the first rice-crop, in order that they may favour the sprouting of the grain. It is also the custom with them to prepare for a visit from the ghost of the deceased on the evening when the body is consumed. Some boiled rice is set apart in the house, and ashes are sprinkled on the floor, by which its footsteps may be detected. The relatives then go outside, and, walking round the funeral pile, invoke the spirit. If, on returning to the house, the ashes are found disturbed, they are filled with terror at the supposed presence of the ghost. The Santâls have very little to say about a future life, though offerings are made to ancestors at the close of the late harvest. The Korwas, of Sirgûjâ, told Colonel Dalton that they worshipped no gods, but that the head of each household made offerings to the dead. The Gonds say that one of their chiefs was, in early life, devoured by a tiger, and that he afterwards appeared to his friends, telling them that, if worship were paid to him, he would protect them from that animal. They acted upon the suggestion, and he was duly installed among their gods. The Bhuiyas, of Keonjhar, after the funeral rites are concluded, place a vessel, filled with rice and flour, upon the grave. This has the effect of recalling the ghost, for, after a time, the print of a fowl's foot will be plainly visible at the bottom of the vessel.

It would be interesting to know how the speculations of these rude tribes regarding the origin of the universe and of the human race compare with those of more civilised peoples; but we have little information on this point. It does not seem to be a subject upon which they have spent much thought. It is enough for them to know that they and the world are, without taking the trouble to inquire how they came to be. A few exceptions are worth noting. The legend of the Singhpos, to which we have already alluded, is that "they were originally created and established on a plateau called 'Mâjai-Singra-Bhum,' situated at the distance of two months' journey from Sadiya, washed by a river flowing in a southerly direction to the Irâwadî. During their sojourn there they were immortal, and held celestial intercourse with the planets and all heavenly intelligences, following the pure worship of the Supreme Being." They, however, fell by bathing in forbidden water, and, descending to the earth, became mortal, and adopted the debased worship of their neighbours. The Abors get back as far as the first mother of the race, who had two sons, the elder of whom was skilled in hunting and the younger in handicraft. Like Rebecca, she loved the younger son better than the elder, and migrated with him to the west, taking along all the products of his skill. Before forsaking her elder son, she gave him a stock of blue and white beads, and taught him how to make the *dáo*, a sort of hill-knife, and musical instruments from the gourd. The Abors are the descendants of the elder brother, while the younger brother became the progenitor of the English and other western nations. The Gâros, who do not seem lacking in imagination, explain the origin of the world as follows:—The germ of creation was a self-

begotten egg.[4] From this sprung the goddess Nashtu, who sat, for a time, on a water-lily; but finding her quarters too restricted, she sent to Hîrâman,[5] the god of the lower world, for some earth, upon which she successively fixed the different objects of nature. First, rivers proceeded from her, then a reptile of the crocodile type, afterwards grasses and reeds, an elk, fishes, trees, buffaloes, a priest, and last of all a woman. The Hos relate that their god Sing Bonga, who was self-created, made the earth and furnished it with vegetation and animals,—first the domestic and then the wild ones. He then created a boy and a girl, and taught them how to make rice-beer. This produced amatory desires, and they became the parents of twelve boys and twelve girls. For these children Sing Bonga made a feast, providing all manner of food. The guests were told to pair off, and taking the kind of food they preferred, to go away and shift for themselves. They did so, and their choices can still be discerned in the various modes of life among mankind. The Santâls say that a wild goose came over the great ocean, and laid two eggs, from which the first parents of their tribe were hatched.

We have more than once intimated that it is impossible in all cases to draw the line sharply between what is primitive in the religious beliefs and usages of these tribes, and what has been borrowed in whole or in part from Brahmanic or Buddhist sources,—chiefly the former. It is not uncommon to observe Hinduism and paganism struggling for supremacy in the same tribe and the same village, now the one and now the other claiming the larger share of interest. Hinduism, with its extraordinary power of assimilating alien systems, has usually been content to insist upon some general and public observance of caste rules, while not interfering with the private observance of the old religion; or it has given to the ancient superstitions some new explanation or purpose, and fitted them into its own system. So it would be hard to find an aboriginal tribe so completely transformed into Hindûs in language, dress, and manner of life, that its non-Aryan origin may not be detected by its private religious usages, as well as by its physical traits. Facts illustrative of this have already been cited. We have spoken chiefly of the influence of Hinduism upon the pagan religion, and it cannot be doubted that this will ultimately result in the effacement of the latter, unless this work be done by Christianity; but the counter-influence of the older faith upon Hinduism is not less certain, if less easily traced, and would form a most interesting theme for inquiry; but we cannot enter upon it here.

In conclusion, we trust that this necessarily imperfect sketch of the religion of the aboriginal tribes of India may at least serve to attract those who are interested in the history of the religious development of the race to an important source of evidence. If Hinduism, whose many-sidedness is well symbolised by the many-faced images of its gods, furnish greater attractions to the majority of students, still it must not be forgotten that the simple beliefs and rites that we have sketched belong to a much earlier stage of religious growth, and may, if attentively studied, throw much welcome light on the genius of all religion.

[4] [This must be the Brahmâṇḍa or world-egg of the Hindûs, about which the *Brahmâṇḍa-Purâṇa* was written. —Ed.]

[5] [Hîrâman in Hindî would mean diamond. In folklore it is a parrot gifted with human speech.—Ed.]

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY PANDIT S. M. NATESA SASTRI.

X.—The Brahman Girl that Married a Tiger.

In a certain village there lived an old Brâhmaṇ who had three sons and a daughter. The girl being the youngest was brought up most tenderly and became spoilt, and so whenever she saw a beautiful boy she would say to her parents that she must be wedded to him. Her parents were, therefore, much put about to devise excuses for taking her away from her youthful lovers. Thus passed on some years, till the girl was very near attaining her puberty and then the parents, fearing that they would be driven out of their caste if they failed to dispose of her hand in marriage before she came to the years of maturity, began to be eager about finding a bridegroom for her.

Now near their village there lived a fierce tiger,

that had attained to great proficiency in the art of magic, and had the power of assuming different forms. Having a great taste for Brâhmaṇ's food, the tiger used now and then to frequent temples and other places of public feeding in the shape of an old famished Brâhmaṇ in order to share the food prepared for the Brâhmaṇs. The tiger also wanted, if possible, a Brâhmaṇ wife to take to the woods, and there to make her cook his meals after her fashion. One day when he was partaking of his meals in Brâhmaṇ shape at a *satra*[1], he heard the talk about the Brâhmaṇ girl who was always falling in love with every beautiful Brâhmaṇ boy. Said he to himself, "Praised be the face that I saw first this morning. I shall assume the shape of a Brâhmaṇ boy, and appear as beautiful as beautiful can be, and win the heart of the girl."

Next morning he accordingly became in form a great Śâstrin (proficient in the *Râmâyaṇa*) and took his seat near the *ghâṭ* of the sacred river of the village. Scattering holy ashes profusely over his body he opened the *Râmâyaṇa* and began to read.

"The voice of the new Śâstrin is most enchanting. Let us go and hear him," said some women among themselves, and sat down before him to hear him expound the great book. The girl for whom the tiger had assumed this shape came in due time to bathe at the river, and as soon as she saw the new Śâstrin fell in love with him, and bothered her old mother to speak to her father about him, so as not to lose her new lover. The old woman too was delighted at the bridegroom whom fortune had thrown in her way, and ran home to her husband, who, when he came and saw the Śâstrin, raised up his hands in praise of the great god Mahêśvara. The Śâstrin was now invited to take his meals with them, and as he had come with the express intention of marrying the daughter he, of course, agreed.

A grand dinner followed in honour of the Śâstrin, and his host began to question him as to his parentage, &c., to which the cunning tiger replied that he was born in a village beyond the adjacent wood. The Brâhmaṇ had no time to wait for better enquiry, and as the boy was very fair he married his daughter to him the very next day. Feasts followed for a month, during which time the bridegroom gave every satisfaction to his new relatives, who supposed him to be human all the while. He also did full justice to the Brâhmaṇic dishes, and gorged everything that was placed before him.

After the first month was over the tiger-bridegroom bethought him of his accustomed prey, and hankered after his abode in the woods. A change of diet for a day or two is all very well, but to renounce his own proper food for more than a month was hard. So one day he said to his father-in-law, "I must go back soon to my old parents, for they will be pining at my absence. But why should we have to bear the double expense of my coming all the way here again to take my wife to my village? So if you will kindly let me take the girl with me I shall take her to her future home, and hand her over to her mother-in-law, and see that she is well taken care of." The old Brâhmaṇ agreed to this, and replied, "My dear son-in-law, you are her husband and she is yours and we now send her with you, though it is like sending her into the wilderness with her eyes tied up. But as we take you to be everything to her, we trust you to treat her kindly." The mother of the bride shed tears at the idea of having to send her away, but nevertheless the very next day was fixed for the journey. The old woman spent the whole day in preparing cakes and sweetmeats for her daughter, and when the time for the journey arrived, she took care to place in her bundles and on her head one or two margosa[2] leaves to keep off demons. The relatives of the bride requested her husband to allow her to rest wherever she found shade, and to eat wherever she found water, and to this he agreed, and so they began their journey.

The boy tiger and his human wife pursued their journey for two or three *ghaṭikâs*[3] in free and pleasant conversation, when the girl happened to see a fine pond, round which the birds were warbling their sweet notes. She requested her husband to follow her to the water's

[1] A place of public feeding.

[2] Among high caste Hindûs when girls leave one village and go to another the old woman of the house the—mother or grandmother—always places in her bundles and on her head a few margosa leaves as a talisman against demons.

[3] A *ghaṭikâ* is 24 minutes. The story being Hindû, the Hindû method of reckoning distance is used.

edge and to partake of some of the cakes and sweetmeats with her. But he replied, "Be quiet, or I shall show you my original shape." This made her afraid, so she pursued her journey in silence until she saw another pond, when she asked the same question of her husband, who replied in the same tone. Now she was very hungry, and not liking her husband's tone, which she found had greatly changed ever since they had entered the woods, said to him, "Show me your original shape."

No sooner were these words uttered than her husband remained no longer a man. Four legs, a striped skin, a long tail and a tiger's face came over him suddenly and, horror of horrors! a tiger and not a man stood before her! Nor were her fears stilled when the tiger in human voice began as follows:—"Know henceforth that I, your husband, am a tiger—this very tiger that now speaks to you. If you have any regard for your life you must obey all my orders implicitly, for I can speak to you in human voice and understand what you say. In a couple of *ghaṭikas* we shall reach my home, of which you will become the mistress. In the front of my house you will see half a dozen tubs, each of which you must fill up daily with some dish or other cooked in your own way. I shall take care to supply you with all the provisions you want." So saying the tiger slowly conducted her to his house.

The misery of the girl may more be imagined than described, for if she were to object she would be put to death. So, weeping all the way, she reached her husband's house. Leaving her there he went out and returned with several pumpkins and some flesh, of which she soon prepared a curry and gave it to her husband. He went out again after this and returned in the evening with several vegetables and some more flesh and gave her an order:—"Every morning I shall go out in search of provisions and prey and bring something with me on my return: you must keep cooked for me whatever I leave in the house."

So next morning as soon as the tiger had gone away she cooked everything left in the house and filled all the tubs with food. At the 10th *ghaṭika* the tiger returned and growled out, "I smell a man! I smell a woman in my wood." And his wife for very fear shut herself up in the house. As soon as the tiger had satisfied his appetite he told her to open the door, which she did, and they talked together for a time, after which the tiger rested awhile, and then went out hunting again. Thus passed many a day, till the tiger's Brâhmaṇ wife had a son, which also turned out to be only a tiger.

One day, after the tiger had gone out to the woods, his wife was crying all alone in the house, when a crow happened to peck at some rice that was scattered near her, and seeing the girl crying, began to shed tears.

"Can you assist me?" asked the girl.

"Yes," said the crow.

So she brought out a palmyra leaf and wrote on it with an iron nail all her sufferings in the wood, and requested her brothers to come and relieve her. This palmyra leaf she tied to the neck of the crow, which, seeming to understand her thoughts, flew to her village and sat down before one of her brothers. He untied the leaf and read the contents of the letter and told them to his other brothers. All the three then started for the wood, asking their mother to give them something to eat on the way. She had not enough of rice for the three, so she made a big ball of clay and stuck it over with what rice she had, so as to make it look like a ball of rice. This she gave to the brothers to eat on their way and started them off to the woods.

They had not proceeded long before they espied an ass. The youngest, who was of a playful disposition, wished to take the ass with him. The two elder brothers objected to this for a time, but in the end they allowed him to have his own way. Further on they saw an ant, which the middle brother took with him. Near the ant there was a big palmyra tree lying on the ground, which the eldest took with him to keep off the tiger.

The sun was now high in the horizon and the three brothers became very hungry. So they sat down near a tank and opened the bundle containing the ball of rice. To their utter disappointment they found it to be all clay, but being extremely hungry they drank all the water in the pond and continued their journey. On leaving the tank they found a big iron tub belonging to the washerman of the adjacent village. This they took also with them in addition to the ass, the ant and the palmyra tree.

Following the road described by their sister in her letter by the crow, they walked on and on till they reached the tiger's house.

The sister, overjoyed to see her brothers again, ran out at once to welcome them. "My dearest brothers, I am so glad to see that you have come here to relieve me after all, but the time for the tiger's coming home is approaching, so hide yourselves in the loft, and wait till he is gone." So saying she helped her brothers to ascend into the loft. By this time the tiger returned, and perceived the presence of human beings by the peculiar smell. He asked his wife whether any one had come to their house. She said, "No." But when the brothers, who with their trophies of the way—the ass, the ant, and so on—were sitting upon the loft, saw the tiger dallying with their sister they were greatly frightened; so much so that the youngest through fear began to make water, and, as he had drunk a great quantity of water from the pond, he flooded the whole room. The other two also followed his example, and thus there was a deluge in the tiger's house.

"What is all this?" said the terrified tiger to his wife.

"Nothing," said she, "but the urine of your brothers-in-law. They came here a watch[4] ago, and as soon as you have finished your meals, they want to see you."

"Can my brothers-in-law make all this water?" thought the tiger to himself.

He then asked them to speak to him, whereon the youngest brother put the ant which he had in his hand into the ear of the ass, and as soon as the latter was bitten, it began to bawl out most horribly.

"How is it that your brothers have such a hoarse voice?" said the tiger to his wife.

He next asked them to show their legs. Taking courage at the stupidity of the tiger on the two former occasions, the eldest brother now stretched out the palmyra tree.

"By my father, I have never seen such a leg," said the tiger, and asked his brothers-in-law to show their bellies. The second brother now showed the tub, at which the tiger shuddered, and saying, "such a lot of urine, such a harsh voice, so stout a leg and such a belly, truly I have never heard of such persons as these!" he ran away.

It was already dark, and the brothers, wishing to take advantage of the tiger's terror, prepared to return home with their sister at once. They ate up what little food she had, and ordered her to start. Fortunately for her her tiger-child was asleep. So she tore it into two pieces and suspended them over the hearth, and, thus getting rid of the child, she ran off with her brothers towards home.

Before leaving she bolted the front door from inside, and went out at the back of the house. As soon as the pieces of the cub, which were hung up over the hearth, began to roast they dripped, which made the fire hiss and sputter; and when the tiger returned at about midnight, he found the door shut and heard the hissing of the fire, which he mistook for the noise of cooking muffins.[5]

"I see!" said he to himself, "how very cunning you are! you have bolted the door and are cooking muffins for your brothers! Let us see if we can't get your muffins." So saying he went round to the back door and entered his house, and was greatly perplexed to find his cub torn in two and being roasted, his house deserted by his Brâhmaṇ wife, and his property plundered! For his wife, before leaving, had taken with her as much of the tiger's property as she could conveniently carry.

The tiger now discovered all the treachery of his wife, and his heart grieved for the loss of his son, that was now no more. He determined to be revenged on his wife, and to bring her back into the wood, and there tear her into many pieces in place of only two. But how to bring her back? He assumed his original shape of a young bridegroom, making, of course, due allowance for the number of years that had passed since his marriage, and next morning went to his father-in-law's house. His brothers-in-law and his wife saw from a distance the deceitful form he had assumed and devised means to kill him. Meanwhile the tiger Brâhmaṇ approached his father-in-law's house, and the old people welcomed him. The younger ones too ran here and there to bring provisions to feed him sumptuously, and

[4] A 'watch' is a *yâma*, or three hours.

[5] Tamiḷ, *tôśai*.

the tiger was highly pleased at the hospitable way in which he was received.

There was a ruined well at the back of the house, and the eldest of the brothers placed some thin sticks across its mouth, over which he spread a fine mat. Now it is usual to ask guests to have an oil bath before dinner, and so his three brothers-in-law requested the tiger to take his seat on the fine mat for his bath. As soon as he sat on it the thin sticks being unable to bear his weight gave way and down fell the cunning tiger with a heavy crash! The well was at once filled in with stones and other rubbish, and thus the tiger was effectually prevented from doing any more mischief.

But the Brâhmaṇ girl, in memory of her having married a tiger, raised a pillar over the well and planted a *tulasî*[6] shrub on the top of it. Morning and evening, for the rest of her life, she used to smear the pillar with sacred cowdung and water the *tulasî* shrub.

This story is told to explain the Tamil proverb "*Śummâ irukkiraya, śuruvattai kâṭṭaṭṭuma*," which means—

"Be quiet, or I shall show you my original shape."

THE SUNGA INSCRIPTION OF THE BHARHUT STUPA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; VIENNA.

I re-edit this well-known inscription from the original pillar, which, along with most of the treasures discovered at Bharhut[1] by General Cunningham, is now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. The chief value of the inscription consists in the mention in it of the Śuṅgas,[2] the successors of the Mauryas; by which the *Stûpa* is proved to have existed in the second or first century B.C. The pillar in question was erected by a prince, Dhanabhûti, who was contemporary with the Śuṅgas,—probably one of their vassals. His genealogy is given in the inscription as follows:—

Visadeva, son of Gâgî.

|

Âgaraju, son of Goti.

|

Dhanabhûti, son of Vâchhi.

The custom, in accordance with which these three princes had second names derived from their mothers, deserves to be noted, as it was adopted by the Andhras,—the successors of the Śuṅgas,—whose inscriptions contain the terms Gotamiputa, Vâsiṭhiputa, and Mâḍhariputa.

A son of Dhanabhûti, prince Vâdhapâla(?), is mentioned, according to General Cunningham, in one of the smaller Bharhut inscriptions.[3] And he deduces from his transcripts[4] and eye-copies[5] of a mutilated inscription from Mathurâ, that this Vâdhapâla was again succeeded by one Dhanabhûti. But to this there is the objection that the word *putrasa*, 'of the son [of],' which, in that case, should stand between [*Vâdhapâ*]*lasa* and *Dhanabhûtisa*, is wanting. A mechanical copy of this inscription is much to be desired.

PRAKRIT TEXT.

[1] सुगनं रजे रञो गागीपुतस विसदेवस
[2] पौतेण गोतिपुतस आगरजुस पुतेण
[3] वाछिपुतेन धनभूतिन कारितं तोरनां[6]
[4] सिलाकंमंतो च उपंणा[7]

SANSKRIT RENDERING.

[1] शुङ्गानां राज्ये राज्ञो गार्गीपुत्रस्य विश्वदेवस्य
[2] पौत्रेण गौप्तीपुत्रस्य आगरजोः(?) पुत्रेण
[3] वात्सीपुत्रेण धनभूतिना कारितं तोरणं
[4] शिलाकर्मान्तश्चोत्पन्नः ॥

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[6] A fragrant herb, held in great veneration by the Hindûs; *Ocymum sanctum*. This herb is sacred alike to Śiva and Vishṇû. Those species specially sacred to Śiva are—*Venḍulasî*; *Śiru-tulasî*, and *Śiva-tulasi*; those to Vishṇû are *Śendulasî*, *Karundulasî*, and *Vishṇu-tulasî*.

[1] [The 'Baraod Chatri' of the Grand Trigonometrical Survey Map, Sheet No. 89. The correct spelling of the name appears to be Bharaut. The place is in the Nâgaudh ('Nagode') State in Baghêlkhanḍ; six miles to the north-west from Uchaharâ ('Uchera'), the chief town of the State.—ED.]

[2] That the Śuṅgas are meant by the Sugas mentioned in the inscription, was first recognised by Professor Bühler; see *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. V. p. 73.

[3] See *Bharhut Stupa*, Plate lvi. No. 54, for an eye-copy of this inscription. The original has unfortunately not been transferred to the Indian Museum.

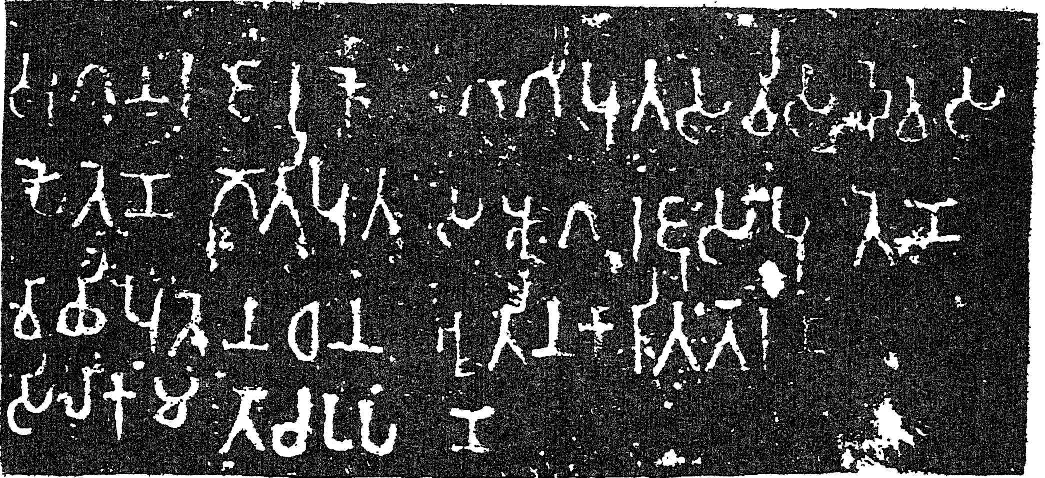
[4] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 36; *Bharhut Stupa*, pp. 16 and 130.

[5] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. Plate xvi.; *Bharhut Stupa*, Plate liii. No. 4.

[6] Read तोरणं. [7] Read उपंनो.

TRANSLATION.

During the reign of the Sugas (Śuṅgas), (*this*) gateway was erected, and the masonry finished[5], by Vâchhi-puta (Vâtsî-putra) Dhanabhûti, the son of Goti-puta (Gaupti-putra) Âgaraju,[6] (*and*) grandson of king Gâgi-puta (Gârgî-putra) Visadeva (Viśvadeva).



Scale .34

THE SARNATH INSCRIPTION OF MAHIPALA.

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH. D.; VIENNA.

When, in January A.D. 1794, the workmen of Bâbû Jagatsiṁh, Dîwân of the Râjâ of Benares, were digging for old stones at Sârnâth, they found a stone containing the subjoined inscription, a rough transcript of which was first published by Mr. Jonathan Duncan.[1] The stone was then removed to the Jagatganj, a market-place built at Benares by Jagatsiṁh; but it was rediscovered by Major Kittoe at the suggestion of General Cunningham, who published an imperfect translation made by a student of the Benares College, and, later on, the text of a transcript received from Kittoe.[2] I edit the inscription from the original stone, which is now preserved at the Queen's College, Benares.

On the top of the stone there was originally a squatting figure of Buddha, which is now broken off above the hips. The historical part of the inscription (A) is engraved below the statue. Then follows a band of sculpture, consisting of seven panels which are separated by six pillars. The central panel contains the *Dharmachakra*; the third and fifth an antelope; the second and sixth a tiger; the first and seventh a kneeling male figure, which supports the stone above it with its hands, like the giants in front of Cave III. at Nâsik.[3] Below the band of sculpture, the usual Buddhist creed (B) is engraved.

The inscription records that, in Saṁvat 1083, a Buddhist *Stûpa* and a *Dharmachakra* were repaired, and a new *Gandhakuṭî* was built, by the two brothers Sthirapâla and Vasantapâla, who were probably the sons of Mahîpâla, king of Gauḍa, who is mentioned in the first stanza of the inscription. The Gurava-Śrî-Vâmarâśi, to whom king Mahîpâla is said to have paid his respects, must have descended from the line of hereditary spiritual guides of the Pâla kings, which is recorded on the Buddal Pillar. This supposition is strengthened by the fact that

[5] *Literally*, "and the end of the stone-work arose."—Dr. Râjendralâl Mitra *Proceedings* of the Bengal Asiatic Society 1880, p. 58, reads *silâkaṁmato*; but the second *anusvâra* of *silâkaṁmaṁto* is quite distinct on the stone.

[6] The Sanskrit equivalent of this name does not suggest itself to me.

[1] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V. p. 133.

[2] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. III. p. 121, and Vol. XI. p. 182.

[3] See Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indraji's *Pâṇḍu Lêna Caves*, p. 5.

the curious name *Gurava* is borne by a member of that family, *viz.* by Śrîguravamiśra, the contemporary of king Nârâyaṇapâla.[4] The 'eight holy places,' which furnished the materials for the building of the *Gandhakuṭî* were very likely decayed *Stûpas* situated in the neighbourhood. The exact spot where the stone was found by Jagatsiṁh's men, and where the *Stûpa* repaired by the two brothers must have stood, has been ascertained by General Cunningham as lying 520 feet to the west of the great tower of Dhamek.[5]

TEXT.

Inscription A.

[1] ओं नमो बुद्धाय ॥ वाराणशीसरस्यां गुरव-श्रीवामराशिपादाब्जम् । आराध्य नमितभूपति-शिरोरुहैः शैवलाधीशम् ॥ ईशानचित्रघण्टा-दिकीर्त्तिरत्नशतानि यौ । [गौडा]धिपो महीपालः काश्यां श्रीमानकार[यत् ॥]

[2] सफलीकृतपाण्डित्यौ बोधावविनिवर्त्तिनौ । तौ धर्म्मराजिकां साङ्गं धर्म्मचक्रं पुनर्न्नवम् ॥ कृतवन्तौ च नवीनामष्टमहास्थानशैलगन्ध-कुटीम् । एतां श्रीस्थिरपालो वसन्तपालो ऽनुजः श्रीमान् ॥

[3] सम्वत् १०८३ पौषदिने ११ [॥*]

Inscription B.

[1] ये धर्म्मा हेतुप्रभवा हेतुं तेषां तथागतो ह्यवदत् ।

[2] तेषाञ्च यो निरोध एवंवादी महाश्रमणः ॥

TRANSLATION.

Inscription A.

Om, adoration to Buddha! The illustrious Sthirapâla (*and his*) younger brother, the illustrious Vasantapâla, whom the lord of Gauḍa, the illustrious Mahîpâla, caused to establish in Kâśî hundreds of precious monuments of his glory, such as Îśânas (*i.e. Liṅgas*), paintings, and bells, after he had worshipped the foot of Gurava-Śrî-Vâmarâśi, which is like a lotus in the lake of Vârâṇaśî surrounded, as it were, by *śaivala*-plants through the hair of bowing kings,—they, who have made their learning fruitful, and who do not turn back (*on their way*) to supreme knowledge (*bodhi*), repaired the *Dharmarâjikâ*[6] (*and*) the *Dharmachakra* with all its parts, and constructed this new *Gandhakuṭî*[7] (*made of*) stones (*coming from*) eight holy places. Saṁvat 1083, on the 11th day of Pausha.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 104).

No. CLVI.

BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF VIRA-SATYASRAYA.

The original[8] plates containing the present inscription belong to the British Museum. No information is forthcoming as to where they were found; but, judging from the language used and the localities mentioned, it must have been somewhere in or near the Native State of Miraj in the Bombay Presidency.

The plates are three in number, each about $8\frac{1}{2}''$ long by $5\frac{7}{8}''$ broad. The edges of them are here and there very slightly raised into rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The plates are numbered, at the beginning of the first and third plates, and of the second side of the second plate. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about $\frac{3}{8}''$ thick and $2\frac{3}{4}''$ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is rectangular, about $1\frac{1}{2}''$ by $1\frac{1}{4}''$. It has, in relief on a deeply countersunk surface,—a very rudely executed figure of a boar, standing to the proper left, with the sun and moon above it. The characters are Nâgarî. The language is partly Sanskrit and

[4] See stanza 18 of the Buddal inscription; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. Part I. p. 358. The *Dûtaka* or royal messenger of the Bhagalpur grant was also called *Gurava*; see *id.* Vol. XLVII. Part I. p. 406.—[We find similar names or titles of priests in Southern India; thus *Gurôva*, applied to a Jain priest, *ante* Vol. XI. p. 71;—*Gorava*, applied to a Śaiva priest, *id.* p. 127;—and *Gurava*, applied to in all probability a Śaiva priest, p. 12 above.—ED.]

[5] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 113ff. and Plate xxxii.

[6] *Dharmarâjikâ* = *stûpa*. The Petersburg Dictionary considers the word as a compound of *dharma* and *râjikâ*; but it seems better to derive it from *dharmarâja* (Pâli *dhammarâjâ*), a name of Buddha.

[7] 'Perfumed chamber, any private chamber devoted to Buddha's use'; Childers, *s. v. gandhakuṭi*. The *gandhakuṭî* at Jetavana near Śrâvastî is represented on a Bharhut bas-relief; see General Cunningham's *Bharhut Stupa*, Plate LVII.

WESTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF VIRA-SATYASRAYA.

I.

J. F. FLEET, DEL. W. GRIGGS, PHOTO-LITH. LONDON, S.E.

Ia.

WESTERN CHALUKYA GRANT OF VIRA-SATYASRAYA.

श्रीमा[illegible] ङ्ग वा सदु वा किने लगा नजीमास ।
गाँकुतु नक्न य मुक्तिक्षुआँतु कि ग त टाक पश्चिमताग
व यें ब [illegible] ति मा दुं कु गिक्य जी मे व गादु न टाक
गि गास्मि ले न लु तुं न ज पश्चिमनै पित्रा बुं लु वलि
के मदकुगि के मे ल गाप त्रिद्या माति स ग डा व
न लु तुं ज र लु पनिसि। पा ब कोक्ति पूतुत्र नाक्षिमुडे
बे लु व गा के से लगाव द्वै गा मसी माणौंच ना
मा ति उ अब ल त दुके मा लु पुँज ९ तुं तु पकैं ता
ग्ना मा वा या त्रु कुंगतु लपलि बे लु वंगिके से ल
गा न ति [illegible] म ति ज ग डो पूबंधु दुगिवि मो ले दोषु प
जिबिसे [illegible] क पा द ।। पू वं कोगतु लु व लि सेलगाव
जीमे न न न टाक दे मजिव्र का पुँव ४ कांगजिल्लन लपुबाइ
वी गा व कथ चोत याउँ सानुासी मा न मा प्र०॥ त्वदतं पनद तं
ना यो नेतिवर्नु । गाहापि बे प स द ज्ञा गावि पाया गा य तेवुमि॥

partly Kanarese; in addition to the orthography being very bad, the language is very corrupt throughout,—so much so, that it is inexpedient to burden the text with corrections and footnotes pointing out the mistakes.

The inscription, if it is genuine, is one of Vîra-Satyâśraya, the son of Gôvindarâya, of the very latest Châlukyas of Kalyâṇapura, and of the Sômavaṁśa or lineage of the moon. And it records the grant and specification of the classes and measures of the *mânya*-lands of the village of Selagrâma in the Koṅgulavaḷḷi Twelve, which was in the *kaṁpaṇa* called the Miriñji Three hundred,—on Monday, the seventh day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha, in the Bhâva *saṁvatsara*.

The year of the grant is not mentioned. But the characters are not of an earlier period than the twelfth century A.D. It belongs to the same class of grants with the Beṅgalûr grant of Vîra-Noṇamba, of the very latest Châlukyas of Kalyâṇapura and of the Sômavaṁśa, which purports to be dated in Śaka 366 (A.D. 444-45), but which, like the present inscription, is not earlier than the twelfth century A.D.[1]

In line 16 of this inscription, we have the expression *kaṭakam=utkalita*, which, according to the *Kaṭapayâdi* numeral system,[2] has been interpreted[3] in other grants of the same kind, as denoting the year 111. But it means nothing more than "a camp was pitched."

TEXT.[4]

First plate.

[1] Namaḥs=tuṁga-siraḥs-tumvi- | -chaṁdra-châmara-châravaiḥ |
[2] trailôkya-nagar-âḥraṁbha- | -mûla-staṁbhâya Śaṁbhavaiḥ ||
[3] Svasti Samastabhuvanâsrâyaḥ | srîprithvîvallabha | mahâ-
[4] râjâdhirâja | paramêsvara | paramabhaṭṭâraka [|*] Ka-
[5] lyâṇa-puravar-âdhisvara | ârôhaka[5] | [bha*]ga-datta |
[6] ripu-râya-kâṁtâ-vairî-vaidhavya-dattâ [|*] Châlukya-
[7] kula-kamala-mârttaṁḍa | Kaliṁgaṁ-kôgaṁḍa-gaṁḍa [|*]
[8] gaṁḍa-mirttaṁḍa | saṁgrâma-vijaya [|*] vairi-gharaṭa | êkâṁ-
[9] ga- | -vîra | Asvapati- | Gajapati- | Narapati- | -vidhvaṁsita | su-
[10] varṇṇa-vârâhalâṁchhana-dhvaja | para-nârî-sahôdara | sa-
[11] raṇâgatâ-vajrapaṁjara | tathâ samasta-râjâvalî-virâ-
[12] chita-samâlaṁkrita | Sômavaṁs-ôdbhava-srî-Gôviṁdarâ-
[13] ya-suta- | Vîra-Śatyâśrayadêva- | chakravarti | Kalyâṇa-
[14] purada nalavîḍinal*u* sukha-saṁkathâ- | -vinôdêna râjyaṁ

Second plate; first side.

[15] karita vakshaṇa-disâ-varê dig*u*-vijaya-yâtrê | vijayaṁ kara-
[16] vana [|*] Kôpêsvara-dêvâ-saṁnidhau kaṭakam=utkalita || Miriṁ-
[17] je-gaṁpaṇa 300-sata abhyaṁtarê Selagâra-grâma-
[18] mâṁneyâ kula-birudaṁka-Bhîmarâya madahastî-pâ-
[19] daraksha-pâlaka sapta-lôha-puṭa-dhiṁdhita | saigola-pâ-
[20] rtha esuvarâ divyatê Bhâva-saṁvachharê Jêshṭa-mâsê krishṇa-
[21] pakshê Sasi-vârê saptamyâṁ tithau tathâ Koṁgula-
[22] vali-dvâdaśagrâmâ sarbâ-vâdhe-pariharaṁ sarba-namasyaṁ
[23] dattaṁ | Selagâra-grâmâ-maṁneyâ-stala-vritti | grâmâ-sa(?)-
[24] rva 2000 magilu grihê hasta 40 ghâṇâ haṭṭâ mu-
[25] lâ paḍiyade pârikshâya ashṭa-bhôga-têja-sâmya-sarba-
[26] mûlikâ-bhûmi 2000 grihê hasta 40 nârgâvuṁdâ-bhûmi
[27] 2000 grihê hasta 40 mûlastâna-dêvâ-bhûmi 600 g[â]-
[28] ṇa 1 paḍiyade 1 haṭṭâ 1 malâ 1 griha [ha*]sta 24 Jinâlê-bhûmi
[29] 400 gu(?kha)ṁdaraṇê-bhûmi 300 bhalârî-bhûmi 200 mêvinî-

[1] Published by Mr. Rice, *ante* Vol. VIII. p. 94 ff.
[2] *ante* Vol. IV. p. 207 f.
[3] See *ante* Vol. VIII. p. 92.
[4] From the original plates.
[5] Read *gaj-ârôhaka*.

Second plate; second side.

[30] bhûma 200 pamnasî-bhûmi 200 Mailâradêvâ-bhûmi 200
[31] mûlastânadêvâ-Mâlî-Bîreyanâyakâ-bhûmi 500 gri-
[32] hê hasta 12 kusmâm asvabamdha lâmanavu nudata | Brahmadêvâ
[33] 100 somnârâ 200 dvârapâlya 100 nâvîyâ 100
[34] anâmikâ 100 [|*] êvam grâmâ isânya Komgulava-
[35] li-grâmâ-Borevali-grâmâ-Selagâra-t[r*]igrâmâ-
[36] trisamgaḍau mârjâla-pumja vahalâ chhamka sammma-
[37] ta || vupanidhi Rudra-pâda dakshaṇ-âbhimukham gatvâ
[38] Borevali-Selagâra-dvaugrâmâ-sîmâ-samdhir=uchya-
[39] tê jala-pravâha vahalâ dhanu vamka sarpa-mukha-śa-
[40] mî-samûham chamdra-silê 5 Vîrâdharavuna-grâmâ âgnêya Ma-
[41] dubâviya-grâma-Vorabali-Selagâra-t[r*]igrâmâ-trisamgaḍau
[42] pâshâṇa-pumja vupanidhi târamtaratilekaṭi pramâṇu | pa-

Third plate.

[43] schim-âbhimukham gatvâ Madubâvi-Selagâra-sîmâ-sa-
[44] śâmka-pumja Svayambhu-Krishṇa sarri sumkiga-taṭâka-paschima-pârâ-
[45] patham Baragiri-Madakuṇikeya-sîme varâha-taṭâka
[46] riṇa-sile-sâlu-pumja 5 paschima-nairitya Beluvali-
[47] ke-Madakuṇike-Selagâra-t[r*]igrâmâ-trisamgaḍâ pa-
[48] rasu-pumja 2 vupanidhi | pâvak-ôchhrishta-vuttar-âbhimukhê
[49] Beluvaṇike-Selagâra-dvaugrâma-sîmâ amdharâ-
[50] giri 3 achalataṭâka sâlu-pumja 6 vumdra-parbata |
[51] grâmâ-vâyâvya Komgulavali-Beluvaṇike-Sela-
[52] gâra-trigrâma-trisamgaḍau pûrba vumdra-giri mone dvau vupa-
[53] nidhi Bhairava-pâda || pûrva Komgulavali-Selagâra-
[54] sîme raja-taṭâka hêma-mrittikâ-pumja 4 kâmsa-sile jala-pravâha
[55] vîrâvamkadharô tathâ isânya-sîmâ samâptaḥ || Sva-datam para-datam
[56] vâ yô harêti vasumdharâ sashṭir-basha-sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâm jâyatê krimi ||

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 120).

XXX.

Having traced the doings of the three contingents which Chinghiz sent from the Indus, let us now turn to those of the great conqueror himself. After Jalâlu'd-dîn's army had been dispersed, and he had been driven across the river, Chinghiz, we are told by Minhaj-i-Sarâj, went in pursuit of the Ighraki Musalmans (who were very numerous) towards Gibari, which Major Raverty identifies as "the country north of the Kabul river, between the Kaman or river of Kunar, and the Landey Sind, *i.e.* Bajawr, and the tracts forming its southern boundary."[1] Chinghiz took the fortress of Gibari, probably Gabarkot, which Sultân Babar afterwards captured from Mir Haidar, the Gabari, and other forts in the Kohpayah or skirts of the hills, and stayed in this district three months.[2]

Thence he sent envoys to Iyal Tamsh, the Sultân of Dehli, apparently to ask his permission to be allowed to return home to Mongolia through Hindustan by way of Lakhnawati and Kamrud, or as Minhaj-i-Sarâj says, in another place, by way of Koh-i-Karachal and Kamrud.[3] Our author tells us that Chinghiz consulted the burnt shoulder-blades of sheep as to the advisability of taking this route, but finding the augury unpropitious he determined to return home by another route.[4] He first went, we are told, to Peruan, where he waited

[1] *Tabakât-i-Nâsirî*, 1043 and note.
[2] *ibid.* pp. 1044-1045.
[3] *Op. cit.* pp. 1046 and 1081.
[4] *ibid.* p. 1047.

during the summer and till he was rejoined by Bela and Darbai, whom he had sent in pursuit of Jalâlu'd-dîn. Thence he went to the fortress of Kunaun Kurghan[5] probably the modern Khinjan, north of the Paruan pass. There Ogotai rejoined him, and they went on to Debuyeh Ketur,[6] to pass the winter, where he was supplied with forage and other necessaries by the governor of the district, called Salar Ahmed. This hilly country was much encumbered with snow, and by impassable forests. It was also very sickly, and the water was bad, so Chinghiz ordered his prisoners to shell a large quantity of rice. They cleaned from 300 to 400 mans in each household. He then had them put to death.

He now, we are told, retraced his steps to Peshawur, which seems an inconsequent act, unless he merely went north temporarily for summer quarters, and thence went by way of Bamian to Baklan[7] where he had left his Ughruks, or heavy baggage. Having appointed *darughas* or commissaries to take charge of the various towns he had conquered, and having spent the autumn there he again advanced towards the Oxus. In passing near Balkh he had all the people put to death who had returned to occupy the place. The people there for twelve months had had to live on dogs, cats, &c., for the Mongols had destroyed all the crops.[8] Ibn Batuta, who travelled through this district about a century later, tells us that Chinghiz destroyed at Balkh a third of its principal mosque, because of a treasure which was reported to have been buried under one of its columns. He tells us it was one of the finest and largest mosques in the world, and was reported to have been built by the wife of Daud-ibn-Ali who governed Balkh for the Abassides, and who devoted to its construction the value of a splendid pearl-embroidered robe, which she had offered the Khalifa in lieu of a contribution he had imposed upon the town. The Khalifa, touched by the generous offer, returned the robe. We read that after the building of the mosque one-third of the value of the robe still remaining, she ordered it to be buried under a pillar to be used in case of need. Chinghiz, having heard of this, had one third of the pillars of the mosque pulled down to find this treasure, but nothing being discovered the rest were spared. Ibn Batuta speaks of Balkh as still in ruins when he passed through it.[9]

To return to our story. Minhaj-i-Sarâj and Rashidu'd-dîn tell us that Chinghiz was induced to return by news of a revolt in Tangut, but this is hardly likely, as he would not have withdrawn so leisurely if he had had such a pressing cause.[10] The real explanation was probably the death of Mu-khu-li, his commander-in-chief in China, who died in April 1223. The Chinese accounts give a different reason for his retreat. We read in the biography of Yeliu Chutsai, that Chinghiz carried his arms as far as the Eastern Hindus. While his troops were halting in the "Iron Gate"[11] he saw an animal like a stag with the tail of a horse, with a green body and having a single horn on its head. This extraordinary animal had the faculty of human speech, and cried out to the emperor's guards that he should at once retire. Chinghiz, astonished at this prodigy, consulted Yeliu Chutsai, who replied:—"This remarkable animal is the Kiutuan. It understands all languages. It loves living beings, and has a horror of carnage. It has come to tell you that you are the eldest son of heaven, and that the people are your children, and it tells you how heaven would have you treat them." Whereupon the emperor ordered the army to retire.[12] The biography just cited has preserved another anecdote of Yeliu Chutsai of this campaign. We there read that a violent epidemic broke out in the Mongol ranks, and that the generals had thought of nothing but amassing gold and rich stuffs. Chutsai, on the other hand, had collected books, and among other natural products a large quantity of medicinal rhubarb, whose qualities he knew. He now used it, and thus saved the lives of 10,000 people.[13]

The Chinese accounts give us additional information about Chinghiz Khân's doings at this time. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* tells us that after the

[5] Called Gunaun Curgan by D'Ohsson.

[6] Called Buya Ketver by D'Ohsson.

[7] Called Bulghar by Erdmann and Bacalan by D'Ohsson. It was doubtless the modern Baghlan, south of Kunduz.

[8] Juveni, quoted by Erdmann, pp. 432-433; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 318-320; *Tabakât-i-Nâsirî*, p. 1047 note, pp. 1081-1082.

[9] *Op. cit.*, Ed. Defremery, etc., Vol. III. 59-63.

[10] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 319 note.

[11] The Derbend Kahluga.

[12] Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, Vol. II. pp. 67 and 68; De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 108-109; Gaubil, pp. 41 and 42.

[13] Rémusat, *op. cit.* p. 68.

defeat of Jalâlu'd-dîn Chinghiz went up the river of Shin (*i.e.*) the Indus, took the city of Batkesie (?), arrived at the rivers of Ekie-horohan and Geun-horohan (doubtless the Gunaun Kurghan of Rashidu'd-dîn already mentioned which was no river, but a hill, Kurghan meaning a mound or hill), and pitched his camp at Baruan Keher, *i.e.* the plain of Peruan. The same authority tells us that Chinghiz spent a year in the mountains of Altan-horhuan,[14] where the king of the Muḥammadans was accustomed to encamp.[15] In the *Yuan-shi* we read, under the year 1223:—"In order to avoid the heat of summer the Emperor moved to the valley (or river) Ba-lu-wan, *i.e.* Peruan, after which he was joined by the princes Juchi, Ch'a-ho-tai, and Wo-k'uo-tai,[16] and the general Ba-la, on their return from their expeditions. When the conquered realms in the Si-yu,[17] were pacified, *da-lu-huach'i*[18] were appointed to govern them." Again, in the year 1224, the emperor advanced as far as Tungyiu-dukuo,[19] where he met the Kiutuan, and then turned back.[20] In the *Kang-mu* we read that Chinghiz recrossed the river Sinmotsi with his army, and returned westwards. Having made himself master of the city of Seistan he went to pass the summer heats on the river Balu-wan, *i.e.* Peruan, and subjected all the neighbouring tribes, and having reached the fortress of K'o-he nominated Tar-huh-tsi-wen[21] or governors in each town of Si-yu, and then continued his march.[22] The *Yuan-shi-lei-pien* says that Chinghiz having passed the great heats at a place called Pa-lu-wan, Juchi, and his brothers and the generals assembled there, and a form of government was devised for the western conquests, and this was the first occasion that Chinghiz appointed in addition to military commanders Ta-lu-hoa (*darughas*), *i.e.* Mandarins, who had seals and decided causes. After reporting the story about Yeliu Chutsai already mentioned, the author of this work goes on to say what is indeed most probable, that seeing that the leaders of the army were weary of a war in such a distant country, Chinghiz said he wished to return to Tartary.[23] The *Huang-yuan* tells us that in the spring of 1223, Chinghiz marched northwards along the Sin-tze-su, *i.e.* the Indus. He spent the summer on the River Ba-lu-wan (Peruan), and defeated the enemy in the neighbourhood. After the arrival of the corps under Ba-la he again advanced to the fort of Ke-un, where the third prince, *i.e.* Ogotai, also arrived. He then placed a *da-lu-hua-chi*, *i.e. darugha*, in every city, and returned homewards.[24]

While Chinghiz was in this mountain district he was visited by the famous Taouist philosopher Ch'ang-Ch'un, whom he had summoned to his presence as I have mentioned in a previous chapter. I described how he obeyed the great conqueror's summons, and how he and his companions left Peking and traversed the Ku-yung Pass in the Great Wall. Soon after they met a band of robbers, who, however, did them no harm, but passed on, saying, "We do not harm the master." Having reached Te-hing, now Pao-au-chau, N. W. of Peking and south of Suan-hua-fu, they passed the summer and winter of 1220 there, in the temple of Lung-yang-kuan.

In the autumn Ali-sien arrived as a messenger from Ochin (Ochigin), Chinghiz Khân's youngest brother, asking Ch'ang-Ch'un to call on him on his way to the emperor. Early in February, 1221, the travellers again set out, the old sage promising his sorrowful disciples that he would be back in three years. They passed T'sui-ping-k'u, a defile 30 li west of Kalgan, and next day the mountains Ye-hu-ling. "The mountain air was delicious," says the biographer. "Towards the north were only cold, sandy deserts and parched grass. These are the limits of the breath of Chinese nature. We saw a field of battle, covered with bleached bones."[25] Proceeding northwards they passed Fu-chau, the Kara-balghasun of the Mongols, 30 miles from Kalgan on the road from Peking to Kiakhta. It is called Little Yen, *i.e.* Little Peking, in one of Ch'ang-Ch'un's poems. Passing the lake Kai-li, probably the K'ole-hu of the Chinese maps, they five days later passed the earthen Rampart, traversing Southern Mongolia, called Ming-ch'ang, from its having been built in the years so styled, 1190-1196, by the Kin emperor

[14] ? Altan Kurghan, the golden hills.
[15] Bretschneider, *Notes*, p. 65.
[16] *i.e.* Juchi, Jagatai and Ogotai. The mention of Juchi, as we shall see, is a mistake.
[17] *i.e.* western regions.
[18] *i.e. darughas.*
[19] The kingdom of Eastern Yindu or Hindu.
[20] *ibid.* pp. 63 and 64.
[21] Gunaun-kurghan above cited.
[22] *ibid.*, p. 63, note 107; De Mailla, vol. IX, p. 116.
[23] Gaubil, pp. 41 and 42.
[24] Bretschneider, *Notes*, etc., p. 67.
[25] Bretschneider, *Notes on Chin. Med. Travellers*, etc., p. 19.

Madaku. They then traversed the great sandy desert, Sha-mo, and reached the lake Yu'rh-li, where Chinghiz retired to after his campaign in China in 1215. The name means the fishing lake, and is identified by Dr. Bretschneider with the Po-yü-rh-hai of other Chinese writers, situated in Southern Mongolia, lat. 43° 50′ N., called Tar-nor by the Mongols.[26] Leaving here they travelled towards the north-east, passing a number of black carts and white tents, and eventually reached a tributary of the Lu-ku, or Kerulon, which they forded. Early in May, 1221, they reached the camp of Ochigin. The ice was only just beginning to melt, and the first green was appearing on the ground. A wedding was being celebrated, and many Mongol chiefs had arrived with mare's milk, and several thousand black carts and white tents were ranged in rows. Ch'ang-Ch'un had an interview with Ochigin, who inquired about the means of prolonging life. It was thought more becoming that the sage should reserve his precepts for the hearing of Chinghiz Khân, and he promised to call again, and impart his knowledge on his return. Ochigin supplied the party with 100 horses and 10 carts, and they again set out, and soon reached the Kerulon, where it spreads itself out into a big lake, *i.e.* probably Lake Ku-lun, the Dalai Nor. They went along the southern banks of the Kerulon, and an eclipse of the sun took place at noon. This was early in June, 1221. The high willows on the banks of the Kerulon were utilized by the Mongols for making their tents.

After 16 days' journey, they reached a place where the river changes its direction towards the north-west, and they took the direct post road from Yu'rh-li to Karakorum. The Mongols presented him with millet, and said they had been waiting a year for him, and he gave them jujubes. The country now was well peopled, the natives living in black carts and white tents, and being engaged in cattle-breeding and hunting. They dressed in furs and skins, and lived on milk and flesh meat. They passed a ruined city traditionally built by the Khitans, where they found a tile with Khitan characters on it, and which was probably Karakorum. They then entered the rugged passes of the Khangkai chain where our chronicler noticed the immense pine-trees and very severe cold, and eventually reached one of Chinghiz Khân's *ordus*, where one of his wives lived. The sage received an invitation to visit the *ordu*, and we are told the Chinese princess and the Princess of Hia (*i.e.* two of Chinghiz Khân's concubines, daughters respectively of the Chinese Emperor and the Emperor of Hia) sent presents of millet and silver. Flour here cost 50 *liang*[27] for every 80 *kin* (one *kin*=1⅓ lb.) It had to be brought on camels from beyond the Tien Shan, or Celestial Mountains. Leaving the *ordu* they proceeded several days in a south-easterly direction, and apparently approached the country of the Uïghurs, passing near the ruins of an ancient city called Ho-la-Siao. Not far from the modern Uliassutai they met some Hui-ho or Uïghurs, who were engaged in irrigating the fields. Several days later they reached a range of snowy mountains called A-bu-han in the Si-yu-ki and A-lu-huan in the biography of Chen-hai in the *Yuan-shi*. I cannot identify it. Perhaps the name survives in that of the River Jabkan. South of these mountains the travellers found a town called T'ien-ch-en-hai—ba-la-hosun.[28] There were more than 300 families from Western Asia there, engaged in weaving gold brocade, and 300 from Pien-king (*i.e.* Kai-feng-fu in Honan) making woollen cloth. The people came out to meet the sage with great joy, bearing variegated umbrellas and presents of flowers. There also went to him two concubines of the Kin Emperor, and the mother of a Chinese princess, trophies of the Mongol campaign in China. The latter said she had often heard of and wished to see him, and expressed her wonder at having at length met him under such strange circumstances. Chen-hai paid the sage a visit, who expressed his surprise that agriculture should be carried on in such a desert. He also asked him if he should stay there till Chinghiz Khân's return. Chen-hai replied that, on the contrary, he had received orders to expedite his journey. He

[26] *ibid*, pp. 20 and 21 note 22.

[27] Each of 6 to 7 shillings.

[28] Balghasun in Mongol means town, t'ien means field. Chen-hai is the name of a high official in the Mongol service, called Ching-kai by Rashidu'd-dîn, who was a Uïghur. In his biography in the *Yuan-shi* we are told that a military settlement was established at A-lu-huan by Chinghiz Khan and Chen-hai was appointed its governor, whence, no doubt, the place was called Chen-hai—ba-la-ho-sun. It was also called T'ang-t'u, from the magazines of corn there.

also said that in the country they would now have to traverse there were precipitous mountains and wide marshes which could not be crossed by a cart. He proposed that they should travel on horseback, and leave some of their people behind. Ch'ang-Ch'un agreed, and left nine of his disciples, for whom he built a monastery, the rich contributing money and the poor labour. It was completed in less than a month, and was called Si-hia Kuan, from the name of Ch'ang-Ch'un's birthplace, Si-hia.

Early in September 1221, the sage again set out with 10 disciples and 20 Mongols from the station with two carts. Chen-hai also accompanied him with an escort of 100 horsemen. The district they now traversed, apparently the so-called Sukhe Gobi, was said to be infested by goblins, and one of Chen-hai's servants reported that he himself had been pulled by the hair by one, while the Khân of the Naimans was also charmed there by a goblin, to whom he had had to offer a sacrifice. After travelling S. W. for 3 days and then to the S. E., passing a great mountain and traversing a vast defile, the travellers reached the Kin-shan, or golden mountains, *i.e.* the Altai, or rather that branch of them known as Ek-tag, over which the road had been planned and constructed by the 3rd prince, *i.e.* by Ogotai, when the army marched westwards. This pass was probably the one followed by the modern road from Kobdo into the valley of the Urungu. The Mongol escort was employed in dragging the carts up the steep ascents and putting drags upon the wheels when descending. Having crossed the mountains, upon which Ch'ang Ch'un composed a poem, they proceeded southwards, and traversed the wastes of the Western Gobi, the most difficult part of their journey. "We have before us," said Chen-hai, "the *po-ku-tsien* (field of white bones). All over is thickly strewn with black stones. * * * * That is an old battle-field, a field of death. One time a whole army perished there from exhaustion; no one escaped. A short time ago, at the same place, the army of the Naimans was destroyed by Chinghiz."[29] It is curious to find this waste still called Naiman Minggan Gobi, while a range of hills traversing it is called Naiman Ula. To prevent being charmed by the goblins Ch'ang Ch'un's companions rubbed their horses' heads with blood. The old man smiled at this, and remarked that goblins fled when they met a good man, and that it did not behove a Taouist to entertain such notions.

Presently the travellers reached a small Uïghur town, north of the Tien-shan range, probably Gu-chen, where the road from the north joins that going west. The Uïghurs went out to meet the sage and presented him with fruits and Persian linen cloth. Travelling westwards he crossed a river and passed two small towns; the land was artificially irrigated, and wheat was just beginning to ripen. This was in September. He now reached Bie-sze-ma, *i.e.* Bish-baligh (the modern Urumtsi), the capital of the Uïghurs, where the king and officers and people, the Buddhist and Taouist priests, went out to meet him.

He lodged in a vineyard outside the city, and was supplied with wine made from grapes, fruits, &c. by the relatives of the king. People crowded round him, and about him were seen Buddhists, Taouists and Confucianists. Leaving again, they in four days halted east of Lun-t'ai, where they were met by the chief of the Tie-sie (*i.e.* the Tersa of the Persian writers) by whom a high dignitary of the Nestorians is probably meant. Thence they went on again to Ch'ang-ba-la (*i.e.* Chang-balig), which is also mentioned in the itinerary of Yeliu-Hiliang and is there placed east of the river Ma-na-sze.[30] It is probably the modern Manas. Its ruler was also a Uïghur and an old friend of Chen-hai, and went with his relatives and the Uïghur priests to meet them. He entertained the sage with a dinner on a terrace, and his wife gave them wine. They also supplied them with very large water-melons and sweet melons. Here he also conversed with a Buddhist priest by means of an interpreter. West of this there were neither Buddhists nor Taouists. Going onwards along the sandy deserts north of the Tien-shan, the travellers reached the rugged country about Lake Sairam, through which we are told roads had been cut by Chinghiz' second son, *i.e.* Chagatai. He made these roads through the rocks, and built 48 bridges with the wood which grew on the mountains. The bridges were so wide that two carts could pass over them abreast. The travellers having crossed the Borokhoro Mountains entered a more fertile

[29] *ibid.* pp. 28 and 29.

[30] Bretschneider, *Notes*, pp. 139 and 230.

country, where mulberries and jujubes grew, and reached A-li-ma, *i.e.* Almaligh, the modern Ili or old Kulja, where the ruler of the realm of Pasu-man (? a form of Plano Carpini's Besserman, the old Russian Bussurman, *i.e.* Musalman) together with the Mongol *ta-lu-hua-chi* (*darugha*) went out to meet them. The biographer of Ch'ang-Ch'un mentions the apples (*alima*) for which Almaligh was famous, and also that the people there used a kind of cloth called *tuluma,* made of vegetable wool (*i.e.* of cotton), which was then very little known in China.[31] He also mentions the aqueducts used in irrigation.

Moving on from Almaligh the travellers in four days reached the River Talas which they crossed at the end of October. Chung-lu now hastened on as a courier, to announce the sage's approach to Chinghiz Khân, while Chen-hai continued to escort him. A few days later they met the envoy of the Kin emperor whom we have already named, who was on his way back to China, and reported that Chinghiz was pursuing the Sulṭân Jalâlu'd-dîn towards India.[32] This part of the country, we are told, belonged to the empire of Si-Liâo or Kara Khitai, and its people were engaged in agriculture, and in raising silk. They also made grape wine there. As it did not rain during the whole summer and autumn, the land had to be artificially watered by canals. Passing along the northern flanks of the Alexandrofski Mountains, the travellers reached a ruined city built of red stones, a military encampment, and great grave-mounds, *i.e.*, the neighbourhood of Avlie-ata. Crossing the mountains by the well-known gorge at Avlie-ata they speedily reached Sairam, whose Muhammadan ruler went out to meet them and directed them to their lodgings. There one of Ch'ang-Ch'un's disciples, named Ch'aokiu-ku, died.[33] Going onwards now to the southwest they arrived in three days at a town whose Muhammadan ruler also entertained them. After passing another town they reached the Ho-ch'ao-mulien, *i.e.*, Ho-chao-Muran, or river of Khojend, meaning the Sihun or Jaxartes. This they crossed by a floating bridge, the guardian of which presented Chenhai with a fish having an enormous mouth and without scales (probably a *silurus*). They passed two towns, outside one of which they were entertained with dinner and wine, while boys performed some plays, dancing with swords and climbing on poles to amuse them. Passing two more towns they traversed a valley running north and south, where they passed the night under a wide-spreading mulberry-tree, which could shelter 100 men. At another town they saw a well over 100 feet deep, where an old Muhammadan had a bullock which turned the draw-beam and thus drew water for people. Chinghiz had noticed him on his march, and ordered him to be exempt from taxes. At Sie-mi-sze-kan (Samarkand), the Tai-shi-yi-la-kuo-kung doubtless as we have seen, Yelin Chutsai with the other officials went to meet them. Chung-lu informed the sage that some rebels had recently broken the floating bridge over the Amu Daria or Oxus, and that as it was the depth of winter he had better wait at Samarkand till the spring, which he agreed to do. He tells us that in the midst of the city was an elevated place about 100 feet high on which the Sulṭân's new palace had been built. This had been afterwards occupied by the Taishi, who on account of some robberies no longer lived there, and it was given up to Ch'ang-Ch'un, who said the Taouists had no fear. The Taishi supplied everything needed for his daily wants. He was frequently visited by Chinese, who went to pay him their respects, and he also discussed the eclipse of the sun which he had seen on the Kerulon with an astronomer. He tells us this eclipse was total at noon on the Kerulon, that $\frac{7}{10}$ths of the sun were alone eclipsed at the Kin Shan Mountains, and the eclipse there was at its height at 10 in the morning. At Samarkand only $\frac{6}{10}$ths were so eclipsed. He explains the nature of solar eclipses in naive, but accurate language. Meanwhile Chung-lu, who had been sent on to explore, returned with the report that the second prince, *i.e.* Chagatai, had moved with an army and had repaired the bridges, and that Chinghiz Khân was then south of the Ta-süe-shan, *i.e.* the Hindu-Kush, and that the road by which he would have to travel was thickly covered with snow. The prince, *i.e.* Chagatai, invited the sage to pay him a visit, and wait till the time was more convenient for starting, but he declined on the plea that he only lived on vegetables, rice meal, &c., and understood there were none there. He describes the *balans* or almond-trees at Samarkand and also the peacocks and

[31] *ibid. Notes,* p. 33.

[32] *ibid.* 35.

[33] *ibid. Notes,* pp. 33-37.

elephants from India he saw there. He speaks of the environs of the city as very beautiful, everywhere lakes, orchards, terraces, towers, and tents. "We lay down on the grass," says the narrator, "and were all very happy together, talking about matters sublime.[34] Even Chinese gardens, we are told, were not to be compared to those of Samarkand, but there was an absence of birds.

Ch'ang-Ch'un now received an urgent summons at the hands of Ali-sien to go to Chinghiz, who was impatient to hear him explain the doctrines of Tao, and who had ordered Bo-lu-ji (or Borji, the Boorchi named in an earlier chapter) to escort him through the pass of Derbend. Leaving three of his disciples behind, he set out in the beginning of May, taking five or six others with him, still accompanied by the adjutant Chung-lu and by Chen-hai. They passed Kesh (Timur's birthplace) and the defile of Derbend, through which he was escorted by Borji with 100 Mongols and Musalmans, who helped to pull the carts on the different roads. Eventually they reached the Amu Daria. The narrator's naive statements are curious. He mentions the reeds that grew along an old artificial watercourse as being so stout that they used them for supporting the shafts of their carts. The spears of the soldiers were shafted with bamboos. They also saw lizards three feet long, and of a dark colour.

At last, about the 22nd of May, they reached Chinghiz Khân's camp, which was then apparently at Peruan. He sent a high official to greet the sage. After he had been settled in his quarters he had an audience with Chinghiz who remarked, "You were invited by the other Courts (*i.e.* the Sung and Kin) but you refused, yet you have come 10,000 *li* to see me; I am gratified." To which Ch'ang-Ch'un replied, "The wild man of the mountains came to see the Emperor by order of your Majesty, it was the will of Heaven." Chinghiz then turned to business, and asked him if he had a medicine of immortality. The sage announced, "There are means for preserving life, but no medicines for immortality." This answer was no doubt very disappointing to the Mongol Chief who, however, praised him for his candour. He had two tents pitched for him to the east of his own, and gave him the title of Shen-sien, *i.e.* "the immortal." In the summer they went to the snowy mountains to pass the hot season. Meanwhile the exigencies of war afforded little time for explaining the doctrines of Tao, and as Chinghiz had to be away on a fresh campaign, the sage returned to Samarkand to await the great Khân's leisure. He was escorted thither by Yang Aku, with 1,000 men, and the narrative describes the road traversing the Hindu-Kush in which was the Shi-men (*i.e.* stone gate) and at a distance rocks on each side looking like candles, an immense slab lay across these rocks like a bridge, and beneath it ran a rapid torrent. Many of the soldiers' donkeys were drowned in crossing and the sage, who composed an ode on the passage, complains of the bad smell from the dead bodies, and how he had to hold his nose in passing. They passed soldiers carrying trophies from the war, *inter alia*, trees of coral, some a foot long. Some of their escort bought 50 coral-trees for 2 *yis* of silver, but journeying on horseback it was impossible to prevent breaking them.[35] The travellers again reached Samarkand which was called Ho-chung-fu, *i.e.* Between-the-rivers, by the Taishi, *i.e.* by Yeliu-Tashi. Ch'ang-Ch'un took up his quarters in the palace where he had previously lodged. In the hot season he was accustomed to sit at the northern window and enjoy the breeze, while at night he slept on the flat roof.

The Chinese traveller gives us an interesting picture of Samarkand. He tells us the arable land there was well suited for growing corn, but that buck-wheat and the Soy bean (*soya hispeda*) did not grow there. Wheat was ripe in May, and when ready was piled up in heaps. He describes the water-melons as very fragrant, sweet and large, no melons like them being found in China. Some of them were given him by the Taishi's intendant, and Chung-lu begged some of them for the prince, *i.e.* for Chagatai. Other fruits abounded there, but not chestnuts or the *colocasia*. The egg-plants were shaped like fingers, and of great size. Men and women braided their hair, and the caps of the former at a distance resembled mounds. They were adorned with embroidery and tassels. All officers wore them. The lower orders wrapped their heads in turbans of muslin about 6 feet long. Most of their

[34] *ibid. Notes*, pp. 37-40.

[35] *ibid. Notes*, pp. 40-44.

vessels were of copper, but they also had porcelain as in China. Their money was of gold but had no holes in it (*i.e.* was not like the Chinese cash), and had Muhammadan letters on each side. The people were very strong, and carried heavy burdens on their backs without any crossbeam. They had men well versed in books, and exclusively devoted to writing, who were called *Dashima, i.e. Dânishmand* (Persian for a learned person), doubtless denoting the *mullahs.* In winter they fasted for a whole month (*i.e.* during Ramazân), during which the Superior (Ch'ang) killed a sheep for the meal and all sat round crosslegged and ate the whole night.[36] They had high buildings (*i.e.* minarets), with galleries with rafters standing out about 10 feet at the top, on which a pavilion was planted, hung round with tassels. Every morning and evening the Superior went up and bowed to the west (*i.e.* to Makkâ). He sang in a loud tone there (*i.e.* repeated the *azân*), and the people gathered below to pray. Whoever neglected these duties was executed. The Superior was dressed like the rest, except that he had a turban of white muslin. In the middle of August 1222 the sage sent A-li-sien to Chinghiz to inquire when he would be ready to be instructed in the doctrine of Tao, and the following month, having heard from Chinghiz, they set out for his camp.

He was accompanied for some distance by the Taishi. They went by way of Koshi, *i.e.* Kesh, and were escorted by 1,000 men on foot and 300 horsemen, and afterwards, instead of traversing the Derbend defile passed round it. The Chinese travellers were struck by the deposits of red salt on the hills in this district, as at home salt was only found in the plains. They were also surprised to find the Muhammadans drinking water even in winter, the Chinese only drinking tea. After crossing the Oxus in a boat, they went past a mountain fortress called T'uan-ba-la[37] where they met Chen-kun, physician to the third prince, *i.e.* Ogotai. They went up the river in a boat past Banli, *i.e.* Balkh, whose inhabitants had rebelled shortly before and had fled. The travellers heard the barking of dogs inside.[38] Chen-hai, who had stayed behind when Ch'ang-Ch'un went to the camp before, now went to meet him and asked him if he would be presented at once or rest. He begged to be presented at once. We are told that the professors of Tao, when presented to the Emperor, were not required to fall down upon their knees or bow their heads to the ground like others, but on entering the Imperial tent merely made a bow and put their hands together.[39] Chinghiz proferred the sage some *kumiz*, which he refused to take. He also wished him to dine every day with him, but he replied that he preferred seclusion, he was only a wild man of the mountains, who cultivated the true doctrine of Tao, and therefore liked seclusion, so he was allowed to live as he liked. In the beginning of October 1222, Chinghiz set out on his return journey north, and was accompanied by Ch'ang-Ch'un, to whom he sent presents of grape-wine, water-melons, &c. A few days later they crossed the Oxus on a floating bridge and shortly after, at the instance of Ch'ang-Ch'un, a tent was prepared where he might explain the doctrine of Tao to the Emperor. Chen-hai and Chung-lu were present, and the *taishi* or councillor A-tai acted as interpreter. We are told Chinghiz was much edified with the discourse, had the conversation renewed, and ordered the doctrine to be written down both in Chinese and Môngol. When they reached Samarkand, Ch'ang-Ch'un had another audience with Chinghiz, who asked him it the bystanders should withdraw. He said they might remain. He always referred to himself as the wild man of the mountains, and went on to say he had for many years devoted himself to the study of Tao, and liked to be in solitude. He could not pursue his contemplations amidst the uproar of the camp, and asked permission to be allowed to travel alone, either in front or behind the camp, which was allowed him. At Samarkand he distributed the remains of his provisions among the hungry people, who were very numerous. He left that city in the beginning of January 1223. The weather was very severe and many of their bullocks and horses died on the way. Having crossed the Sihun they reached Chinghiz Khân's camp, who was also on his way home. He was told that the night before the bridge over the river had been broken and swept away. He again had a

[36] Dr. Bretschneider remarks that this is still true. The Persians, like all true Musalmâns, in Ramazân, eat and smoke only after sunset when the stars are visible. *ibid.* p. 45, note 133.

[37] Probably Tun in Kuhistan.

[38] *ibid.* pp. 46 and 7.

[39] *ibid.* p. 147.

conversation with Chinghiz. Early in February 1223, the commander-in-chief, the physician in ordinary, and the chief diviner went to congratulate him. Having stayed a while to recruit his cattle in a large valley three days' journey S. W. of Sairam which was rich in grass, he at length, in March 1223, urged upon Chinghiz that when he set out from home he promised to be back in three years and that he wished to see his native mountains again in this, the third year. "I am myself returning to the East, won't you go with me?" said the Emperor. "I have explained all your Majesty wished to hear; I have nothing more to say," was the reply. On his pressing hard to be allowed to leave, Chinghiz refused, saying his sons would be there in a few days and that there were some points in his doctrine which he did not quite understand, when he did so he would let him go. Having crossed the Sihun they travelled onwards to a valley about 3 days' journey from Sairam, where they stayed awhile to recruit their horses.

In the middle of March 1223, Chinghiz was thrown from his horse while boar-hunting, the wounded boar stopped and the Emperor was in danger. The sage admonished him on the dangers of hunting at his advanced age. He now again asked leave to go, but Chinghiz bade him wait a little so that he might think of the parting gift he intended giving him. On his renewing his request a number of bullocks and horses were given to him. These the sage refused, saying post horses were all he needed. Chinghiz evidently treated the sage with great consideration, and there is a tradition that he wished him to marry his daughter, an embarrassing request, which he evaded by performing a surgical operation on his body.[40] He issued a decree exempting all the professors of the Tao doctrine from paying taxes, and sent A-li-sien to accompany him home, and with him Meng-gu-dai and Go-la-ba-hai.[41] The sage took leave of the Emperor in the middle of April 1223. All the officers, from the Terkhans down to the lower ranks accompanied him for 20 *li* on his way with wine and rare fruits, all being in tears. When they reached Sairam some of his disciples went to sacrifice at the tomb of their companion who had died on the journey west, as we mentioned. They wished to transport his remains to China, but Ch'ang-Ch'un said, "The body, formed temporarily of the four elements, decays without any value, but the soul has a real existence, is free, and cannot be grasped;" they then spoke no more about it, but went on. Presently they were joined by the Suan-chai (Imperial envoy) A-gu, who had received orders to accompany him. They travelled along the southern bank of the river Chui. When they arrived near Almaligh, the architect-in-chief to the 2nd prince, *i.e.* Chagatai, wished him to cross the Ili to inaugurate some buildings there, but this was not carried out.

The statement is curious, and points to Almaligh having been Chagatai's capital even before his father's death. Starting again they crossed the 48 bridges already mentioned, and approached the sacred lake, *i.e.* Lake Sairam. They travelled along the same road by which they had previously gone, and crossed the Kin-Shan or Chinese Altai mountains, *i.e.* the Ek-tagh. As they neared A-bu-han the disciples whom they had left there went out a long way to welcome them to their new monastery of Si-hia-kuan, from which we are told the Kin-Shan range could be seen. The master's descent from his cart was marked by a propitious fall of rain. The people there artificially irrigated their fields, the corn was generally ripe in September, and when ripe it was often damaged by mice, which were white. The biographer says that the seasons here were late, and in June they found ice a foot thick at a depth of about a foot from the surface, some of which they got daily for their use. Close by were high mountains covered with perpetual snow and tornados sometimes sprang up tearing up trees, stones, and houses. Coal existed in the mountains, the streams from which were often so swollen in winter that they caused floods. About 100 *li* to the north-west was the country of Kemkemjut, where iron was found and squirrels abounded. Many Chinese lived there, manufacturing silk, &c. The natives of the country about A-bu-han, we are told, called water *wu-su* and grass *aî-bu-su*; the Mongols still call water *wu-su* and grass *ubussu*. The people told Ch'ang-Ch'un that formerly they had followed the cult of mountain goblins and other spirits, but since the foundation of the monastery a service of true doctrines (Tao) had been established, and men had made a vow to kill no

[40] *Bretschneider*, *op. cit.* p. 120.

[41] *Id.* p. 49.

living creature. At first we read the Taouists there had a bad time of it, and were much persecuted, the physican Lo-Sheng having especially persecuted them, but on one occasion as he was passing the Temple he was thrown from his horse and broke his leg, when he was moved to repentance and begged pardon. By degrees the demoniacal influences also disappeared. A-li-sien now told the sage that the southern route was very stony and sandy, with little grass and water, and their party being numerous their horses would suffer considerably, and there would be much delay. Ch'ang-Ch'un therefore advised that they should divide the party into 3 sections. He sent six of his disciples in advance, and seven days later started himself with six others and was accompanied by the most respectable people in the place, who shed tears as he departed. A few days later five more of his disciples set out. They travelled day and night through a sandy, barren country, and eventually reached the northern frontiers of Hia or Tangut, where they were joined by the disciples who had been left behind. In July 1223 he reached Yü-Yang-Kuan, a defile leading through the In-shan range north of Kuku-khoto. Thence his journey through northern China was a continuous ovation. "Invitations succeeding each other like the spokes of a rolling wheel." He eventually arrived at the temple of Ch'ang-tien-kuan on the 7th of the 1st month of 1224, three years after he set out. He lived at Peking till 1227 when he died, in the very same month as Chinghiz Khân himself. A large concourse of Taouists assembled there and built a monastery to hold his remains. This monastery still exists west of Peking, is known as Po-yün-kuan, and is the principal Taouist monastery in China.[42]

For the account of the journey above described I am under complete obligations to Dr. Bretschneider. It is assuredly one of the most extraordinary incidents in Asiatic history that Chinghiz Khân, the scourge of God, should in the very middle of his terrible career be visited at his own request by the professor of such a harmless and humane philosophy as Taouism, should listen patiently to its transcendental vagaries, and treat its professor with such tenderness. This is surely remarkable, and pictures an aspect of Chinghiz Khân's character which has not been very much considered; and yet he seems, like some other great conquerors, to have been attracted by religious discussions. Thus De la Croix tells us that when he was visited by some deputies from Balkh, he ordered them to send him some men who knew the country well, and he conferred with them on the antiquities of Balkh, &c., and especially on the doctrines of Zoroaster. They told him he had been king of their country, that he alone of all mankind had laughed when he was born, that he first studied the stars and magic, and had so many disciples in the latter science that they were known as magi, who acted as priests and teachers to the Fire-worshippers of the Medes, Persians and Bactrians, and that their chief occupation was to take care that the sacred fire in each household was not allowed to go out, &c. De la Croix does not mention his authority for this story, but he doubtless found it in some eastern writer.[43] Mirkhond tells us a similar story about Bukhara, *viz.*, that after Chinghiz had recrossed the Oxus on his way home he ordered the Sadr-i-Jahân to send him some persons well versed in the Muhammadan religion. He accordingly sent him a Kazi named Ashraf, and a preacher, to whom Chinghiz asked some pointed questions about their religion. He inquired what their faith was and what the Musalman law prescribed. They replied that the Musalmans believe in one God who has no equal. Chinghiz replied that he believed the same. He went on to inquire about other matters, when they replied that the Almighty had sent a messenger with a *yarligh* and *paizah* to teach his followers what was right, and to forbid them to do what was wrong. The Emperor replied that he believed this also, for he said, "I am the servant of God, and I also send out my messengers in all directions to make known my wishes, while I punish my warriors in many ways." They went on to say that he, Muhammad, prescribed that the *namâz* or prayer should be said on different occasions, and that they should fast one month in every year. He approved of this, saying it

[42] The chronology of Chinghiz Khan's monuments, as described by Rashîdu'd-dîn and by Ch'ang Ch'un's biographer, involves a discrepancy of 12 months. Rashîdu'd-dîn makes Chinghiz resolve to return home in the spring of 1223, spend the summer of 1223-4 near Samarkand, and start on his return in 1224, which in fact agrees with the *Yuan-shi*, but the *Si yu ke* dates the same events 12 months earlier.

[43] De la Croix, pp. 339.

was reasonable that when men indulged themselves for eleven months out of twelve, that they should devote a month to self-mortification for the glory of God. They went on to say that their law prescribed that the rich should give half a *dînâr* out of every twenty in alms to the poor. It was only when they went on to say that their law required them to worship in certain fixed places[44] that he dissented, saying that the entire universe was God's Temple, where all "men might approach him, and pointing up said 'that is the way to God.'" He added that it was well they should devote their gains to the relief of *durveshes* and other poor persons, in order to secure the goodwill of men and a passport to heaven. The two learned men now retired, well pleased with their interview, and reported that Chinghiz really held sentiments very much like their own, except on the question of worshipping God in a fixed place, and in regard to making pilgrimages to Makkâ.[45] Ibn Batuta tells us that when he visited Bukhara about a hundred years after its devastation by Chinghiz its mosques, colleges and markets were in ruins, except a few. Its inhabitants were despised. Their testimony was not received at Khuârezm, nor elsewhere, on account of their proneness to lying, impudence, and partiality. There is not at present, he adds, a man of learning in Bukhara nor who desires to become one.[46] From Bukhara Chinghiz went on to Samarkand, where he also had an interview with the grandees, and told them that God had given him the victory over their former Bâdshâh (*i.e.* the Khuârezm Shâh) and had enabled him to overwhelm and destroy him, and that they must now devote themselves to his praise and glory. The head *Kâzi* then asked that they might have a diploma exempting them from taxes called a Tarkhan *yarligh*. He then asked them if the Sultân exacted these dues from them, and on their saying yes, he deemed it unreasonable that they should pay them when they devoted themselves to praying for his welfare, and he accordingly granted *yarligh*, exempting all the *kâzis* and *imâms* from taxation.[47]

BOOK NOTICE.

THE BOOK OF SINDIBAD: or the Story of the King, his Son, the Damsel, and the Seven Vazirs. From the Persian and Arabic; with introduction, notes, and appendix, by W. A. CLOUSTON. (Privately printed), 1884.

This volume gives us a "compendious account of the Eastern and Western groups of romances, known respectively under their generic titles of the *Book of Sindibâd* and the *Book of the Seven Wise Masters*." In his Introduction, extending over 40 pages, Mr. Clouston gives a clear and interesting account of the structure of the *Book of Sindibâd*, and the probable sources of the several Eastern versions; and to this is prefixed a comparative table of the Tales in this group, illustrating the relationship which the different texts bear to one another. As Benfey has pointed out, the frame-work of the *Book of Sindibâd* is very similar to the well-known Indian legend of Kunâla and his step-mother, Tishyarakshitâ; and in the *Śârangadhara-charita* and the *Kumâra-Râma-charita* we find stories of like character. But while the book is almost certainly of Indian origin, our oldest text is an imperfect MS. of a Syriac version, made from the work of Musa, a Persian, who probably rendered it into Arabic about the middle of the 8th century. From Arabic it was translated into Syriac, into old Spanish (in 1253), and into Hebrew; and from Syriac into Greek (about 1190 A.D.) under the title of *Syntipas*.

This is followed by a reprint (from the *Asiatic Journal*, Vols. XXXV. and XXXVI, 1841) of an epitome or analysis of a unique Persian MS. poem,—the *Sindibâd Nâma*, by Prof. Forbes Falconer. Of some of the tales in this imperfect MS. Falconer gave only the titles, and others he presented in a very abridged form; Mr. Clouston has, therefore, added translations of the (ten) tales omitted by the first translator, and has rectified several grave errors, while he has carefully edited the whole with explanatory notes.

The *Seven Vazîrs* is the translation made by Dr. Jonathan Scott—not a very accurate Arabic scholar—from the *Thousand and One Nights*, and published in 1800. This is also edited with corrections and additions.

Lastly comes the Appendix (pp. 217-378); which is interesting as tracing the migration westwards of an Eastern fable, and the modifications which it underwent in transmission. Altogether, this volume is a most welcome addition to our collections of Folklore, and we trust the author will be encouraged to add other works to those he has already published.

[44] *i.e.* Mosques.

[45] Erdmann, pp. 634-5, note 327; De la Croix, pp. 340-341; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 320-321.

[46] *Op cit.* ed. Defremery, Vol. III. p. 22.

[47] Erdmann, pp. 433-434; De la Croix, pp. 342-343.

FOLKLORE IN SOUTHERN INDIA.

BY S. M. NATESA SASTRI PANDIT.

XI.—THE GOOD HUSBAND AND THE BAD WIFE.

IN a remote village there lived a Brâhmaṇ whose good nature and charitable disposition were proverbial. Equally proverbial also were the ill-nature and uncharitable disposition of the Brâhmaṇî—his wife. But as Paramêśvara (God) had joined them in matrimony, they had to live together as husband and wife, though their temperaments were so incompatible. Every day the Brâhmaṇ had a taste of his wife's ill-temper, and if any other Brâhmaṇ was invited to dinner by him, his wife, somehow or other, would manage to drive him away.

One fine summer morning a rather stupid Brâhmaṇ friend of his came to visit our hero and was at once invited to dinner. He told his wife to have dinner ready earlier than usual, and went off to the river to bathe. His friend not feeling very well that day wanted a hot bath at the house, and so did not follow him to the river, but remained sitting in the outer verandah of the house. If any other guest had come the wife would have accused him of greediness to his face and sent him away, but this visitor seemed to be a special friend of her lord, so she did not like to say anything; but she devised a plan to make him go away of his own accord.

She proceeded to smear the ground before her husband's friend with cowdung, and placed in the midst of it a long pestle supporting one end of it against the wall. She next approached the pestle most solemnly and performed worship (*pûjâ*) to it. The guest did not in the least understand what she was doing, and respectfully asked her what it all meant.

"This is what is called pestle worship," she replied. "I do it as a daily duty, and this pestle is meant to break the head of some human being in honour of a goddess, whose feet are most devoutly worshipped by my husband. Every day as soon as he returns from his bath in the river he takes this pestle, which I am ordered to keep ready for him before his return, and with it breaks the head of any human being whom he has managed to get hold of by inviting him for a meal. This is his tribute (*dakshiṇâ*) to the goddess; to-day you are the victim."

The guest was much alarmed. "What! break the head of a guest! I at any rate shall not be deceived to-day," thought he, and prepared to run away.

The Brâhmaṇ's wife appeared to sympathise with his sad plight, and said:—

"Really, I do pity you. But there is one thing you can do now to save yourself. If you go out by the front door and walk in the street my husband may follow you, so you had better go out by the back door."

To this plan the guest most thankfully agreed, and hastily ran off by the back door.

Almost immediately our hero returned from his bath, but before he could arrive his wife had cleaned up the place she had prepared for the pestle worship; and when the Brâhmaṇ, not finding his friend in the house inquired of her as to what had become of him, she said in seeming anger:—

"The greedy brute! he wanted me to give him this pestle—this very pestle which I brought forty years ago as a dowry from my mother's house, and when I refused he ran away by the back-yard in haste."

But her kind-hearted lord observed that he would rather lose the pestle than his guest, even though it was a part of his wife's dowry and more than forty years old. So he ran off with the pestle in his hand after his friend crying out, "Oh Brâhmaṇ! Oh Brâhmaṇ! Stop please, and take the pestle."

But the story told by the old woman now seemed most true to the guest when he saw her husband running after him, and so he said, "You and your pestle may go where you please. Never more will you catch me in your house," and ran away.

XII.—THE GOOD WIFE AND THE BAD HUSBAND.[1]

In a remote village there lived a man and his wife, who was a stupid little woman and believed everything that was told her. Whenever people wanted anything from her they used to come and flatter her; but this had to be done in the absence of her husband, because he

[1] [Compare the Sinhalese folktale given at p. 62, Vol. I. of the *Orientalist*.—ED.]

was a very miserly man, and would never part with any of his money, for all he was exceedingly rich. Nevertheless, without his knowledge cunning beggars would now and then come to his wife and beg of her, and they used generally to succeed, as she was so amenable to flattery. But whenever her husband found her out he would come down heavily upon her, sometimes with words and sometimes with blows. Thus quarrels arose, till at last, for the sake of peace, the wife had to give up her charitable propensities.

Now there lived in the village a rogue of the first water, who had many a time witnessed what took place in the rich miser's family. Wishing to revive his old habit of getting what he wanted from the miser's wife he watched his opportunity and one day, when the miser had gone out on horseback to inspect his lands, he came to his wife in the middle of the day and fell down at the threshold as if overcome by exhaustion. She ran up to him at once and asked him who he was.

"I am a native of Kailâsa," said he, "sent down by an old couple living there, for news of their son and his wife."

"Who are those fortunate dwellers on Śiva's mountain?" said she.

On this the rogue gave the names of her husband's deceased parents, which he had taken good care, of course, to learn from the neighbours.

"Do you really come from them?" said she. "Are they doing well there? Dear old people. How glad my husband would be to see you, were he here! Sit down please, and take rest awhile till he returns. How do they live there? Have they enough to eat and to dress themselves?" These and a thousand other questions she put to the rogue, who, for his part, wanted to get away as quick as possible, as he knew full well how he would be treated if the miser should return while he was there, so he said:—

"Mother, language has no words to describe the miseries they are undergoing in the other world. They have not a rag to cover themselves, and for the last six days they have eaten nothing, and have lived on water only. It would break your heart to see them."

The rogue's pathetic words fully deceived the good woman, who firmly believed that he had come down from Kailâsa, sent by the old couple to her.

"Why should they suffer so?" said she, "when their son has plenty to eat and to dress himself, and when their daughter-in-law wears all sorts of costly ornaments?"

With that she went into the house and came out with two boxes containing all the clothes of herself and her husband and gave the whole lot to the rogue, with instructions to take them to her poor old people in Kailâsa. She also gave him the jewel box to be presented to her mother-in-law.

"But dress and jewels will not fill their hungry stomachs," said he.

Requesting him to wait a little, the silly woman brought out her husband's cash chest and emptied the contents into the rogue's coat,[2] who now went off in haste, promising to give everything to the good people in Kailâsa. Our good lady, according to etiquette, conducted him a few hundred yards along the road and sent news of herself through him to her relatives, and then returned home. The rogue now tied up all his booty in his coat and ran in haste towards the river and crossed over it.

No sooner had our heroine reached home than her husband returned after his inspection of his lands. Her pleasure at what she had done was so great, that she met him at the door and told him all about the arrival of the messenger from Kailâsa, and how she had sent clothes and jewels and money through him to her husband's parents. The anger of her husband knew no bounds. But he checked himself for a while, and asked her which road the messenger from Kailâsa had taken, as he said he wanted to follow him and send some more news to his parents. To this she willingly agreed and pointed out the direction the rogue had gone. With rage in his heart at the trick played upon his stupid wife our hero rode on in hot haste and after a ride of two *ghaṭikâs* he caught sight of the flying rogue, who, finding escape hopeless, climbed up into a big *pîpal* tree. Our hero soon reached the bottom of the tree and shouted to the rogue to come down.

"No, I cannot, this is the way to Kailâsa," said the rogue, and climbed up on the top of the tree. Seeing no chance of the rogue's coming

[2] *Uparaṇi* or *upavastra*, an upper garment.

down and as there was no third person present to whom he could call for help, our hero tied his horse to an adjacent tree and began climbing up the *pîpal* tree himself. The rogue thanked all his gods when he saw this, and waited till his enemy had climbed nearly up to him, and then, throwing down his bundle of booty, leapt quickly from branch to branch till he reached the bottom. He then got upon his enemy's horse and with his bundle rode into a dense forest in which no one was likely to find him. Our hero being much older in years was no match for the rogue. So he slowly came down, and cursing his stupidity in having risked his horse to recover his property, returned home at his leisure. His wife, who was waiting his arrival, welcomed him with a cheerful countenance and said,

"I thought as much. You have sent away your horse to Kailâsa to be used by your father."

Vexed as he was at his wife's words, our hero replied in the affirmative to conceal his own stupidity.

Thus, some there are in this world, who, though they may not willingly give away anything, pretend to have done so when by accident or stupidity they happen to lose it.

THE DEHLI DALALS AND THEIR SLANG.

BY CAPT. R.C. TEMPLE, B.S.C., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., &c.

I have lately published a paper in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Vol. LIII. pp. 1-24) on the Trade Dialect of the Naqqâsh, or painters on *papier mâché*, in the Pañjâb and Kaśmîr.

The conclusions I drew in that paper were, that though the Indian trade dialects contained slang terms and slang perversions of ordinary words, they were mainly real dialects, and that the great majority of their peculiar words were easily traceable to the old and modern languages of Northern India. Some of their slang words I will now show to be directly taken from the well-known Dalâls of Dehlî, who do not talk any dialect, but a real slang for purposes of secrecy, *i.e.* of taking in the customer (*kharîdâr*) for their own benefit and that of the trader (*saudâgar*). But first, a few words about the Dalâl himself and his methods of proceeding.

The real swindling Dalâl[1] is not a broker (*âṛathî*), but a tout, middle-man, or go-between, a man that procures custom for his employers, who are shopkeepers and general dealers of all kinds: nor does he get his living by brokerage (*âṛath*), but by what he can make out of the customer through the trader (*dastûrî*), and what the customer pays him for his trouble (*bakhshîsh*), as will be explained herein. He hangs about *sarâîs*, hotels, railway stations, *ḍâk* offices and other places, where strangers and visitors to the town he lives in are apt to congregate, and makes it his business to know whence every kind of article they are likely to require is to be got. The stranger, his victim, goes forth to buy; straightway the Dalâl ingratiates himself, and offers to take him where he will get what he wants. Whether the trouble he takes pays him or not depends entirely on the temperament and character of the purchaser, and this he has to study; long practice having usually made him an adept in turning every kind of idiosyncrasy he may chance upon to his own advantage.

The traders thoroughly despise him, but as he is useful and brings them chance custom, which they would otherwise miss, they condescend to enter into certain relations with him. They do not, however, pay him anything, but always leave him to make the whole of his profits out of the customers he brings. This is done thus. The Dalâl and trader having made a private arrangement regarding the percentage or pay the former is to get for the profits he brings the latter, the customer is made to pay this percentage over and above the price the merchant demands for himself, or in other words, the merchant agrees to add this to the price he finally agrees to take for his goods. The customer will, of course, also pay the Dalâl something besides, on his own account, for the trouble taken on his behalf. As the Dalâl deals with all kinds of people and in all classes and kinds of goods

[1] Nothing in this paper has any reference to the respectable body of street brokers also known as Dalâls.

no fixed rate of percentage can be agreed upon. Moreover, whatever arrangements he and the trader make between them must be kept from the customer, as the latter would naturally never knowingly agree to pay the Dalâl's percentage in addition to his own present to him. Consequently an ingenious method of talking has been invented, and is in practice, by which the trader and the Dalâl understand one thing and the customer another, this last being, of course, the natural sense of the words used. In fact a kind of vocal cypher or secret code has been adopted.

The native keepers of hotels for the use of the English; the *khânsâmâns*, *khidmatgârs*, coachmen, *chuprâsîs*, and similar servants of such hotels and at *ḍâk* bungalows, the owners and drivers of carriages and cabs that frequent these hotels, are all Dalâls. The Dalâl, too, is to be found in all the large towns. In Lakhnau, Âgrâ, Illâhâbâd, Kâhnpûr, in Amṛitsar, Lâhor, Multân, &c., he flourishes; but his home, the place where he luxuriates and prospers, is Dehlî. He is a sorry creature, and essentially a cheat and a humbug. The natives have capital proverbs about him to show their appreciation of his character.

Dillî kâ Dalâl,
Kabhî dhannî, kabhî kangâl.
The Dehlî Dalâl,
Rich to day, poor to-morrow.

And again:

Dillî ke Dalâl,
Khâwêṅ makkî, dikhâweṅ makhâl.
The Dehlî Dalâls,
Eat maize and show sweetmeats.

This last is especially cutting, and hits off a habit these gentry have. Being poor as a rule, they partly support life by throwing grains of maize (Indian corn) into the mouth, a very cheap (and indigestible) way of eating; this they take out of one pocket, while in another they keep a small store of *makhâl* or *ilâyachî-dânâ*, a sweetmeat made of cardamoms, which is very expensive. Should any one ask what they are eating they will show this, and offer some to the enquirer out of bravado and to show off.

There is an effectual way of counteracting the machinations of the Dalâls, and that is to buy goods on *nafa'*, the profit the trader agrees to make on the cost price, or on the price he gave. Among native traders themselves most bargains are made as to this *nafa,'* and not as to the cost price of the goods. Thus, A, a trader, wishing to buy from B, another trader, 100 *thâns* of *pashmînâ*, would say to him, "*tum kyâ nafâ' loge*? What profit on cost price will you charge?" He answers, "Four *ânâs* in the rupee," and the bargaining then goes on regarding this *nafa,'* without reference to anything else at all. Supposing the matter to be settled for two *ânâs* in the rupee, A will then ask B, "*'asal dâm kyâ thâ*? What was the cost price?" B answers, "Rs. 20 per *thân*," and the bargain would be settled then and there for Rs. 2000, cost price, plus ⅛th or Rs. 250, profit, or Rs. 2,250 for the lot, which then becomes the *'asal dâm* of the purchaser. No questions would be asked as to the cost price, because it is looked upon as a point of honour among respectable traders, both with Musalmâns and Hindûs, never to answer falsely as to the *'asal dâm*, or cost price. Any trader found out in doing so would be cut at once by the whole trading community, nor would they again deal with him, nor trust him. Considering that buying and selling, at any rate on a large scale, is conducted on *nafa'* only, it is easy to see that honesty regarding the *'asal dâm* is a matter of trade necessity. I remember a case in Ambâlâ, where a trader was practically expelled the cantonment *bâzârs* for cheating about the *'asal dâm*.

The secret arrangements between Dalâl and trader as to the former's percentage are made on the spur of the moment, according to the circumstances of each case. The Dalâl watches the character of the customer he introduces, gauges the depth of his pocket, perceives the class and amount of his probable purchases, and demands his percentage accordingly. This he has to do secretly, so as not to rouse the suspicions of his client. His means to his end are his slang vocabulary and expressions; all his phrases having a secret and a patent meaning.

His first method is to talk without using a single slang word, but so as to convey his meaning to the trader, and conceal it from the customer. Thus, supposing a bargain to be going on about a piece of cloth, he will say to

the trader, as if taking the side of the customer, "bas, bas, is thân kî *ek hî* bât kah do; there, that will do, say the *real* price for this piece." But by saying, "*ek hî* bât," he conveys his intention of demanding *one ánâ* in the rupee for himself. Then the trader, supposing him to be satisfied with Rs. 10 for the piece, will not settle under Rs. 10-10-0, the 10 *ánâs* going to the Dalâl later on. This is the *Plain Language Trick* or *Sîdhî Bât kî Dalâlî.*

Here are other specimens; but it must be understood that the talk always refers to actual circumstances. Suppose the shop to have a roof of seven rafters (*karî*), the Dalâl will look about him and say, "is makân kî *tîn* karî mazbût haiṅ, châr to ghun gaî haiṅ; this house has only *three* sound rafters, four have gone bad (weevil eaten)," *i.e.* "I want *three ánâs* in the rupee." Again looking at a bell he would say, "tumhâre pâs *ek* hî ghantî hai? Have you only *one* bell?" *i.e.* "I want *one ánâ* in the rupee." "Is chhînt ke *pânch* hî thân tumhâre pâs haiṅ? Have you only *five* pieces of this chintz," *i.e.*, "I want *five ánâs* in the rupee." "Sâhib sau rupae dâ kaprâ mul laû, the Sâhib will buy Rs. 100 worth of cloth," says the Dalâl in Pañjâbî, and presently adds, "tuhâdâ mundâ kujh parhdâ hai? Sâde munde ne *vî* patte us pothî de parh lîte hain. Can your boy read? My boy has read *twenty* pages of that book," conveying "I want Rs. 20 or 20 per cent. on the bargain." This method of talking no doubt requires cleverness and quickness both on the part of the trader and the tout, but I suppose practise teaches the ear what words to catch.

The second method may be called the *Finger Trick* or *Angulî kî Dalâlî*, and is used where the customer is sharp, and watches the Dalâl. If he sees this he will ask a simple question of the trader such as, "is kâ kyâ loge? What do you want for this?" putting two or three or as many fingers on the article as he may want *ánâs* in the rupee.

The third method may be called the *Swagger Trick* or *Jhiṛkî kî Dalâlî*, and is practised thus: The Dalâl enters the shop in a swaggering kind of way, and commences to bully the shopkeeper for the apparent benefit of the customer. All his conversation has a magnificent hectoring tone, as if he were lord and master of the whole place. Amid his copious flow of words he manages to convey his wants to the trader by a simple code of word-signals, using the parts of the body as his means. The deception is sure to be pretty complete, as personal allusions are so common in the mouth of the swaggering Native. This code of words is as follows:—

nák, nose, for *one ánâ* in the rupee.

áṅkh, eyes, for *two ánâs* in the rupee.

áṅkh, and *nák*, eyes and nose, for *three ánâs* in the rupee.

áṅkh and *kân*, eyes and ears, for *four ánâs* in the rupee.

áṅkh, *kán*, and *nák*, eyes, ears and nose, for *five ánâs* in the rupee.

ánkh, *kân*, and *hâth*, eyes, ears, and hands, for *six ánâs* in the rupee.

ánkh, *kân*, *hâth*, and *nák*, eyes, ears, hands and nose, for *seven ánâs* in the rupee.

áṅkh, *kân*, *hâth* and *pâṅw*, eyes, ears, hands, and feet, for *eight ánâs* in the rupee.

The manner in which these words are used is best illustrated by a specimen of the kind of conversation that ensues on such occasions. Thus:—

(1). I want *one ánâ* in the rupee.

Dalâl. Achhâ kaprâ dikhlâo: is kâ kyâ dâm hai?

Trader. Is thân kâ pâṅch rupayâ dâm hai.

Dalâl. Tum ko *nák* hai yâ nahîṅ? Ham sach bât pûchhte hâiṅ: jhûṭh ke wâste ham yahâṅ nahîṅ âe, nahîṅ to, ham dusre dûkân par jâeṅge.

Translation.

Dalâl. Show me good cloth; what is the price of this?

Trader. The price of this piece is Rs. 5.

Dalâl. Have you a *nose* or not? I want the truth. I did not come here for lies, or I could go to another shop.

This would be pretty sure to deceive, as "*tum ko nák hai ki nahîṅ?* Have you a nose or not?" is a common idiom for "Have you any honour or no?" A noseless man (*naktâ*) is popularly supposed to be without honour and a scoundrel, whence the well-known proverb

Das nákton meṅ ek "nakkû."

Among ten noseless men one is nicknamed "whole-nose," *i.e.*, an honest man is a scoundrel to blackguards.

The fourth method is the one that concerns philologists most. In this the Dalâl uses regular slang words, having a definite meaning with reference to his demand of *ânâs* in the rupee. I have only a few of them, and the natural dislike of the traders to give up any of their secret words accounts for the difficulty in procuring even these.[2] They are :—

aikal,	one *ânâ*	in	the	rupee.
swân,[3]	two *ânâs*	,,	,,	,,
rakh,	three	,,	,,	,,
phûkh,	four	,,	,,	,,
buddh,	five	,,	,,	,,
kulangan,	six	,,	,,	,,
paiṅṭ,	seven	,,	,,	,,
mâjh,	eight	,,	,,	,,
wan,	nine	,,	,,	,,
salâḥ,	ten	,,	,,	,,
akalâ,	eleven	,,	,,	,,

Some of these slang words, for, as will be seen herein, they are purely slang, have been adopted into the trade dialects, *e.g.* :—

(2) *swân*, *suâṅ* or *suhân*, is seen in the Zargarî of the Pañjâb, in *sauṅî*; and in the Zargarî of Hindûstân, in *saunâṅ*.

(7) *paiṅṭ* appears in the Hindûstânî Zargarî.

(8) *mâjh*, *mâṅjh* in the Kaśmîrî Zargarî, as *maṅz*.

(9) *wan* is the *wân* of the Kaśmîrî Zargarî.[4]

And their occurrence explains the existence of forms otherwise unexplainable or not satisfactorily explainable.

None of these Dalâlî numerals have any reference to, or connection with any numerical system, but owe their origin to a purely slang application of ordinary words for purposes of secrecy.

(1) *aikal* is said to be the same thing as *ek hî bât*. *Cf.* *akkhaṛ* = *anghaṛ*, Hindî, rough, rude. *Aikal* means the true price, as would *ek hî bât* in this connection.

Dalâlî. I want *one ânâ* in the rupee.

Is thân men *aikal* bhâû kyâ hai ?

What is the *true* price of this piece ?

(2) *swân*, *suâṅ* or *suhân*, means pleasant, agreeable.

Dalâlî. I want *two ânâs* in the rupee.

O Lâlâ *swân*, dikhâ kapṛe de thân.

Friend Lâlâ, show us some cloth.

(3) *rakh*, means place, put.

Dalâlî. I want *three ânâs* in the rupee.

O bhâî, kujh thân ethe *rakh*.

Friend, *put* some pieces here.

(4) *phûkh* (= *phûṅkh*) means throw away, destroy.

Dalâlî. I want *four ânâs* in the rupee.

Lâlâ, change kapṛe dikhâ, atte is thân nûṅ pare *phûkh*.

Show us some good cloths, and *throw* this piece away.

(5) *buddh*, is wisdom, brains, knowledge.

Dalâlî. I want *five ânâs* in the rupee.

Achhe kapṛe dikhlâo, is ko uthâo. Kyâ, tumhârî *buddh* mârî gaî hâi ?

Show good cloths, take this away. Have you lost your *wits* ?

(6) *kulangan* (= *kalankî*), is a bad character, a man whose character has been lost.

Dalâlî. I want *six ânâs* in the rupee.

Tusîṅ vi *kulangan* ho! Kujh change liṛe gâhak nûṅ dikhâ.

You are a *bad lot* too! Show some good cloths to the customer.

(7) *paiṅṭ* (= *peṇṭh*), is a market.

Dalâlî. I want *seven ânâs* in the rupee.

Paiṅṭ dâ tusîṅ kîṅ faisalâ kîtâ haigâ ? *Answer.* Maiṅ tainûṅ pichhe dasâṅgâ.

What arrangements did you make in the *market ?* I'll tell you presently.

(8) *mâjh*, *mâṅjh* is Pañjâbî, middle, between.

Dalâlî. I want *eight ânâs* in the rupee.

Is thân aur us thân de *mâjh* kî faraq hai ? *Answer.* Do âne dâ faraq hai, jî.

What is the difference *between* this piece and that piece ? Two *ânâs* difference, sir.

(9) *wan*, *wân* (= *bâṇ*, *bâṇh*) in Pañjâbî, is a kind of twine or string made of *mûṅjh*.

Dalâlî. I want *nine ânâs* in the rupee.

Kal tainûṅ *wan* miliâ sî ?

Did you get the *twine* yesterday.

(10) *salâḥ*, is advice, arrangement.

Dalâlî. I want *ten ânâs* in the rupee.

Is thân dene dî kî *salâḥ* haigî ? *Answer.* Jiûkar tûsîṅ âkhoge maiṅ dedeâṅgâ.

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[2] I believe a good many are to be found scattered up and down Fallon's *New Hind. Dict.*, but I do not think he understood their true import.

[3] Fallon, *s. v.*, gives *suân*, *suhân*, as the 'broker's' word for two.

[4] For the general numerals in these dialects see my paper on the Naqqâshî Dialect above mentioned. Dr. Leitner, *Analysis of 'Abdu'l-Ghafûr's Dictionary*, does not give any of the thieves' or bad characters' numerals, or we should probably see some of the above in their slang too.

What *arrangement* will you come to about this piece? I'll take what you say.

(11) *akalá* (= *akêlá*), is alone.

Dalálí. I want *eleven áńás* in the rupee.

Ûh kal ghar bich *akalá* hî rihâ, dûjâ koî kol na sâ. *Answer.* Aho, maiṅ jândâ hâṅ.

Yesterday he was *alone* in the house, no one was with him. Yes, I know.

The above sentences show clearly that the so-called numerals of the Dalâls are not such at all, but merely slang words. Their presence in the trade dialects is interesting, as showing how some of the apparently inexplicable words peculiar to these last are procured. But they could never be of much help in deriving trade dialects, owing to their necessary paucity, and to the fact that the words in the trade dialects not directly explicable by ordinary etymology are comparatively few.

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF VAKPATIRAJA OF DHARA.

BY PROF. KIELHORN; GOTTINGEN.

This inscription of Vâkpatirâja of Dhârâ, of which at the request of the Editors I furnish a transcript and translation from the photo-lithograph supplied to me,[1] has already been published by Dr. Rajendralal Mitra in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XIX. p. 475ff. And another inscription of the same king, very similar to the one now edited, and dated five years before it, has been published in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI. p. 51ff. (See also Hall in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXX. p. 205ff.)

From Dr. Rajendralal Mitra's published notice, it appears that these plates were discovered in digging a ruin in the vicinity of Ujjain in Central India, and were presented by Mr. R. N. C. Hamilton, of Indore, to the Bengal Asiatic Society. Now, however, they are in the India Office Library in London. The plates are two in number, each measuring about 12¾″ by 9½.″ The edges of them are fashioned thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in perfect preservation almost throughout. Each plate has two ring-holes,—at the bottom of the first plate, and the top of the second,—but only one ring is now forthcoming; it is a plain copper ring, about ⅜″ thick and 2¼″ in diameter; it had been cut before the grant came under notice for photo-lithography. The weight of the two plates is 6 lbs. 6½ oz., and of the ring, 3½ oz.; total, 6 lbs. 10 oz.

The inscription is composed in Sanskṛit, and written in Devanâgarî characters. The grant recorded in it was made on the full-moon day of the bright half of the month Kârttika in the [Vikrama] year 1036, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon; and the deed was drawn up on the 9th day of the dark half of the month Chaitra in the same year. The former day was the 26th October A.D. 980, on which date, according to the calculations of Professors Jacobi and Schering, an eclipse of the moon *did* take place.[2]

The object granted is the village of Sembalapuraka, belonging to the Tiṇisapadra Twelve. The king when making the grant was at Bhagavatpura; and the place at which the grant was written is stated to have been Guṇapura. I am unable to identify these places.

The donee is the *Bhaṭṭárikâ*, the goddess Bhaṭṭeśvarî at Ujjayanî; and the purpose for which the grant was made is the one usual in such cases, *viz.* to provide for the religious worship, and for the keeping in repair of the temple. As *Bhaṭṭáriká* is an epithet of Durgâ, I suspect Bhaṭṭeśvarî to have been one of the local names of that deity.

[1] *Indian Inscriptions*, No. 9.

[2] [By the Tables in General Cunningham's *Indian Eras*, Tuesday, the 26th October, A.D. 980,—when there was an eclipse of the moon,—answers, by the northern reckoning, to the full-moon of Kârttika of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1037, which is one year later than the date recorded in the grant. By the same Tables, and by the same reckoning, the recorded date of the full-moon of Kârttika of Vikrama-Saṁvat 1036, answers to Thursday, the 6th November A.D. 979,—when also there was an eclipse of the moon; and this seems to satisfy the requirements of the record.—ED.]

TEXT.

First plate.

[1] ओं [॥] यः[5] स्फू[र्ज्जत्फण]भृद्विषानलमिलद्धूम्र[4]प्रभाः मोल्लसन्मूर्द्धावद्ध[5]शशाङ्ककोटिघटिता याः सैङ्हिकेयोपमाः[6] [।] या[श्च]-
[2] द्रिरिजाकपोललुलिता[ः] कस्तूरिकाविभ्रमास्ताः श्रीकण्ठकठोरकण्ठ[रु]चयः श्रेयान्सि[7] पुष्णन्तु वः[॥]
[3] यल्लक्ष्मीवदनेन्दुना न सुखितं यन्नार्द्दितम्वारि[8]धेर्व्वारा यन्न निजेन नाभिसरसीपद्मेन शान्ति-
[4] ङ्गतं [।] यच्छेषाहिफणासहस्रमधुरः[9] श्वासैर्न्न चाश्वासितं तद्राधाविरहातुरं मुररिपोर्व्वेलद्वपु-
[5] ऽपातु वः ॥ परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीकृष्णराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरम-
[6] भट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवैरिसिङ्ह[10]देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहारा-
[7] जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसीयकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमे-
[8] श्वरश्रीमदमोघवर्षदेवापराभिधानश्रीमद्वाक्पतिराजदेवपृथ्वीवल्लभश्रीवल्लभनरेन्द्रदे-
[9] वः कुशली ॥ तिणिसपद्रद्वादशकसम्वद्ध[11]महासाधनिकश्रीमहाइकभुक्तसेम्वलपुरकग्रामे स-
[10] मुपगतान्समस्तराजपु[रु]शान्व्रा[12]ह्मणोत्तरान्प्रतिवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादीश्च वोध[13]यत्यस्तु वः सम्वि-[14]
[11] दितं यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिः षट्टृंशसाहास्रिकसम्व[15]त्सरेस्मिन् कार्त्तिकशुद्धपौर्ण्णिमायां[16] सो-
[12] मग्रहणपर्व्वणि श्रीभगवत्पुरावासितैरस्माभिर्म्महासाधनिकश्रीमहाइकपत्नीआसि-
[13] नीप्रार्थनया उपरिलिखितग्रामः स्वसीमातृणयूतिगोचरपर्य्यन्तः सहिरण्याभागभोगः
[14] सोपरिकरः सर्व्वादायसमेतः श्रीमदुज्जयन्यां भट्टारिकाश्रीमद्भट्टेश्वरीदेव्यै स्नानविलेप-
[15] नपुष्पगन्धधूप[नै]वेद्यप्रेक्षणकादिनिमि[त्त]ञ्च तथा खण्डस्फुटितदेवगृहजगतीसमारचनार्थं-
[16] ञ्च मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये ऽदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्याचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसमका-
[17] लं परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्व्वकं प्रतिपादित इति मत्वा तन्निवासिपट्ट-

Second plate.

[18] किलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगःकर[17]हिरण्यादिकं सर्व्वमाज्ञाश्रवण-
[19] विधेमैर्भूत्वा[18] सर्व्वथा सर्व्वमस्याः समुपनेतव्यं ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं वुद्धा[19] ऽस्म-
[20] द्वंशजैरन्यैरपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्म्मदायोयमनुमन्तव्यः पालनीयश्च । उक्तं च । वहु-[20]-
[21] भिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिर्य्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह द-
[22] त्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः
[23] पुनराददीत [॥] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिरन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । ल-
[24] क्ष्म्यास्तडित्सलिलवुद्वुद[21]चञ्चलाया दानं फलं परयशः परिपालनञ्च [॥] सर्व्वानेतान्भाविनः पा-
[25] र्थिवेन्द्रान्भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [।] सामान्योयन्धर्म्मसेतुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनी-
[26] यो भवद्भिः । इति कमलदलाम्वु[22]विन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य म-
[27] नुष्यजीवितं च [।] सकलमिदमुदाहृतञ्च वुद्ध्वा न हि पुरुषैऽप-
[28] रकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति [॥] सम्वत् १०३६ चैत्र वदि ९ । गुण-
[29] पुराविसिते[23] श्रीमन्महाविजयस्कन्धावारे स्वयमाज्ञादापकश्चात्र
[30] श्रीरुद्रादित्यः[24] ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीवाक्पतिराजदेवस्य ॥

[3] Read याः
[4] Read द्धूमप्रभाः
[5] Read बद्ध
[6] Read सैंहिकेयोपमाः
[7] Read श्रेयांसि
[8] Read तं वारि
[9] Possibly मधुरैः; read मधुरश्वासै
[10] Read वैरिसिंह
[11] Read संबद्ध
[12] Read षान्ब्राह्म
[13] Read दींश्च बोध
[14] Read संविदितं
[15] Read षट्त्रिंशसाहस्रिकसंव
[16] Read पूर्णिमायां
[17] Read भोगकर
[18] Read विधेयैर्भूत्वा
[19] Read बुद्ध्वा
[20] Read बहु
[21] Read बुद्बुद
[22] Read दलाम्बु
[23] Read पुरावासिते
[24] Read रुद्रादित्यः

TRANSLATION.

Om! May the lustre of the hardy throat of Śrîkaṇṭha increase your happiness!—(*that lustre*) which, meeting the poison-fire of the hissing serpents, appears like the smoke (*of it*); which, when in contact with the horns of the shining moon fixed on his head, is like Râhu; (*and*) which, rolling over the quivering cheeks of the daughter of the mountain, is beautiful like musk (*applied to them*)! May the trembling frame of Mura's foe protect you! —(*that frame*) which, distressed by separation from Râdhâ, was not comforted by the moon-like face of Lakshmî,—nor refreshed by the water of the ocean,—nor calmed by the lotus (*growing out*) of his own lake-like navel,—nor soothed by the sweet breaths from the thousand hoods of the serpent Śesha!

(L. 5.)—The most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious Vâkpatirâjadeva, the favourite of the earth, the royal ruler of men, who is a favourite of Fortune, also called the illustrious Amoghavarshadeva,—who meditates on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious Sîyakadeva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious Vairisiṁhadeva,—who meditated on the feet of the most worshipful, the supreme king of *Mahârâjas*, the supreme lord, the illustrious Kṛishṇarâjadeva:—

(L. 9.)—He, being in good health, gives notice to all king's officers, Brâhmaṇs and others, and to the resident *Paṭṭakila*[25] people, and others assembled at the village of Sembalapuraka, which is held by the *Mahâsâdhanika*, the illustrious Mahâïka, and appertains to the Tiṇisapadra Twelve:—

(L. 10.)—"Be it known to you that, to increase the (*spiritual*) merit and the fame of Our parents and Ourself, (*and*) believing in a future reward (*of pious deeds*), We, encamped at the glorious Bhagavatpura, have, in this year 1036, on the full-moon day of the bright half of Kârttika, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, at the request of Âsinî, the wife of the *Mahâsâdhanika*, the illustrious Mahâïka, with great devotion and (*confirming our gift*) with (*the pouring out of*) water, granted by an order, for such time as the moon, the sun, the ocean and the earth endure, this the above-written village up to its proper boundaries, the grass and pasture land,[26] with the money-rent and share of produce, with the *uparikara*, (*and*) including all dues,—to the *Bhaṭṭârikâ*, the glorious goddess Bhaṭṭeśvarî, at the glorious Ujjayanî, for the purpose of (*defraying the expenses of*) bathing, anointing, flowers, perfumes, incense, the *naivedya* (*offerings*) and public shows, and also for the putting in order of the temple buildings,[27] when damaged or out of repair.

(L. 17.)—"Being aware of this, the resident *Paṭṭakila* and people, being ready to obey our commands, should at all times make over to her everything, all due share of the produce, taxes, money-rent, and so forth. And knowing that they share in the reward of a pious deed like this, those who may be born in our own family, and other future rulers, should assent to and preserve this religious gift that has been conferred by us."

(L. 20.)—And it has been said:—[Here follow five of the customary benedictive and imprecatory verses, which it is unnecessary to translate.]

(L. 28.)—In the year 1036, on the 9th day of the dark half of Chaitra, (*this grant was written*) in the famous most victorious camp located at Guṇapura; and (*the official*) who conveys (*the king's*) own orders[28] regarding this is the illustrious Rudrâditya. This is the own sign-manual of the illustrious Vâkpatirâjadeva.

[25] On *Paṭṭakila*, see Hall in *Journ. Americ. Or. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 40. The title *Mahâsôdhanika* I have not found elsewhere; but compare *mahâsâdhanabhâga* in *Râjataraṅgiṇî* IV. 143.

[26] I am not certain about the exact meaning of the term *svasîmâtṛinayûtigocharaparyanta*; Colebrooke, *Misc. Ess.* Vol. II. p. 312, renders it by "within the proper bounds, extending to the grass and pasture;" Mr. Kirtane, *ante* Vol. VI. p. 53, by "with all its proper boundaries, which extend as far as the ground for the tending of the cattle and for cutting grass" extends, covering the space of one *kos*.'

[27] I am somewhat doubtful about the exact force of the word *jagatî* after *devagṛiha*; *jagatî* is said to be used synonymously with *vâstu*; and *devagṛihajagatî* may mean 'the temple and the grounds' or 'the temple and the buildings' (such as a *Dharmaśâlâ*) connected with or attached to it.

[28] *Âjñâdâpaka* appears to be the same as the *Dûtaka*, 'royal messenger;' compare the more common *âjñapti* and *âjñâ*, *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 138, l. 28; p. 123, l. 24, &c.

THE PALAS OF BENGAL.

BY A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, PH.D.[1]

In computing the chronology of the Pâla dynasty, too much reliance is still placed on the Âmgâchhî inscription. But its mutilated state renders it practically useless, unless where it is supported by other documentary evidence. Moreover, the description given by Mr. Colebrooke of its genealogy, which has hitherto been always relied on, is very inaccurate. He states:[2]—"The first mentioned is Lokapâla, and after him Dharmapâla. The next name has not been deciphered: but the following one is Jayapâla, succeeded by Devapâla. Two or three subsequent names are yet undeciphered: one seems to be Nârâyaṇa, perhaps Nârâyaṇapâla: they are followed by Râjapâla, Pâla Deva, and Vigrahapâla Deva, and subsequently Mahîpâla Deva, Nayapâla, and again Vigrahapâla Deva."

The Âmgâchhî plate is in the Bengal Asiatic Society's collection, where I have subjected it to a careful re-examination, with the following result. The first name is not Lokapâla (which is mis-read for Lokanâtha), but Gopâla Deva (first word of the 5th line); then comes Dharmapâla Nṛipa (middle of the 6th line). The next undeciphered name is Vâkpâla (near the beginning of the 7th line), called the *anuja* or 'younger brother' of Dharmapâla. The following name is Jayapâla, succeeded by Devapâla, his *pûrvaja* or 'elder brother' (both in the middle of the 8th line). The two subsequent undeciphered names are Vigrahapâla (1st word of the 9th line), and Nârâyaṇa Prabhu (middle of the 10th line); there is no third undeciphered name. So far (that is, up to the 11th line) the record is nearly a duplicate of the Bhagalpur grant,[3] with the exception of three laudatory verses which are omitted in the Âmgâchhî grant. Then follows the name Râjyapâla (last word of the 11th line),—not Râjapâla, as Mr. Colebroke read it; and immediately afterwards (near the beginning of the 12th line) Lokapâla, apparently qualifying Râjyapâla. Next comes (1st word of the 13th line) an altogether illegible name (not Pâla Deva), who is described as the son (*prasûta*) of a lucky queen (*bhâgya-devyâḥ*) of (as it would seem) Râjyapâla.[4] Then follows again Vigrahapâla Deva (last word of the 14th line), then Mahîpâla (middle of the 16th line), then Nayapâla Narapati (middle of the 17th line), then again Vigrahapâla Deva Nṛipati (end of the 18th line). So far extends Mr. Colebrooke's reading; and up to this place, that is, from the 11th to the 20th line, the text of the Âmgâchhî grant is new. From the 21st line up to the end, the Âmgâchhî grant again almost verbally agrees with the Bhagalpur grant, excepting only the names of the donor, the donation (lines 24-26), and the donee (lines 36-40). The name of the donor is Vigrahapâla Deva (middle of the 24th line), the successor (*pâdânudhyâta*) of Nayapâla Deva (end of the 23rd line). He is again named, at the end of the grant, as Vigrahapâla Kshitipati-tilaka (middle of the 48th line). There is nothing to bear out Mr. Colebrooke's remark, that "in the making of the grant, Nayapâla likewise appears to have had some share."

Imperfectly as this grant can be read, it affords no ground for extending the Pâla genealogy beyond Vigrahapâla (so-called 'the first'). The grant to a very large extent verbally agrees with the Bhagalpur grant of Nârâyaṇapâla; its letters seem to be, if anything, of a rather older type; and there can be little doubt but that it is a grant of Nârâyaṇa's father, Vigrahapâla. The opening lines of it are identical with those of the Bhagalpur grant, down to Vigrahapâla; but, while the latter grant goes on to describe Nârâyaṇapâla as being on the throne and making a gift of

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[1] Reprinted, with revision, from the *Centenary Review* of the Researches of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1784 to 1883, Part II. Appendix II.

[2] *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 435.

[3] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVII. pp. 284, 404.

[4] The twelfth line closes with *śrîmâ(n)*, which is the usual commencement of a name. Now the verse, of which *śrîmân* are the two initial syllables, is a 'Sragdharâ' of 21 syllables, divided into three parts of 7 syllables each. The quantities of the first part, of 7 syllables, are— — — — ⌣ — —, of which the first two lengths are taken up by *śrîmân*. Into the remaining quantities — — ⌣ — — the name must be fitted; but *Vigrahapâlo* will not do. Colebrooke read *pâladevo*, which supposing it to be completed into *Vâkpâladevo* or the like, would do. But there are no traces of *deva* visible; if anything, the traces indicate *pâlo* to have been the last two syllables of the title, so that the quantities— — ⌣ would remain for the real name.

land, the Âmgâchhî grant mentions Nârâyaṇapâla (or rather Nârâyaṇa Prabhu) merely as a son of Vigrahapâla, and the latter as making the gift of land. This points to the line of ruling kings ending, at the time of the Âmgâchhî grant, with Vigrahapâla. It is true, after the first mention of Vigrahapâla, there follow several names; *viz.* Râjyapâla, (Mahîpâla ?), Vigrahapâla, Mahîpâla, Nayapâla, Vigrahapâla, the last of these being the donor. As the record is not yet fully read, it is, of course, impossible to determine with absolute certainty the significance of this series of names. But the very order of repetition in which they follow, suggests that some of them are not new names. It is not an unprecedented feature in such land-grants, that, after giving the genealogical line, the writer once more recurs to some of the names already mentioned, for the purposes of giving further particulars; an instance in point is the grant of Govinda Chandra, published in the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Proceedings* for 1876, p. 131. Having brought the royal line down to Vigrahapâla, the grantor,—the record, before declaring the grant, apparently proceeds to add some particulars regarding the relation of Vigrahapâla to Râjyapâla, and Mahîpâla. That Râjyapâla did not come after Vigrahapâla and Nârâyaṇapâla, is proved by the Mungir grant, published in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. I. p. 133, which states that he was the son and heir-apparent (*yuvarâja*) of Devapâla. He was, therefore, a brother of Vigrahapâla. Mahîpâla's relation to him and to Vigrahapâla is not intelligible from the imperfectly legible record; but he is clearly in some way contemporary with Vigrahapâla. As to Nayapâla, he is evidently the same as Devapâla; for in the genealogy Vigrahapâla's predecessor is called Devapâla, but afterwards in the statement of the grant he is called Nayapâla.

There is a further point on which the Âmgâchhî grant throws light. It seems clear from this grant that Vigrahapâla was not a nephew, but a son of Devapâla; for, in "his son" (*tat-sûnuḥ*) the pronoun must refer to the nearest preceding noun, which is Devapâla. In the Bhagalpur grant this reference is obscured through the interpolation of an intermediate verse in praise of Jayapâla, which makes it appear as if Vigrahapâla were a son of Jayapâla. The fact of this interpolation, by the way, shows that the version of the formula on the Âmgâchhî plate is the earlier and original one, on which the more fulsome writer of the Bhagalpur grant tried to improve, with the effect of obscuring the genealogy. This is an additional reason showing that the Âmgâchhî grant must be ascribed to Vigrahapâla (the so-called 'first'), the father of Nârâyaṇapâla, the grantor of the Bhagalpur plate.

There is another name which has caused some difficulty. This is Sûrapâla. He seems to be supported by a short inscription which gives him at least thirteen years of reign.[5] But what is more, he is mentioned in the Buddal inscription as the successor of Devapâla.[6] It is true that, as has been already pointed out by others, that inscription did not intend to give a genealogy of the Pâla kings, but only of their ministers; nevertheless, as a matter of fact, it *does* give the royal line; seeing that both lines, the royal and the ministerial, run side by side, it could not be otherwise. Moreover, the events related in the inscription prove it. The sixth verse states that the minister of Devapâla was Darbhapâṇi; the thirteenth verse states that Kedâra Nâtha Miśra, the grandson of Darbhapâṇi, was minister to a king who made successful conquests in the south and west of India; the fifteenth verse shows that Kedâra Nâtha was also the minister of Sûrapâla.[7] The Mungir inscription shows that the king who made those conquests was Devapâla. Accordingly, Kedâra Nâtha was minister to two kings, Devapâla and Sûrapâla: and it is therefore more than probable that Sûrapâla was the immediate successor of Devapâla. On the other hand, the Bhagalpur grant says that the successor of Devapâla was Vigrahapâla. It seems evident, therefore, that Vigrahapâla and Sûrapâla must have been the same person. There is nothing particular about this; Hindû kings are often known by different names; moreover the two names are nearly synonymous.

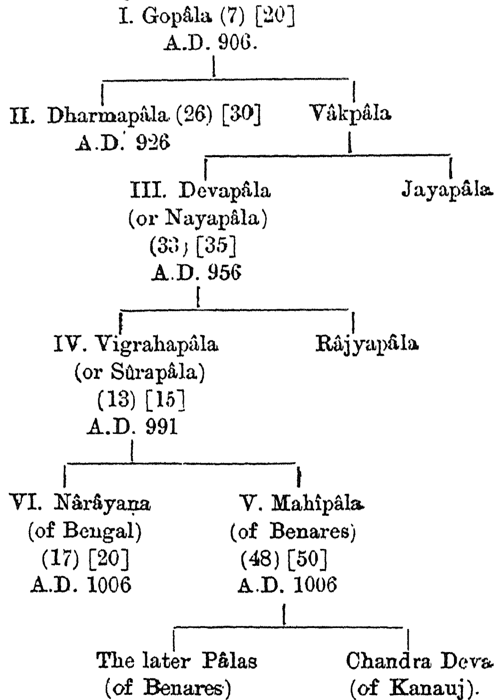
[5] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 181.
[6] See *Journ. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIII. p. 356.
[7] That Devapâla had three ministers, father, son and grandson, is explained by the fact that he had a very long reign, perhaps 40 years. The Mungir plate is dated in his 33rd year.

General Cunningham[8] says about Sûrapâla, that "he was the son and successor of Devapâla Deva; and further it would appear that he had an elder brother named Râjyapâla, who had been declared *Yuvarâja* by his father." I do not know whether the statement is made on any direct documentary evidence, or whether it is merely an inferential combination. But if it is the former, it confirms my deduction, above given, that Vigrahapâla, *alias* Sûrapâla, was a son of Devapâla, and not of Jayapâla. The same conclusion follows from the fact that the Buddal inscription in all probability mentions Nârâyaṇapâla as the immediate successor of Sûrapâla. The Bhâgalpur grant says that Nârâyaṇapâla was the son and successor of Vigrahapâla. Hence Sûrapâla and Vigrahapâla are the same person.

The conclusion to which the evidence, such as it is, appears to point is, that Nârâyaṇapâla and Mahîpâla were contemporaries; the former being a son of Vigrahapâla, and the latter being also a son of Vigrahapâla, or perhaps his nephew and son of Râjyapâla. Nârâyaṇapâla probably ruled the eastern portion (Bengal) of the Pâla kingdom, while Mahîpâla reigned in the western half (Bihâr, Benares). There is no direct evidence on the point; but there are some circumstantial indications. Vigrahapâla was a stout Buddhist, so was Mahîpâla; but Nârâyaṇapâla was a Brâhmaṇist. The latter fact is expressly stated in the Buddal inscription, and it is clearly implied both in the Bhagalpur grant and in the Gayâ inscription[9] No. 6; and his very name, Nârâyaṇa, tends to prove it. That a division of the great Bengal and Bihâr empire took place on account of religious differences is shown by the secession of the Sena family. It took place about the beginning of the 11th century, which, as will be presently seen, synchronises with the time of Nârâyaṇapâla.

Therefore, instead of thirteen or eleven ruling princes of the Pâla family, as generally believed,[10] there are only six (excepting the later Pâlas), though there were altogether nine members of the Pâla family, of whom, however, three did not actually reign.

Accordingly, the genealogical table stands thus: reigning members are indicated by Roman numerals; the numbers in round brackets give the highest *known* number of regnal years; the numbers in straight brackets give the *supposed* full numbers of regnal years; the dates are the calculated years of accession:—



The date of Mahîpâla is known from the Benares inscription to be A.D. 1026, assuming it (according to the usual and probably correct interpretation) to be given in the Vikramâditya era. His contemporary Nârâyaṇapâla reigned at least seventeen years.[11] Accordingly their accession may be dated about 1006. The highest known regnal number of Vigraha is 13; he may have succeeded in A.D. 991. The highest known regnal number of Devapâla is 33; he may have succeeded in A.D. 956. The highest known regnal number of Dharmapâla[12] is 26; his date of accession will be A.D. 926. The highest known number of Gopâla is 7, but all tradition agrees in giving him a very long reign of 45 or 55 years;[13] a limit of 20 years, therefore, will be safe, and to him A.D. 906 may be given. Altogether this

8 *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 178.
9 *id.* Vol. III. p. 120.
10 *id.* Vol. XI. p. 181; and *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVII. pp. 394, 401.

11 *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 181.
12 *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLIX. Proceedings for 1880, p. 80.
13 *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 150.

gives 120 years to five generations, which is certainly not too much. But there is a curious piece of evidence, which tends to confirm the date thus assigned to Devapâla, *viz.* A.D. 956-91. In the 'huge' Gwâlior inscription noticed by Mr. Fitz-Edward Hall,[14] a king Devapâla is mentioned, with the date Saṁvat 1025, corresponding to A.D. 968.[15] This exactly agrees with the date assigned to the Bengal Devapâla; and as he is recorded to have made wide conquests towards the west, his mention in the Gwâlior inscription would be accounted for. His warlike expeditions towards the west would bring him into contact with the Haihaya rulers of Chedi, and thus explain the statement in the Bhagalpur grant of the alliance of his son, Vigrahapâla, with a Haihaya princess. Moreover, they would also explain the fact of the coins of Vigraha imitating the Sassanian type.[16] As to Mahîpâla, he is reported in Târânâth's History to have reigned 52 years—a statement which is borne out by two inscriptions found by Mr. J. E. Lincke at Imadpur (in the Muzaffarpur district) and dated in the 48th year of his reign.[17] Accordingly Mahîpâla's reign may be put down as having extended from A.D. 1006 to 1058.[18]

The history of the Pâla empire about the turning of the 10th and 11th centuries, I imagine to have been thus:—The empire included Bengal, Bihâr and Audh (Gauṛ, Paṭna, and Benares), and the Pâla rulers were Buddhists. Towards the end of the 10th century a great disruption took place:—Bengal under Nârâyaṇapâla became Brâhmaṇic; while Bihâr and Audh under Mahîpâla remained Buddhistic.[19] In the beginning of the 11th century another disruption took place:—Bihâr under Mahîpâla's successors remained Buddhistic; while Audh under Chandra Deva, a son of Mahîpâla, who made Kanauj his capital, became Brâhmaṇic. Bihâr remained Buddhistic till the Muhammadan conquest destroyed the remnant of the ancient Pâla kingdom. Nârâyaṇa was probably assisted, in the separation which he effected, by the Bengal governors sprung from the Sena family, who were in charge of the province of Pauṇḍra Vardhana. The Sena family was intensely Brâhmaṇic, and two of the earliest members of it, Sâmanta and Hemanta, synchronise with Nârâyaṇa's date (A.D. 1006-1026). It was probably the successor of the latter, who was supplanted in the Bengal kingdom by Vijaya Sena (or Sukha Sena), the first Bengal king (though the fourth in descent) of the Sena family, whose date is about A.D. 1030. In the Baqirganj grant he is stated, in so many words, to have "rooted out those of the race of Bhûpâla."[20] Bhûpâla is a well-known synonym of Gopâla, the founder of the Pâla dynasty. This is confirmed by the Bhâgalpur inscription,[21] which says that Vijaya Sena overthrew the king of Gauḍa. It may be added that the tradition of Âdisûra, who appears to be the same as Vijaya Sena, the first of the Bengal kings,[22] having imported Kanauj Brâhmaṇs, about the turning of the 10th and 11th centuries, coincides with the first disruption of the Pâla kingdom and may be intimately connected with it.[23]

[14] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXI. p. 6ff.

[15] Mr. Hall gives also the date 1005; but it must be a misprint, for his equivaluations A.D. 968 or A.D. 1103 (on p. 8) only agree with the other date 1025, given in the bottom line of p. 7.

[16] See his coins in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XI. p. 176f.

[17] See *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Proceedings for 1881, p. 98. The inscriptions, which are identical, are engraved below two groups of bronze figures, and the date runs as follows:—*Srîman-Mahipâladevarâjasa samatt* 48 *jeshṭa dina sukala-paksha 2.*

[18] This is also Gen. Cunningham's conclusion in *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XV. p. 153 (A.D. 1008-1060). In the Bengal Asiatic Society's *Proceedings* for 1876, p. 107, Dr. Burnell communicated an inscription of the Chola king Kulottuṅga, which gives Mahîpâla's date as A.D. 1093. As the date refers to the conquest of Bengal and Mahîpâla, perhaps it may be taken as the date of Mahîpâla's death in battle. It is difficult, however, to make this date harmonise with the Sârnâth date of A.D. 1026. The difference is 77 years, a period much too long to have been the reign of one person, even if we assume the traditional allowance of 52 years to fall short of the truth. It is clear that there is something wrong about one or the other of the two dates. But in any case, it is only a question of about 30 years, within which the above calculated dates of the Pâla reigns may require adjustment.

[19] As Mahîpâla's reign was much longer than Nârâyaṇa's, he may have temporarily regained possession of the whole of the ancestral empire after Nârâyaṇa's death.

[20] Verse 6; see *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. VII. p. 43ff. Prinsep's Paṇḍit translated "rooting out the families of the inimical royal lines." But *vairi-Bhûpâla-vaṁśyân* means simply "the inimical descendants of Bhûpâla." *Bhûpâla* is here a proper name, not an appellative. If Mahîpâla, as suggested in the preceding footnote, regained possession of Bengal after Nârâyaṇa's death, he may be referred to in that notice. *Bhûpâla* and *Mahîpâla* are synonyms.

[21] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 144.

[22] *id.* Vol. XXXIV. p. 139f., and Vol. XLIV. p. 4.

[23] The identification of Âdisûra with Vijaya Sena is supported by the genealogical tables, for the rate of "three generations a century" is too much. At the rate of four generations Âdisûra's date would be A.D. 1165, which is too low, as it would tend to identify him with Ballâla Sena. A medium rate will suit best; it will make Âdisûra identical with Vijaya Sena. As to the names, Sûra and Vijaya Sena are nearly synonymous; *âdi* indicates Vijaya Sena as the first king of the family. However, even if he be the same as Vîra Sena, it does not materially affect the argument in the text.

I append my reading of the Âmgâchhî plate, imperfect as it is. None, I believe, has ever been published, and though imperfect, my reading may prove helpful to others in fully deciphering the grant. I do not despair of the possibility of doing this, though I had too little leisure to do it myself.[24]

TEXT.

First side.

[1] Svasti || Maitrî-kâruṇya-ratna-pramudita-hṛidayaḥ preyasîṁ sandadhânaḥ
[2] samyak-sambodhi-vidyâ-sarid-amala-jala-kshâlit-âjñâna-pa-
[3] ṅkaḥ | jitvâ yaḥ kâma-kâri-prabhavam abhibhavaṁ śâśvatî[ṁ]
[4] prâpa śânti[ṁ] sa śrîmân Lokanâtho jayati Daśabalo 'nyaś cha
[5] Gopâladevaḥ[25] || Lakshmî-janma-niketanaṁ samakaro[26] voḍhu[ṁ] kshamaḥ kshmâ-bharaṁ paksha-chchheda-bhayâd upasthitavatâm ekâśrayo bhûbhṛitâṁ | maryâdâ-paripâlanaikaniratah | śau[r]y-â-
[6] layo 'smâd abhûd dugdhâmbhodhi-vilâsa-hâsi-mahimâ śrî-Dha[r]mapâlo nṛipaḥ || Râmasy[27]eva gṛihîta-satya-tapasas tasyânurûpo guṇaiḥ Saumittrer udayâdi-tulya-
[7] mahimâ Vâkpâla-nâm-ânujaḥ | yaḥ śrîmân naya-vikramaika-vasati[r] bhrâtuḥ sthitaḥ śâsane śûnyâḥ śatru-patâkinîbhir akarod ekâtapatrâ diśaḥ [||] Tasmâd u-
[8] pendra-charitair jagatîṁ punânaḥ putro babhûva vijayî Jayapâla-nâmâ | dharma-dvishâ[ṁ] śamayitâ yudhi Devapâle yaḥ pû[r]vajo[28] bhuvana-râjya-sukhâny-avaishit[29] || Śrîmâ-
[9] n[30] Vigrahapâlas tat-sûnur Ajâtaśatrur iva jâtaḥ | śatru-vanitâ-prasâdhana-vilopi-vimalâsi-jaladhâraḥ || Dikpâlaiḥ[31] kshiti-pâlanâya dadhataṁ dehe vibha-
[10] ktâḥ śrîyaḥ[32] śrîmantaṁ janayâṁ-babhûva tanayaṁ Nârâyaṇaṁ sa prabhuṁ | yaḥ kshauṇî-patibhiḥ śiromaṇi-ruchâślishṭ-âṁghi-pîṭhopala[ṁ] nyây-opâttam ala[ṁ]-chakâra charitaiḥ
[11] svair eva dha[r]mâsanaṁ[33] || Tâpâ[34] . . jaladhi-mûla-gabhîra-garbhe devâlayaiś cha kula-bhûvara[35]-tulya-kakshaiḥ | vikhyâta-kîrtir abhavat . tanayaś cha tasya śrî-Râjyapâla i-
[12] ti (nûtana)-lokapâlaḥ || Tasmât pûrvva-kshitidhrân nidhir iva mahasâ[36] Râshṭrakûṭânvayendos
[13] n *(about one third of the line omitted)* bharya . nnaika-ratna-dyuti-khachita-chatuḥ-sindhu-chitrâṁsukâyâḥ ||

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[24] Doubtful portions are enclosed within round brackets. Restorations are within straight brackets. Syllables omitted are indicated by the number of dots placed in their stead.

[25] I have carefully re-examined the original plate of the Bhâgalpur grant, which is in the Society's collection, for the purpose of the following notes:—*Verse* 1. The latter half of this verse in the Bhâgalpur grant agrees with the Âmgâchhî grant, and reads as I have given it. The meaning is: "who having overcome the over-powering strength of desire has (now) obtained everlasting peace, may he, Gopâladeva, be prosperous, being another (*i.e.* like) Daśabala (Buddha), the Lord of the world."

[26] Both grants read distinctly *niketanaṁ samakaro vo*; not *vaṁśam akarod* as given in the Bhâgalpur transcript; the meaning is: "well able to sustain the weight of the earth, making it (the earth) to be like the native-place of Lakshmî, he became the only asylum of the princes who approached him (for protection) as if they were afraid that their wings might be clipt."—I may note here, that in the Âmgâchhî plate, the *anuswâras* and superscribed *rephas* are often wanting, whether from the engraver's carelessness or perhaps from the ravages of time, it is impossible to say. On the Bhâgalpur plate they are always present. The *repha*, when it does appear on the Âmgâchhî plate, is often a minute stroke attached to the upper part of the left side of the letter.

[27] This verse is, in the Bhâgalpur grant, preceded by another, which is omitted in the Âmgâchhî grant.

[28] The Âmgâchhî grant reads distinctly *pûrvajo* (nom. sing.) If this should be correct, it would reverse the mutual relation of Jayapâla and Devapâla, making the former the elder brother of the latter. The context, however, certainly seems to confirm the reading of the Bhâgalpur grant, which has equally distinctly *pûrvaje*.

[29] The Âmgâchhî plate has *avaishît*, while the Bhâgalpur plate has *anaishît*, both equally distinctly. Both readings convey the same sense.

[30] Another verse of the Bhâgalpur grant is omitted here.

[31] Here, again, a verse of the Bhâgalpur grant is omitted.

[32] The Bhâgalpur grant has *śriyaḥ*, not *dhiyaḥ* as given in the transcript.

[33] The latter part of the first half of this verse is different in the Bhâgalpur grant, which reads *Śrî-Nârâyaṇapâladevaṁ asṛijat tasyâṁ sa puṇy-ottaraṁ*.

[34] Here commences the portion which is peculiar to the Âmgâchhî grant.

[35] *Bhûvara* is apparently a synonym of *bûdhara*; compare *varshavara* and *varshadhara*, 'eunuch.'

[36] *Mahasâ* is clearly a mistake for *mahaso*.

[14] (*about one fourth omitted*) prabhu-śakti-lakshmîḥ pûrvvîṁ sapatnîm iva śîlapatra || Tasmâd babhûva savitur vasukoṭivardhî | kâlena chandra iva Vigrahapâladeva[ḥ] ||

[15] . . . . peṇa vimalena kalâ(tpadena) | (â)vâhitena panito bhuvanasya tâpaḥ || Bhava-sakala-vilakshaḥ saṅgare vâ pradarpâd anadhikṛita-vilagnaṁ râjyaṁ âsâdya pitryaṁ [|]

[16] . . . . . ṇasadmâbhûd . . . . vanipâlaḥ śrî-Mahîpâla-devaḥ || Tyajan toshâsaṅga[ṁ] śira(si) kṛitapâdaḥ kshiti-bhûtâvivarṇne sarvvâśâḥ prasabha-

[17] . . . . riva raviḥ [|] bhava . nnaḥ snigdha prakṛitir anurâgo . vasati sma vâ dhanyaḥ prakhyair ajani Nayapâlo narapatiḥ || Pîtaḥ saṅganale (vanaiḥ) smararipoḥ pûjâ-

[18] . . . . . viśrâme . . . dhikâra-bhavanaḥ ka . kṛite vidvishâṁ | mantavyaṁ dvayam âśrayaḥ śivapasa . peṅgaga . ndavan (|) śrîmad-Vigrahapâla-deva-nṛipatiḥ

[19] (*about three fourths omitted*) kṛityasândraikaru(prajahu)tâgrîkarair-

[20] (*about one half omitted*) sa khalu[37] Bhâgirathî-patha-pravarttamâna-nânâvidha-nauvâṭaka[38]-saṁpâdita-setubandha-vihita-

[21] śaila-śikhara-śreṇî-vibhramât (|) niratiśaya-ghana-ghanâghana-ghaṭṭâ-śyâmâyamâna-vâsara-lakshmî-samârabdha-sannata-jalada-samaya-sandehât | udîchînâneka-

[22] narapati-prabhṛiti-kṛitâprameya-haya-vâhinî -kharakhurotkhâta -dhûli -dhûsarita -digantarâlât | Parameśvara-sevâ-samâyâtâśesha-Jambudvîpa-bhûpâlânanta-

[23] pâdât bharanamadavaneḥ (śrî-Mudgagiri)[39]-samâvâsita-śrîmaj-jayaskandhâvârât | paramasogato mahârâ[jâ]dhirâja[40]-śrî-Nayapâla-deva-pâd-ânudhyâtaḥ parame-

[24] śvaraḥ (paramabhaṭṭârako mahârâ)jâdhirâjaḥ śrîmân Vigrahapâla-devaḥ kuśalî || Śrî[41]-Puṇḍavardhana . kau Koṭîvarshaṁ vishadhânuḥ pâti . . . . .

[25] ma (*about one third omitted*) (petana dhanâ ha)lakalita || Kâkinîn upâdhikopamânadvayopeta .

[26] sa . . . . (ponnana) droṇa-dvaya-sameta || shaṭ(t)alya-pramâṇa-ṭa(lu-ma)heśvara-sameta Vishamapurâṁśe samupagatâśe[42]-

[27] sha-râ(ja-purushân | râjara)nâka | râjaputra | râjâmâtya | mahâsândhivigrahika | mahâkshapaṭalika | mahâsâmanta | mahâsenâpati | mahâpratîhâra |

[28] dauḥśâdhasadhanika[43] | mahâdaṇḍanâyaka | mahâkumârâmâtya | râjasthânoparika[44] | dâsâparâdhika | chauroddharaṇika | dâṇḍika | daṇḍapâsika | sau-

[29] lkika | (gaulmika) | kshetrapa | prântapala[45] | koshapâla | aṅgaraksha | tadâyukta[46] | viniyuktaka | hastyaśvoshṭranauvalavyâpṛitaka | kiśora-vaḍavâgomahishyajâ-

[30] vi(kâlayaksha | drutapesha)ṇika | gamâgamika | abhitvaramâṇa[47] | vishayapâ | grâmapati | tarika | goda | mâlava | khaśa | hûṇa | kulika | kallâṭa | lâṭa | châṭa |

[31] (bhaṭa | sevakâdîn | anyâṁś-châ)kîrtitân | râjapâdopajîvina[ḥ][48] | prativâsino brâhmaṇottarân | mahattamottama | ka . ma-pu-roga-maidândha-chaṇḍâla-paryantân |

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[37] In the middle of this line, with *sa khalu*, the identical portion of the two grants recommences.

[38] The Bhâgalpur plate has *vâṭa* for *vâṭaka*.

[39] The name of the capital should be Srî-Mudgagiri. Though the number of the letters on the plate agrees with that name, their traces, which are only very faintly visible, hardly seem to do so.

[40] The letters on the plate are only *mahârâdhîrâja*, the syllable *jâ* being omitted by mistake.

[41] From this line down to the end of line 26, the version of the Âmgâchhî grant is new. It mentions the donor, Vigrahapâla, the province Puṇḍavardhana, and apparently a town, Koṭîvarsha.

[42] At the end of this line the two grants again coincide. There is a mention here of a place *Vishamapura*.

[43] The office of *mahâkârtâkṛitika* is omitted in the Âmgâchhî grant.—To the title of *dauḥsâdhasadhanika* the Bhâgalpur grant prefixes *mahâ*. *Doḥsâ* in the transcript of the latter grant is a misprint for *dauḥśâ* as the original plate has it.

[44] The Bhâgalpur grant has *râjasthânîyoparika* for *râjasthânoparika*; also, *dâśâparâdhika*, *daṇḍapâśika* and *śaulkika*, with the palatal *śa*, while the Âmgâchhî plate spells with the dental *sa*.

[45] *Prântapala* is clearly an error for *prântapâla*.

[46] The Bhâgalpur plate has *tadâyuktaka* for *tadâyukta*; it also has *khanḍaraksha* instead of *aṅgaraksha*.

[47] The Bhâgalpur plate has *abhitvamâṇa* (not *abhitvamâna*, as in the transcript), clearly an error for *abhitvaramâṇa*. It has also *vishayapati* for *vishayapâ*; also *hûṇa* not *hraṇa*, as in the transcript.

[48] The Bhâgalpur plate has *râjapadopajîvinaḥ*; and it omits the imperfectly legible word *ka . ma* or *ke . ma*.

[32] (yathârhaṁ mânaya)ti | bodhayati | samâdiśati cha | viditam[49] astu bhavatâ[ṁ] | yathoparilikhito 'rdhagrâmaḥ | sva-sîmâ-ṭriṇa-pratigochara-paryantaḥ | satalaḥ | so(ddeśaḥ) |

[33] (sâmramadhûkaḥ) | sajala(sthalaḥ) | sagarttosharaḥ[50] | sadaśopachâraḥ | sachaurod-dharaṇaḥ | parihṛita-sarvapîḍaḥ | achâṭa-bhaṭa-praveśaḥ | akiñchit-pragrâskaḥ[51] | samasta-bhâ-

Second side.

[34] ga-bhoga-kara-hiraṇyâdi-pratyâya-sametaḥ | bhûmi-chchhidranyâyenâ-

[35] chandrârka-kshiti-samakâlam[52] mâtâpitror âtmânaś (cha puṇya)-

[36] yaśo'bhivṛiddhaye[53] bhagavantaṁ vṛiddha-bhaṭṭârakam uddiśya (śâsanîkṛi)-

[37] tya sagotrâya | Śâṇḍilya(maśiva | daiva) . . . ra

[38] harisa-brahmachâriṇe | . Sâmavedine | Kauthumî-śâkhâdhyâyi-

[39] ne | Mîmâṁsâ-nyâkaraṇa(*sic*)-tarkkavidyâvide | kroḍâkṛiti-nisaṁta-matsyâvâsa-(vinirg-gatâya | . trâgrâmavâstavyâya | Vedânta-vikṛita . (hmivana)-devapautrâya | maho-

[40] padhyâya Arkka-deva-putrâya | (Khodbhûta)-deva[54]-śarmmaṇe | somagrâha-vidhi . . . . śâsanîkṛitya pradatto 'smâbhiḥ[55] | ato bhavadbhiḥ sarvair evânumanta-

[41] vyaṁ bhâvibhir api bhûpatibhiḥ | bhûme[r][56] dâna-phala-gauravât | apraharaṇena[57] cha mahânaraka-pâta-bhayât | dânam idam anumodyânumodyânupâlanîyama-patavâsi-[58]

[42] . kshetrakaraiḥ || âjñâ-śravaṇa-vidheyîbhûya yathâkâlaṁ samudita[59]-bhâga-bhota-kara-hiraṇyâdi-pratyâyopanayaḥ kârya iti || Samat | 2 | Chaitradine 9 sarva-

[43] thâtra dharmânuśâsinaḥ ślokâḥ || Bahubhi[r] vasudhâ dattâ[60] râjabhiḥ Sagarâdi-bhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis tasya tasya tadâ phala[ṁ] | Bhumi[ṁ] yaḥ pratigṛihṇâti yaś cha bhûmi[ṁ] pra-

[44] yachchhati | ubhau tau puṇyakarmmâṇau niyataṁ svargagâminau || Gâm ekâṁ svarṇṇam ekañ cha bhûmer apy ekam aṅgulaṁ | haran narakam âyâti yâvad â-bhûta-samplavaṁ || Shashṭi-varsha-

[45] sahasrâṇi svarge modati bhûmidaḥ | âksheptâ chânumantâ cha tâneva[61] narake vaset || Svadattâṁ paradattâ[ṁ] vâ yo hareta vasundharâm | sa visthâyâṁ kṛimi[r] bhûtvâ pi-

[46] tṛibhiḥ saha pachyate || Sarvân etân bhâvinaḥ pârthivendrâ[n] bhûyo bhûyaḥ prâ[r]thayaty esha Râmaḥ | sâmânyo 'y[an dh]armasetur[62] nṛipâṇâ[ṁ] kâle kâle pâlanîyaḥ krameṇa || I-

[47] ti kamala-dalâmbu-vindu-lolâ[ṁ] śriyam anuchintya manushya-jîvitañ cha | saka-lam idam udâhṛitañ cha buddhvâ na hi purushaiḥ parakîrtayo vilopyâḥ || Yau . .

[48] vî-kshama . . . . nidhi . brahma . . . dhanâdhanye . . . . || . Śrî-Vi-grahâpalaḥ kshitipati-tilako . . . . | śrî-pra-

[49] hâsa-râ(ja)maka . . (nni)ṇam iha śâsane bhûtaṁ || Posalîgrâma-niryâta-Mahîdhara-sûnunâ idaṁ śâsanam utkîrṇṇaṁ Śaśideva . . . . . ||

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[49] The Bhâgalpur grant has *matam* instead of *viditam*.—After *bhavatâṁ* it inserts two and a half lines containing particulars about Nârâyaṇapâla, which are omitted in the Âmgâchhî grant.

[50] After *sagarttosharaḥ*, the Bhâgalpur grant inserts *soparikaraḥ*.

[51] *Pragrâskaḥ* is the correct reading in both grants, not *prayâskaḥ*, as given in the Bhâgalpur transcript.

[52] The Bhâgalpur grant inserts *yâvat* after *samakâlam*.

[53] From the middle of this line to the middle of the 40th line, the Âmgâchhî text is new.

[54] The name of the donee is *khodbhûta?-deva*.

[55] The Bhâgalpur grant omits *asmâbhiḥ*; and has *tato* for *ato*.

[56] Both grants have *bhûmer*, not *bhramair*, as the Bhâgalpur transcript gives.

[57] The Bhâgalpur plate has only *apraharaṇe*.

[58] This line in the Âmgâchhî plate is very carelessly written; *anumodya* is twice repeated, and the last words should evidently be *anupâlanîyaṁ prativâsibhiḥ*.

[59] The Bhâgalpur plate has *samuchita* for *samudita*.—It inserts *sarva* before *pratyâya*, and omits it at the end of the line.—*Bhota* in the Âmgâchhî plate is clearly an error for *bhoga*.

[60] Both grants have *dattâ*, not *bhuktâ*, as given in the Bhâgalpur transcript.—The Bhâgalpur plate omits the second and third verses.

[61] *Tâneva* is an error for *tânyeva*; and *visthâyâṁ* for *vishṭhâyâṁ*.

[62] *Ayarmasetur* is an error for *ayan dharmasetur*, the syllable *ndha* being omitted.

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*Continued from p.* 152.)

XXX.—(*continued*).

We saw how a quarrel arose at the siege of Khuârizm, between Juchi and Chagatai, and how Ogotai was sent to supersede his two elder brothers there. According to the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* Chinghiz, after the siege, summoned his sons to him, and rebuked them so severely that they perspired freely with fright. Thereupon the archers Khuankhai, Khuantakhar, and Sormakhan remarked, "The three boys are like young falcons in training for the first time. This is their first campaign. Such strict rebukes may cause their courage to fail, while everywhere from east to west there are enemies. Send us forward like bloodhounds. If heaven favour us and we are successful we will return to you. Yonder in the west is King Khalibo, ruler of Bakhtat, *i.e.*, the Khalîfa, order us to march against him." Chinghiz thereupon relented towards his sons. He told Khuankhai and Khuantakhar to remain, but sent Sormakhan against the Khalibo. This story seems to contain an anachronism, for Sormakhan is assuredly Charmaghan, whose expedition into the west did not take place till the reign of Ogotai. The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* also speaks of a campaign against the people of Alu (? Iran) &c., between the land of the Hindus and Bakhtat, led by Dorbodokhshin, about which I can find nothing elsewhere.[48] Other authorities tell us that after the feud at Khuârizm Juchi took offence, and instead of taking part in the operations south and west of the Oxus retired to the appanage which his father had assigned him in the steppes of the Kankalis and Kipchaks, north of the sea of Aral, where he devoted himself to subduing those turbulent ancestors of the modern Kirghiz, Kazaks, and Nogais.

While Chinghiz was at Samarkand he sent word to his eldest son that he proposed holding a great hunt in the spring and told him to distribute his troops north of the mountains, and to drive in a large quantity of game for the battue. The great conqueror himself passed the winter of 1223-4 at Samarkand. Meanwhile Chagatai and Ogotai planted themselves in the neighbourhood of Bukhara, and as we have seen from Ch'ang-Ch'un's itinerary, put down some turbulent robbers, and repaired the bridges over the river. They also devoted themselves to hunting *hukus* and *karakuls*, *i.e.*, wild swans and black-tails or steppe antelopes, and sent their father 50 camel-loads of game weekly.[49]

Sherifu'd-dîn, in his *History of Timur*, has a curious reference to this very hunt, and tells us Timur went to hunt on the same place, which he calls Ghulserketi, and says it was near Bukhara. There were some beautiful lakes there, he tells us, on which were a vast number of birds, especially swans. Timur camped on the banks of these lakes, while his officers made rafts on which they trusted themselves, and amidst shouting, drum-beating, etc. frightened the birds, which caused them to fly, when the falconers let fly at them the famous hunting falcons called *tughral*, which our author says were the strongest and most adroit among birds of prey, and thus secured a vast quantity of game. He then cites the *Jihan Kushai* as an authority for the fact that Chinghiz Khân's men were similarly successful at the same place, and adds that the game which they captured was sent to be distributed in the camp which was then outside Samarkand, and that this distribution was called *shivilga* by the Tartars.[50]

In the spring of 1222 Chinghiz Khân again set out, and we are told that, while the army defiled past Turkhan, Khatun, the mother of Muhammad Khuârizm Shâh, with his widows and relatives, stood by the roadside, and in a loud voice with great lamentations bade their last adieux to the Khuârizmian empire.[51]

The result of Chinghiz Khân's campaigns in the west was assuredly deplorable. It is the fashion now to somewhat discredit the statements about the terrible slaughter which he caused in Khorasan and elsewhere, as mere examples of Eastern hyperbole, but I confess that the evidence is too strong and unanimous to allow of such conclusions. Khorasan had hitherto

[48] *Op. cit.* pp. 148-149.
[49] Erdmann, p. 437; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 322.
[50] *Op cit.* Vol. III. pp. 58 and 59.
[51] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 322.

been the most prosperous and thriving district in Asia. By dint of irrigation and continuous labour the land had been made exceedingly fertile, while its towns were the great marts of the Eastern world. Never again has the district reached the degree of prosperity it had in the days of the Seljuk rulers, and the Mongol heel effectually crushed out of it its most vigorous life. We must remember that of its many flourishing cities none really remained intact, while its four capitals, Balkh, Herat, Merv, and Nishapur, were laid waste. It was a terrible moving back of the sun's shadow of progress on the dial, a terrible sweeping away of the results of centuries of culture, and a terrible penalty to be paid for insulting a Chief who a few years before was a mere leader of shepherds. In the countries laid waste by Chinghiz Khân, says Juveni, there did not remain a thousandth part of their former people. Where there were formerly 100,000 people there barely remained 100. "If nothing occurs to arrest the growth of population in Khorasan and Irak again from now to the day of resurrection," says the same author, it will not reach one-tenth part of what it was before the Mongol invasion.[52] Ibn Batuta quotes Ibn Jozai as reporting how Nur-u'd-din, the son of Azzejaj, one of the learned men of Irak, went to Makka with his nephew, where, in conversation he said, "There perished in the catastrophe caused by the Tartars in Irak 24,000 learned men. I and this man alone survive of the class." Von Hammer[53] has extracted two pathetic passages from two fortunate authors who escaped the general slaughter, namely, the celebrated mystic, Shekh Najm-u'd-dîn Daya, and the Geographer Yakut, which describe with all the poetic rhetoric and pathos of the Persian language the desert created by the Mongols.[54]

When Chinghiz reached the Sihun on his way back to Mongolia he was joined by Ogotai and Chagatai, and he now summoned a *Kuriltai*, or general assembly. Erdmann and De la Croix say this was at Banakot, also called Tonkat on the Sihûn. De la Croix describes this *Kuriltai* in terms which show it to be a description of *Kuriltais* in general rather than of this specific one. The one definite thing that we read was done at the *Kuriltai* was the execution of a number of Uighur Chiefs.[55] Thence Chinghiz went on to a place called Kulan-tashi, which Dr. Bretschneider would identify with Tashkend,[56] but it was more probably somewhere in the steppes north of the Alexandrofski range. There he hunted wild asses and was no doubt attended by all the Mongol grandees who were within reach. In regard to one of them, namely Juchi, Chinghiz Khân's eldest son, the accounts are contradictory. Abulghazi says that when he received his father's orders about the great hunt he advanced at the head of his army, driving the game before him. *Inter alia* he took his father a present of 100,000 horses, of which 20,000 were grey, 20,000 dappled grey, 20,000 bay, 20,000 black, and 20,000 piebald. Chinghiz showed him great consideration, and he was very affable to his younger brothers. After hunting with his sons Chinghiz returned home again. He gave Juchi some counsel as to governing the country, and then sent him back to the Desht Kipchak.[57] This story, told by a descendant of Juchi, as Erdmann says, is not otherwise confirmed, and is very improbable. Other accounts say that Juchi did not attend in person, but sent his father a present of 20,000 grey horses, and ordered a vast quantity of wild asses to be driven to a place whose name is read Muka by Erdmann, and Akabar, Akabir, Akair or Uka by Raverty. There the great circle converged, and Chinghiz and his people hunted to their hearts' content. The army, it would seem, remained encamped at Kulan Tashi for some months, and it was there that Subutai and Chepe rejoined their master after their wonderful campaign, to which I must now devote a few paragraphs.

I carried down the story of their campaign to the capture of Kazvin. They apparently passed the winter in the neighbourhood of Rai. De la Croix says at Senoravend (?) in Irak. They sent to Khorasan for reinforcements. These troops were attacked, we are told, by a Khuârizmian named Tekin, who commanded 3,000 or 4,000 horse, and who had some time before killed the governor of Bokhara. Tekin was beaten, and had to escape to Jorjian in Tabaris-

[52] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 351, note.
[53] *Op cit.* Vol. III. p. 26.
[54] *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, pp. 76-78.
[55] Erdmann, p. 438; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 322, *Ṭab.-i-Nâṣ.* p. 1082, Raverty's note.
[56] *Notices*, etc. p. 60, note.
[57] Abulghazi, p. 140.

tan, where he was joined by Inanj Khân. The two allies were again attacked by the Mongols between Jorjian and Asterabad. Tekin was killed and Inanj Khân fled to Ghias-u'd-din, brother of Jalâlu'd-dîn, the Khuârizm Shâh, where he died.[58] These events are otherwise reported by other authorities, where we read that while Chepe and Subutai were in winter quarters in the district of Rai, Begtikin, leader of the Khuârizm Shâh's troops in Irak, set out from Mughan, where he had his winter quarters, to attack the Mongols in Irak-Ajam, in company with Jamalu'd-din Ineh (*i.e.* Inanj), called Jamalu'd-dîn Abiah by Raverty, raised a revolt against the Mongols, killed the Mongol Commissary whom Chepe had placed in charge of Hamadan, carried off Maju'd-dîn Alau'd-daulat its governor, and imprisoned him in the fortress of Krit, called Kurbat or Gurbat by Raverty. Chepe speedily marched to the rescue, drove away Jamal-u'd-din Ineh and reconquered the district.[59] Zanjan, north-west of Kazvin, was also attacked and all the Jews there killed.

The Mongols now proceeded to invade Azerbaijan, whence the recent attack had come. Azerbaijan and Arran, from which it was separated by the river Kur, were subject to a Turkish chief named Uzbeg, son of Jihan Pahlwan, whose grandfather Ildegis had been brought from Kipchak as a slave and sold to the Seljuk Sultân of Irak. Eventually emancipated and raised to various dignities Ildegis was in 1146 given the appanage of Azerbaijan and Arran and the style of the Atabeg, which was retained by his family after the destruction of the Seljuk dominion in Irak. Uzbeg had been Atabeg of the two provinces since 1197.[60]

The Mongols first attacked Azerbaijan. Uzbeg bought the goodwill of the invaders by paying them a large sum of money, and sacrificing a quantity of cattle and goods. They thereupon withdrew from the neighbourhood of Tebriz on account of the cold, the winter having been very severe, and went to spend the winter in the rich pastures of Mughan, bounded by the Caspian, the Kur, and the Aras.[61]

Thence they made an attack upon Georgia. Vartan, the Armenian historian, tells us how their arrival was portended by the fall of the splendid church of Meshgavank in the province of Udi, which was shattered by an earthquake: three priests who were celebrating the sacrament being killed, while a comet shaped like a lance appeared in the heavens. They penetrated the country, he says, by the valleys of the land to Kukark from the side of the Aghuans[62] to the number of 20,000 men. They massacred everything living they met with, and then rapidly retired. Lasha[63] followed them with his troops, overtook them near the river Guesdman, but was defeated and had to flee with Ivaneh. The latter's horse had been hamstrung, so that he was dismounted. Meanwhile a grandee of the country, called Vahram, who was a prince of Khachen, unaware of this defeat attacked another body of Mongols, and pursued them to the fortress of Kartman.[64] Guiragos says the invaders advanced rapidly upon Tiflis and then withdrew towards the town of Shamkor, and adds it was falsely reported that they professed Magism, and were also Christians, and that they were sent to revenge the wrongs which the Christians had suffered at the hands of the nomads; that they had a church in the form of a tent and a miraculous cross; that they were accustomed to take a measure of oats and scatter it in front of the cross, after which the whole army brought their horses to feed upon it, but it did not diminish in quantity, and that it was the same as human food. The people were put off their guard by these reports, and our annalist reports how a priest who went with his flock cross in hand to meet them was killed with the rest. In regard to the fight above described Guiragos says: "They devastated a wide district and deposited their spoils in the strong Fortress of Bâghamej, situated in the marshy country between Barda and Bailekan." He adds they killed all living things they met, men and even dogs, nor did they attach any value to rich garments, &c., but only to horses.[65]

The Georgians now sent to propose an alliance

[58] Rashidu'd-dîn, quoted by De la Croix, 323-324.
[59] Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 495; *Tab-i-Nas.* Raverty's notes, p. 997.
[60] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 325-6.
[61] Ibn-al-Athir, *Jour. Asiat.* 4th Series, Vol. XIV, p. 448.

[62] *i.e.* Arran
[63] *i e.* David Lasha, the Georgian king.
[64] *Journ. Asiat.*, 5th Series, Vol. XVI. pp. 277-279.
[65] Guiragos, ed. Brosset, pp. 100-101, *Jour. Asiat.*, 5th Series, Vol. XI. pp. 198-199.

with Uzbeg, the prince of Azerbaijan, with whom they had been at feud, and who agreed to help them after the winter was over, as did Ashraf prince of Khelat and Jeziret, but the Mongols allowed them no respite. They were joined by a Turkish slave of Uzbeg's named Akhush, who had collected a force of Turkomans, Kurds, &c. His men cozened naturally, we are told, to the Tartars, from their common origin; another piece of evidence shewing how numerous the Turks must have been in the Mongol armies. They now formed the advance-guard of the Mongols, with whom they advanced to the neighbourhood of Tiflis. The Georgians came out to meet them. They gained some advantages over Akhush with his advance-guard, but the Tartars afterwards coming up, they suffered a severe defeat. This battle was fought in January 1221.[66]

The Georgian Chronicle gives more details of these events. We read there that the Tartars having reached the frontiers of Georgia, proceeded to ravage the district of Gag. Vahram Gagel and the Atabeg Ivaneh therefore sent to inform the Georgian king, George Lasha, of the arrival of a strange people, speaking an unknown tongue, who were devastating the borders of Armenia. The king thereupon called together his soldiers, his Imers and Amers, to the number of 90,000 horsemen, who marched against the Tartars. They were joined by the Atabeg Ivaneh, by his nephew Shahin Shah, son of Zakaria, the generalissimo, and by Vahram Gagel, the chief of the *msakhurs*. They met the enemy on the Berduj (now called Sagam); Guiragos says in the plains of Khunan and Vardan, on the river of Codman (Gardman?). A fierce fight ensued: one-half of the Tartars fled, no doubt in furtherance of their usual tactics, while the other lay in ambush and attacked the Georgians from the rear. The latter with their king fled, leaving many dead behind. Ivaneh, the grand Atabeg, barely escaped with his life, and fled to the fortress of Kêgha or Kêgh. Beka, son of Kuarkuareh, chief of the armourers, fell when fighting bravely. The Chronicler deplores the defeat, the first which the Georgian arms had sustained for a long time, and adds from this time down to our own day the fortune of the Georgians has been constantly the same; namely, to be constantly beaten by the Tartars.[67]

Ibn al-Athir also moralizes on these events. He says: "These Tartars have done things unparalleled in ancient or modern times. Starting from the borders of China they have penetrated in less than a year to the borders of Armenia and of Irak. Those who come after will hardly credit these things. God should find Islam and the Musalmans a defender, for since the birth of the Prophet never have they suffered such misfortunes as in these days. On one side the devastations of the Tartars in Mawaru'n-Nahr, Khorasan, Irak and Azerbaijan: on another a second enemy, the Franks, coming from their country in the north-west beyond the Roman empire, have entered Egypt and captured Damietta, and the Musalmans cannot drive them out." The same author attributes the misfortunes of his co-religionists to the disappearance of the Sulṭân Muhammad.[68]

After their victory over the Georgians, the Mongols, in the spring of 1221, again approached Tebriz, when the Governor Shams-u'd-din Tughrai paid them another heavy black-mail. They then went on to Meragha, about 17 leagues from Tebriz, which, according to De la Croix, had sent help to the Georgians. Its ruler was a princess, who resided in the Fortress of Ruider, called Ru-in-dujz by Raverty, situated three leagues from Meragha. They compelled their Musalman captives to lead the assault. The place was captured on the 30th of March. The inhabitants were slaughtered, and what could not be carried away was burnt. In order to tempt any victims who had hidden away to come out they made their prisoners announce that they had retired, and then fell on them and killed them. Ibn-al-Athir reports as a proof of the terrible prestige the invaders had acquired, that a Mongol woman entered a house at Meragha and proceeded to kill its occupants, who mistook her for a man. When she laid down her weapons they saw she was a woman, and one of the Musalman prisoners killed her. We have heard it said, he continues, that a Tartar having entered a street where there were a hundred

[66] Ibn-al-Athir, *Journ. Asiat.*, 4th Series, Vol. XIV. pp. 448-9.

[67] *Hist. de la Georgia*, pp. 492-3.

[68] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 328, note.

people, killed them all one after another, without anyone attempting to defend himself.[69]

From Meragha the Mongols set off again towards Irbil, but the defiles on the route, which do not permit two horsemen to ride abreast, induced them to turn aside towards Irak Arab, which was part of the dominions of the Khalifa. He demanded help from Muzaffaru'd-dîn Kukberi, prince of Irbil, Badru'd-din Lu-lu, prince of Mosul, and the Malik Ashraf, prince of Mesopotamia. Ashraf excused himself on the ground that he was assisting Kamil, the ruler of Egypt, against the Crusaders, who had taken Damietta, and he at once set out hastily for Egypt. The other two princes collected their troops and marched them towards Dakuka. Muzaffaru'd-dîn commanded the army, and was joined at Dakuka by 800 men supplied by the Khalifa. He naturally complained of this miserable contingent, but offered, if supplied with 10,000 men, to clear Persia of the invaders.

The Mongols were apparently misled as to his real strength, and deeming it prudent not to attack him, once more approached Hamadan, where they demanded a fresh contribution through the commissary or *baskak* they had left there. The principal citizens repaired to the Raîs of the town, who had negociated the former pact with the Mongols, complained of this new exaction, and accused him of pusillanimity. He warned them that being weak they had no resource save to buy safety. They retorted that he was harder towards them than the infidels, &c. At length, goaded by their reproaches, he said he was ready to do their bidding. They thereupon killed the Mongol Commissary; but a speedy vengeance soon overtook them. The town was beleaguered. During the first two days the citizens made brave sorties, led by the Fakih. When he was so weary that he could not mount his horse they went to ask the Raîs to lead them on, but he was faint-hearted and had withdrawn himself and his family by a subterranean passage. This disconcerted them, and they ceased making sorties. The Mongols, who had suffered severely and were about to withdraw, made another effort, stormed the town and committed a terrible slaughter, which lasted several days, only those escaping who found refuge under ground. The town was then burnt.[70]

The Mongols now returned northwards, sacked Irbil, made a third visit to the neighbourhood of Tebriz, whence Uzbeg had fled to Nakhchuvan, while the commander he left behind showed such a bold front, that they withdrew again on the payment of black mail. They then captured Sarab, where everybody was slaughtered. De la Croix says they first took Selmas and Khoi in the extreme west of Azerbaijan, and then entering Arran they apparently levied a contribution on Nakhchuvan[71] and approached Barlekan. There a Mongol officer sent into the town at the request of the citizens to make an arrangement was murdered. They thereupon pressed the siege. There being no stones about they pulled down great plane trees, and threw their trunks with their catapults. They stormed the place and destroyed its population with every cruelty; tore children from the womb, and having ravished the women, killed them.[72] They then approached Ganja, or Kantzag, the capital of Arran. Ibn-al-Athir says distinctly that afraid of the prowess of its citizens, who were experienced warriors, from their constant struggles with the Georgians, the Mongols did not attack the town, but contented themselves with levying a contribution of money and stuffs.[73] De la Croix says they entered the town peaceably and Erdmann that they destroyed it.[74]

Having conquered one portion of the Musalmans of Azerbaijan and Arran, and made peace with the rest, the Mongols now turned once more upon Georgia,[75] whose king, George IV. Lasha, had recently died, probably, as Saint-Martin concludes, in 1221, and been succeeded by his sister Rusudan. What followed is not quite clear. From one account it would appear that the Georgians, having marched to meet the invaders, Chepe planted himself with 5,000 men in ambush, while Subutai advanced against the enemy with the main army. At a given signal he retired with his men and drew on the unsuspecting Georgians, who were meanwhile attacked from behind by Chepe's division. Thirty thousand Georgians !!! are said to have perished. Ibn-al-Athir adds that the Tartars

[69] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 328-9.
[70] D'Ohsson, pp. 330 and 333.
[71] De la Croix, p. 329.
[72] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 333-4.
[73] *Jour. Asiat.* 4th Ser., Vol. XIV. p. 450.
[74] De la Croix, p. 329; Erdmann, *Temudschin*, p. 406.
[75] *Jour. Asiat.* 4th Ser., Vol. XIV. p. 452.

were so undauntable that it was impossible to check them; they never fled nor would they surrender. On one occasion one of them having been captured, dismounted and broke his head against a stone.[76] Guiragos also speaks of this second defeat, where he says the Georgians were more numerous than before, and that the enemy captured their wives, children and booty, and determined to return home by way of Derbend.[77] Vartan mentions a struggle in which Vahram, a grandee of the country, fought valiantly against the enemy and slaughtered many of them as far as Gardman.[78]

These struggles are referred to in two very interesting documents, which contained the first news of the invasion of the Mongols that reached Europe. These are two letters written to Pope Honorius the Third, one by Rusudan and the other by her Constable Ivaneh. In her letter the queen styles herself Rusutana, queen of Aneguia or Avoguia (probably a corruption: being, as Saint-Martin suggests, a translation of the Georgian sentence, *Rusudan mephe Abkhasetisa,* Rusudan ruler of the Abkhaz, which was the usual style of the Georgian kings at this time).[79] After some preliminary phrases she informs the Pope that her brother was recently dead, that his message inviting him through his Legate who was at Damietta[80] to go to the help of the Christians had duly arrived and he was preparing to set out, when, as he might have heard, those evil men the Tartars entered her country and caused much damage to her people, and killed six thousand of them. "We did not fear them, since we thought they were Christians, but we afterwards learnt they were not good Christians, and we thereupon collected our people and slew twenty-five thousand of them and captured many of them, and the rest we drove out of our land; and this is why we have not come at the summons of your Legate." She then goes on to express her pleasure at hearing that the Emperor was *en route* to invade the Holy Land, and promised to send her Constable Ivaneh to share in the enterprize. In his letter Ivaneh styles himself Constable of all Bratia and Armenia, *i.e.,* of Georgia (the Georgians being called Vrats) and Armenia. He also reports the death of his sovereign and the election of his successor, and goes on to say that the Pope's message had reached him, and that as they were preparing arms and horses, victuals and men, there came the Tartars bearing the cross before them to the assistance of the Christians and to the relief of the Holy Land. "They entered our country, and under pretence of being Christians deceived us and killed six thousand of us." He concludes by saying he was ready to start to relieve the Holy Land with 40,000 warriors when the Pope should require it. He also begged the Pope's blessing for his Nephew Sanxa (*i.e.* Shahin Shah) the lord of 15 towns. The Pope's answer, which was dated in 1224 mentions that the Emperor had set out for the Holy Land, and promises a year's indulgence to those who would aid in the work.[81] The victory which Rusudan claims to have won is not confirmed by other accounts. It seems most problematical. No doubt the Mongols now left Georgia, but it was doubtless in obedience to the express orders of Chinghiz Khân that they should return in three years.

Before we trace further the doings of Subutai and Chepe, it will be well to complete the tale of Mongol ravage in Persia. It was about this time that Ruknu'd-din, the second son of Muhammad Khwârizm Shah, came by his end. When his father fled from Kazvin to the Caspian, as we saw, Ruknu'd-din went to Kerman; where, reinforced by the troops of Zuzan who governed that province, he entered the capital of Kerman, and seized the treasure there, which he divided among his men. After a stay of seven months in Kerman he returned to Irak, and was about to attack Jamalu'd-din Muhammad, a grandee of that district, who intended appropriating it, when he heard, near Rai, of the approach of a Mongol force under Taimas and Tainal. He accordingly sought refuge in the strong fortress of Sutun Avend, near Rai, which was deemed to be impregnable. It was now invested by the Mongols, who in six months captured it, and Ruknu'd-din having refused to stoop and do homage, was put to death with his people. Zakaria of Kazvin

[76] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 334-5, note; Erdmann, p. 406.
[77] *Op cit.* ed. Brosset, p. 100.
[78] *Hist. de la Georgie,* adds. et ex., p. 301.
[79] Saint-Martin, *Mèmoires,* Vol. II. p. 256.
[80] Probably the Legate Pelagius, who had frequent relations with Ruben, Prince of Cilicia, who was at Damietta, and who would probably put him in communication with the Georgians, Brosset. *Hist. de la Georgie,* adds. et ex., p. 303, note.
[81] *Hist. de la Georgie,* adds. et ex., pp. 303-305.

says that Ruknu'd-din Gursaizi shut himself up in the fortress of Demavend in 618 H. *i.e.* 1221. Rashid says it was at Feruzkoh. Jamal-u'd-din, having heard of the death of the prince, offered his submission to the Mongols, hoping thus to retain the district of Hamadan. The Mongol generals sent him a robe of honour, and invited him to their camp, when they killed him with his suite.[82]

While Chinghiz Khan was wintering at Samarkand, about 1224, a body of three thousand Mongols went from Khorasan, and appeared suddenly before Rai and surprised a body of 6000 Khwârizmians there. They routed them, and entered Rai, which had been again occupied. They pillaged and devastated it. Saveh, Kum and Kashin suffered the same fate. The two latter towns had escaped the previous Mongol raid. Hamadan was fired and ravaged for a second time, and then the invaders entered Azerbaijan, where the Khwârizmian troops beaten at Rai had sought refuge. They were again attacked and again defeated. The remnants fled to Tabriz where many of them, at the demand of the Mongols, were put to death by Uzbeg, who ruled there, as we have seen. Having received the heads of the victims and been conciliated by some presents, they once more withdrew to Khorasan.[83] The most famous victim of the Mongol invasion, says Von Hammer, was the great mystic poet, Faridu'd-din Attâr, who at the time of the invasion lived at Shadyakh, and was a very old man. A Mongol was about to cut him down when another said to him, "Do not kill this old man. I will give you 1000 silver pieces for him." "Hold," said the Attâr, "you will meet with a better bargain." A few steps further on he met another man who offered a sack of straw for him. "Take it," said the Attâr, "I am worth no more." Whereupon the Mongol clove him in two. This story is preserved in Daulat Shah's *History of Rhetoric.*[84]

To return to Subutai and Chepe. On withdrawing from Georgia they marched upon Shirvan, whose capital was Shamakhi. According to one report the Mongols piled up a great heap of camels, cattle, sheep and men's corpses, their own as well as those of the enemy, and thus built up a mound from which they dominated the walls. The citizens resisted with the greatest bravery, but in vain. The place was taken, and a terrible carnage ensued.[85] They then captured the town of Derbend, but not the citadel, where the Shirvân Shâh Rashid had taken refuge. The latter was constrained however to furnish them ten guides, one of whom they killed as a warning to the rest, who directed their march through the difficult defiles of Daghestan. There they killed many of the Lesghs, some of whom we are told were Musalmans and some infidels.[86]

Fifteen days after leaving Derbend the invaders found themselves confronted by a combined army of Alans, *i.e.* Ossetes and Kipchaks, in the dangerous defiles of the Eastern Caucasus. They had recourse to their fox-like instincts, and we are told Subutai sent an envoy with rich presents to the Kipchaks to assure them the Mongols were their brothers, while the Alans were foreigners (proving what a large contingent of Turks there was in the Mongol armies), and urged them to detach themselves from the Alans and make common cause with them, and they would give them gold and garments as much as they could wish. The Kipchaks, taken in by these advances, accordingly separated themselves, and the Mongols soon made short work of the Alans, who were pursued as far as Tarku, which was captured.[87] The Alans having been crushed, the Mongols next turned upon their newly made friends the Kipchaks, dispersed them and recovered the presents they had recently given them. The remainder of these Turkish nomads fled towards Russia.[88]

In the biography of Subutai in the *Yuan-shi*, the chiefs of the Kipchaks are called Yu-li-gi (*i.e.* Yuri or George), and Tá-tá-ha-r, who gathered their forces together at the river Bu-dsu (?). The son of Yu-li-gi was wounded by an arrow and fled into the forest where he was betrayed by his servant, who instead of being rewarded, was afterwards put to death for his treachery by order of Chinghiz.[89] Karamzin says that both Yuri (who is called

[82] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 347-349.
[83] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 349-50.
[84] Von Hammer, *Gesch. der Gold. Horde*, p. 85.
[85] Ibn-al-Athir, *Journ. Asiat.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV. pp. 453-4.
[86] *id.* 455.
[87] Abulghazi, pp. 129-130; Erdmann, p. 407
[88] Erdmann, p. 407.
[89] Bretschneider, *Notices*, p. 71.

Yuri Konchakovitch by the Russians and Daniel Kobiakovitch, perhaps Kotiakovitch), were killed during their flight.[90]

The Mongols now spread over the country north of the Caucasus. We are told they captured Terek, the capital of the Circassians, and advanced as far as the Sea of Azof and the "Rampart of the Poloutsi" (*i.e.* to the dyke forming the frontier between the Kipchaks and Russians) and subdued the Yasses, *i.e.* the Ossetes or Alans, the Abkhazians and Circassians, and became the masters of seven tribes near the Sea of Azof.[91] Ibn-al-Athir says the Tartars captured the cantonments (*i.e.* the winter quarters) of the Kipchaks. It is a country, he says, affording good pasture both in summer and winter, and it contains places where the temperature is cool in the hot season, and others where it is mild in winter. The shores of the sea are bordered by forests. The Tartars advanced as far as the town of Sudak, *i.e.* Soldaia, which belonged to the Kipchaks, who got their grain from it. It was a seaport, and the Kipchaks, we are told, went there to buy stuffs, bartering in exchange slaves of both sexes, and fox-skins (*burtasses*) and those of the beaver, &c. &c.

The Tartars occupied Sudak, whose inhabitants fled with their families, some to the mountains, while others embarked for Rum.[92] Ten thousand families of these fugitives crossed the Danube into the borders of the Roman Empire, and the Emperor John Ducas took them into his service. A portion of these latter were cantoned in Thrace and Macedonia, where they committed great ravages. Others were transported into Asia Minor.[93] The greater number fled to Russia, which at this time did not extend eastwards beyond the Oka, and did not comprise the Ukraine. It was divided among a number of petty princes, owing little more than nominal allegiance to the Grand Duke of Novgorod, and continually at strife with each other and with the Kipchaks, whom they called Poloutsi, as the Byzantine authors called them Comans. One of the chiefs of the latter, who now sought refuge in Russia, is called Kotiak by Nikon, Kotian by Karamzin, and Kothan or Kuthen by the Hungarians His daughter had married Mitislaf, Prince of Gallicia. Kotiak reported at Kief the advance of the terrible enemy, presented the Russian princes with camels, horses, buffaloes, and beautiful slaves, and told them the Mongols had taken his land, and that that of the Russians would suffer the same fate. The astonished princes asked who these strangers, hitherto unknown, were. Some called them Taurmains, others Petchênegs, others again Tartars. The more superstitious recounted how the barbarians, defeated by Gideon 1,200 years before Christ, were to reappear at the end of the world from their deserts, and to conquer the whole earth. Mitislaf assembled the Russian princes at Kief, and there met there beside himself, Mitislaf Romanovitch of Kief, Mitislaf of Chernigof, Daniel Romanovitch of Volhynia, Michael) son of Vsevolod thê Red, and Vsevolod Mitislavich of Novgorod, and it was determined unanimously to march against the invaders, much to the joy of the Poloutsi, one of whose princes named Basti,[94] embraced Christianity. They assembled their forces at Zarub and the isle of the Varagians (places whose exact sites are unknown), on the Dnieper.[95] There they received ten ambassadors from the Mongols, who spoke thus: "We understand that, seduced by the statements of the Poloutsi you are marching against us. But we have done nothing against the Russians, we have not taken your towns or villages, and our sole intention is to punish the Poloutsi, our slaves. For a long time they have been enemies of the Russians. Side with us, therefore, and take a signal vengeance upon these barbarians, and seize their wealth." "This message was accepted," says Karamzin, "as a sign of weakness, or as a ruse." Doubtless as the latter, for the recent treachery of the Mongols in the Caucasus must have been known. At all events, the ambassadors were barbarously murdered. Others were sent which met the Russian army at Oleschia who said: "You have preferred the counsel of the Poloutsi, you have killed our envoys, well; as you wish for war, you shall have it. We have done you no harm. God is impartial, He will decide our quarrel."

[90] Karamzin, French edition, Vol. III. p. 282.
[91] *id.* pp. 283-4.
[92] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 444-445, note.
[93] *Nic. Gr. Stritter*, Vol. III. p. 985-6.
[94] Erdmann and Von Hammer call him Batu.
[95] Von Hammer says near Zarub.

The Russians assembled their forces in large numbers from Kief, Smolensk, Putivl Kursk, and Trubtchevsk. The Volhynians and Gallicians came in a thousand boats, on which they sailed down the Dniester to the sea, and then up the Dnieper to the island Khortiza, called the Isle of St. George by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. There also came some bodies of Poloutsi. The Russians numbered some 82,000 men, and were joined by other auxiliaries whom the chroniclers call Bautii, Gangali,[96] Uigoltzi and Gallicians. The young prince, Daniel, with a few companions rode out to reconnoitre a party of Tartars which had been seen on the other side of the river. Some reported that the enemy was contemptible but the *voivode* Yuri of Gallicia gave a different account, and said they were experienced soldiers. Mitislaf, with an advance guard of 10,000, impatient to meet the enemy, went on ahead, overtook a body of Mongols under Hamabek[97] and defeated them. Their leader was found hidden in a ditch or hole among the *kurgans* or mounds on the steppe, and was beheaded with the consent of Mitislaf, who by this attack secured a large number of cattle. The main body of the Russians now crossed the Dnieper, and after a nine days' march (Abulghazi says ten and Rashidu'd-din twelve) arrived at the river Kalka, the modern Kaleza, near Mariupol, in the government of Ekaterinoslaf. Mitislaf, who was probably wishful of monopolizing the glory of the campaign, ventured to attack the main body of the Mongols with only one division. He planted his men on the left bank of the river and ordered Yarun, the chief of the Poloutsi, and Daniel, to advance with the Russian Guard. Daniel with Oleg of Kursk performed prodigies of valour and continued fighting although the former was badly wounded in the chest. Mitislaf, the dumb brother of Ingvar of Lutsk, went to their rescue and fought desperately. Meanwhile the Poloutsi, unable to withstand the Mongol attack, turned their backs to the enemy and threw the Russian reserves under the princes of Kief and Chernigof into confusion; the precipitance of Mitislaf's attack having left them little time for preparation. This caused their men to retire also. The Mongols pursued them mercilessly. Six princes, namely Sviatoslaf of Yanovisk, Isiaslaf Inguarovitch, Sviatoslaf of Shumsk, Mitislaf of Chernigof with his sons, and Yuri of Nasvigsk, together with a celebrated paladin named Alexander Popovitch, and seventy nobles perished. Of the contingent from Kief alone, 10,000, says Karamzin, were left on the field of battle, while the faithless Poloutsi used the occasion for plundering their unfortunate allies. Mitislaf, to whom reverse was something new, seemed beside himself. Having crossed the Dnieper himself, he caused the boats to be destroyed in order to prevent pursuit. In the general route one leader held his ground. This was Mitislaf Romanovitch, Prince of Kief, who had intrenched himself on the Kalka, and resisted for three days the assault of the Mongols. They at length proposed to allow him to escape on paying a ransom, and Ploskinia, *voivode* of Brodniks, or light troops, who was in their service, swore on their behalf to faithfully observe the convention; but he betrayed the Russians, bound Mitislaf and two of his relatives with cords, and handed them over to the Mongols. Irritated by the prolonged resistance of Mitislaf, and furious at the slaughter of their envoys, they put to death all the Russians they met with, and smothered Mitislaf and his sons-in-law, Andrew and Alexander Dabrovezky, under planks, and held a feast over their bodies. The pursuit was again renewed. In vain the inhabitants of the towns and villages submitted, humbly going to their camp with their crosses, but no pity was shown. Their grim maxim, surely the most cynical of all ferocious war-creeds, was that "the vanquished can never be the friends of the victors, the death of the former is necessary therefore for the safety of the latter."[98] Ibn-al-Athir speaks in lugubrious terms of the devastation they committed in Russia, killing, burning, pillaging and ruining what they met with. The chief merchants and wealthier people emigrated with their property and went beyond the sea.[99] According to the *Yuan-shi*, the Russian prince Mitislaf was sent by Chepe under the escort of Ho-sze-mai-la, *i.e.* Ismael, to Juchi, the

[96] *i.e.* Kankalis.
[97] Called Gemiabet by Karamzin.
[98] Karamzin, Vol. III. pp. 284-291; Erdmann, pp. 434-437; Von Hammer, *Gesch. der Golden Horde*, pp. 86-89.
[99] D'Ohsson, vol. I. p. 446.

eldest son of Chinghiz, who had him put to death.[100]

The Mongols now, in January 1224, marched upon great Bulgaria on the Volga. The passage of Ibu-al-Athir describing this last event has been differently translated by D'Ohsson and Quatremère. One makes the Mongols and the other the Bulgars to be successful. Quatremère says the Bulgars planted themselves in various ambushes and the Tartars being attacked before and behind the greater part of them were killed, only 4,000 escaping. D'Ohsson says it was the Bulgars who thus suffered.[101]

The invaders now seem to have marched down the Volga to Saksin.[102] Saksin, according to the geographer Bacuyi, was a large town in the country of the Khazars, whose inhabitants were divided into 40 tribes, most of them Musalmans. It was a famous mart and frequented by a large concourse of merchants. It was traversed by a great river, abounding in fish, one of which produced a large quantity of oil. Saksin, he adds, is at present submerged, but close by is the Serai of Bereke, the residence of the ruler of this country.[103] From this description it would seem that it was situated on the Akhtuba. De la Croix says the invaders also captured Astrakhan, but this is not mentioned by the older authorities, Ibn-al-Athir, Juveni, and Rashidu'd-dîn, and I am disposed to think that he has mistaken Saksin for that town, which only became famous at a later day. On the other hand, we read in the biography of Ho-sze-mai-la, *i.e.* Ismael, in the *Yuan-shi*, that the Mongols defeated the Kankalis (who lived east of the Volga) and their Khân Ho-to-sze (? Kuttuz) and captured their town Bo-tze-baligh (perhaps Seraichuk on the Jaik.) Subutai now formed a special corps of Merkits, Naimans and Kipchaks, with which he returned home.[104] Ibn-al-Athir tells us how this raid upon Bulgaria and the neighbouring districts, which were the fur countries of that day, interrupted the trade in furs, and how it was renewed again on the Mongol withdrawal.[105]

Subutai and Chepe after their wonderful march rejoined Chinghiz Khân at Kulan Taishi, where, as we have seen, he held a great *Kuriltai* or Assembly, and a hunt. He then set out for his home. The biography of Subutai in the *Yuan-shi* tells us that general returned home by way of Imil (*i.e.* the Chuguchak of our day) and Hoji, by which some neighbouring town is doubtless meant,[106] and the *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says Chinghiz returned home by way of the Irtish, where he passed the summer of 1225. We are elsewhere told that two of his grandsons, who afterwards became very famous, namely Khubilai and Khulagu, went to meet him at Anmarhu near Itel Kujin, west of the river Ili. The former was eleven years old, and had on the way killed a hare, while the latter who was only nine had captured a deer, and as it was the Mongol custom to rub the middle finger of the hand with the flesh and fat the first time that boys went hunting, Chinghiz performed this ceremony in person for the two boys. Further on, at a place called Bukâ Su'hiku, he erected a great Golden *Ordu*, *i.e.* a tent, and held a grand feast. The camp, we are told, was planted on yielding and uncertain ground which was much broken. He ordered each one to place stones round the margin of his *ordu*. All did this except his brother Uchi, *i.e.* Ochigin, who, instead of stone, used wood. For some days after he devoted himself to hunting. Uchi of all his people did not go, but stayed at home. For this, his disobedience, he was denied access to the *ordu* for a week, but on his making due apologies, he was forgiven.[107] Chinghiz reached his home which was at this time on the river Tula in the spring of the New year Zafar 622 H., 1225 A.D.[108] The *Yuan-ch'ao-pi-shi* says he returned to his chief camp Karatun which is translated in the Chinese text by Heilin, and which answers to the Karaun Kabjal, *i.e.* the defile of the Black forest on the river Tula[109] where he and his people once more met their families.

What a wonderful gathering that must have been. We are much impressed in reading the history of the Middle Ages with the effect of the Crusades, which brought the parochial-minded chivalry of Western Europe into contact with the land of so much gorgeous romance as the East, and gave an impetus to

[100] Bretschneider, *op. cit.* p. 72.
[101] *Jour. Asiat.*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIV, p. 460; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 346, and 446.
[102] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 446.
[103] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 346, note.
[104] Bretschneider, *op. cit.* pp. 71-72.
[105] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 446 note.
[106] Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc. p. 71.
[107] Erdmann, p. 439.
[108] *id.*
[109] Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc., p. 65, note.

thought and action, and an enlargement of view that had more than aught else to do perhaps with the social and mental revolution of the revival of learning. But what were the Crusades as an experience to the journey of Chinghiz and his troops? Born and accustomed only to the dreary steppe-lands of the Gobi desert, and its girdle of pine-covered mountains, their triumphant march led them through the very garden of Asia, among its most refined and cultured inhabitants, and through its most prosperous cities. Every step must have been a new chapter of romance, such as boys in England find in the Arabian Nights, and the vast caravans of treasure that they carried back with them must have been objects of intense wonder to the wives and daughters of the returning warriors, as the tales they told of their adventures must have seemed like the romances of ballad makers, rather than the truthful experiences of ingenuous soldiers. Nor were the crowds of captives, chiefly artisans, a less important, if a somewhat less picturesque, element in the cavalcade. With them there went to the furthest East all the knowledge and craft possessed by the Muhammadans, and if we find the period of Mongol supremacy in China was one of revival in art and manufacture, a period of great literary energy, we must not forget what a number of names in the administration of that period are Persian and Turkish; and how the rubbing together of two widely different civilisations, which have crystallised apart, such as those of China and Persia, necessarily leads to a vigorous outburst of fresh ideas and discoveries, a most potent example of the law condensed for us in the venerable proverb that "iron sharpeneth iron."

MISCELLANEA.

THE COINS OF THE IMPERIAL GUPTA DYNASTY.

The appearance, in the March number of this Journal, of Mr. Fleet's interesting paper on the legends of the Gupta silver coins, and of a friendly review of my essay on the gold coins, is a welcome proof that the publication of my Catalogue has produced its desired effect, in stimulating the study of one of the most attractive branches of Indian numismatics. The review is in itself a most valuable contribution to numismatic science, and adds much to our knowledge of the Gupta coins.

As regards the bird-standard on the gold coins, I am still not satisfied that it represents Garuḍa; but am now rather inclined to view it as being an imitation of the Roman eagle. When examining the Gupta copper coins in the British Museum, neither Professor Gardner nor myself noticed the human arms between the wings and legs of the bird on these coins; nor are they mentioned in any of the descriptions of the copper coinage hitherto published. I cannot therefore feel quite certain that the lines between the bird's legs and wings on some of the coins, are really intended for human arms.

The Râjim seal undoubtedly supplies a delineation of the Vaishṇava monster Garuḍa; but I do not think that this seal can be fairly quoted as evidence of the meaning of the bird-standard on the Gupta gold coins. Râjim is in the Central Provinces, on the Mahânadî River, and may very probably never have been included in the Gupta dominions; and the inscription to which the seal is attached was engraved at a time considerably later than that of the Gupta coins. Moreover, on the seal the figure of Garuḍa is associated with the remaining emblems of Vishṇu,—the lotus, shell, and discus; whereas the bird-standard on the Gupta coins is not associated with any such emblems, and there is no reason to think that Samudra Gupta and his successors were specially addicted to the worship of Vishṇu.

The bird on the standard *may* have been intended for Garuḍa, but I do not think it is proved that it was so intended.

Professor Percy Gardner suggested to me that the bird on the copper coins may be a copy of the owl of Athene (ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ), as seen on the coins of Pergamos. The suggestion seems a plausible one, and is supported by the other examples of imitation of Greek and Roman designs adduced in my essay.

I accept the correction of the name of Nara in lieu of Nâra, and admit that there is no authority for adding the name Gupta to the legend Nara-Bâlâditya. I also accept the reading *grê* for the character between the king's feet on Nara-Bâlâditya's coins.

The letter *u* which is found between the king's feet on Vishṇu-Chandrâditya's coin, appears to be the same character as that which occurs below the horse on Prakâśâditya's coins. Possibly these detached letters may be mint-marks.

The reviewer's reference to Mahoba, Kâlinjar and Khajurâho, is due to a misunderstanding of what I wrote.

The question as to whether the founder of the dynasty was named Gupta or Śrîgupta, appears to me to be still an open one.

I must confess to having followed earlier authorities too implicitly with regard to Ghaṭotkacha. My critic has proved that the coins hitherto referred to this prince cannot be his; and I agree with him in thinking it probable that Ghaṭotkacha did not coin in gold. I believe that, as suggested in the review, these coins belong to the time of Samudra Gupta.

The goddess on the reverse strikingly resembles the standing goddess on the *Aśwamedha*-pieces.

As to these latter, I admit that it is not demonstrated that they were issued by Samudra Gupta; but it appears most probable that they were.

Professor Tawney informs me that the name Ghaṭotkacha is familiar to him in Hindû legend as the son of Bhîma by Hiḍimbâ, and that the name occurs in the *Mahâbhârata* as quoted in the *St. Petersburg Lexicon*, thus;—

घटो हास्योत्कच्च इति माता तं प्रत्यभाषत ।
अब्रवीत्तेन नामास्य घटोत्कच्च इति स्म ह ॥

The reference is to *Mahâbhârata* I. 197, in the Calcutta four-volume edition, which, however. Professor Tawney was unable to consult in order to verify the quotation.[1]

V. A. SMITH.

Basti, 15th March 1885.

BOOK NOTICE.

THE LIFE OF BUDDHA AND THE EARLY HISTORY OF HIS ORDER. Derived from Tibetan works in the *Bkah-hgyur and Bstan-hgyur*. Followed by notices of the early history of Tibet and Khotan. Translated by W. WOODVILLE ROCKHILL. (London: Trübner and Co., 1884).

To the already numerous *Lives* of Buddha that have appeared within the last twenty-six years, since the first edition of Bishop Bigandet's was published, Mr. Rockhill has added still another. Being a translation from the Tibetan, however, this volume has a special interest, and will be welcomed by scholars. The Tibetan *Dulva* or *Vinaya-piṭaka*, which is probably the oldest and most trustworthy portion of the *Bkah-hgyur*, contains many historical or legendary texts, together with *Jâtakas* (several of which are not found in the Pâli versions), *Avadânas*, *Vyâkaraṇas* or Prophecies, *Sûtras*, and *Udânas*; and the first part of this volume presents us with a full and connected analysis, and frequently literal translations, of most of the former, and the more interesting of the latter. Especially important are the accounts of the Councils of Râjagriha and Vaiśali, and of the spread of Buddhism in Kaśmîr (pp. 148-180), taken from the eleventh volume of the *Dulva*, and which differ materially from the accounts previously translated from the Pâli and Chinese.

Vassilief, in his unfinished work on Buddhism, has translated the *Samayavadhôparachanạ chakra* of Vasumitra, on the schismatic schools; and Mr. Rockhill has here added the *Kayabhêtro vibhaṅga* of Bhavya, which immediately follows it in the *Bstan-hgyur*, and treats of the same subject; and with the information contained in it, he has combined further particulars from the *Samayabhêdôparachana chakra* of Vinitadêva, which is a compilation from that of Vasumitra, and from the *Bhikshu-varshagrapricha*, and has thus elucidated some obscurities in Vassilief's translation of Vasumitra's work, from which that of Bhavya materially differs.

Two chapters are devoted to the early histories of Bod-yul (Tibet), and Li-yul (Khoten), which are specially interesting; and, in an appendix, are given extracts from *Bhagavati*, XV., on the intercourse between Mahâvîra (*i.e.* Nigantha Ñataputta) and Gosala Maṅkhaliputta—translated by Dr. Ernst Leumann, and on the doctrines of the Six Heretical Teachers, according to two Chinese versions of the *Samana-phala Sûtra*, by Bunyiu Nanjio.

In his notes, Mr. Rockhill has given everywhere references to the parallel passages in other works on Buddhism and the life of its founder, which will be of great use to the reader. The Index of names is full, and the special index of Tibetan words with their Sanskrit equivalents will be of use to those who may wish to study the original Tibetan works.

Throughout the book, however, we note a want of uniformity in the transliteration of Sanskrit names and words: the long vowels are marked, but not always, and not unfrequently wrongly, and the same word is spelt in more ways than one: thus we have the names of Buddha's three wives as 'Yaçôdhâra' and 'Yacôdhâra,' 'Gôpâ,' and 'Mrigadjâ' or 'Keissa Gautami;' and we find 'Adjatasatru,' 'isvara,' 'Jeta,' 'tchaitya' and 'chaitya,' 'Kachmere,' 'Gâyâ,' &c., श being represented by *ç*, *c*, *s*, and *ch*; ज by *dj* and *j*; ष and च by *sh*, *ch*, and *tch*, &c. This ought not to have been: uniformity at least, if not conformity to some of the systems in vogue among English scholars, should have been preserved.

[1] [See also Fitz-Edward Hall's edition of Wilson's Translation of the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Vol. IV. p. 159.—ED.]

A MODERN ORNAMENTAL KUFIC ALPHABET FROM KABUL.

BY CAPT. R. C. TEMPLE.

DURING the Kâbul War of 1878-1880 a slip of paper, of which a full-sized facsimile is given below, was picked up in the Amîr's rooms on the 12th October, 1879, and afterwards found its way into the possession of the Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, of Śrînagar, Kâśmîr, who handed it over to me for disposal. It shows the alphabet of an ornamental modern variant of the Kûfic variety of the Arabic character, and is accompanied by a description in high-flown Persian, describing by whom and why it was written.

The transcription is as follows :—

(1) الف و ب خط كوفي تا آخر تحرير شده بحسب الحكم

(2) حضرت مستفي الممالک صاحب ادام الله تعالى اقبالهٗ وبركاتهٗ

(3) مشقهٗ العبد العاصي الحاجي الراجي الى رحمة الله يحيى واعظ كارگاه شهر جمادي الاول ۱۲۹۳

(1) ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص

(2) ض ط ظ ع غ ف ق ک ل م ن و ه ي.

(1) A and B (in the) Kûfî character, to the end, written according to the order (of)

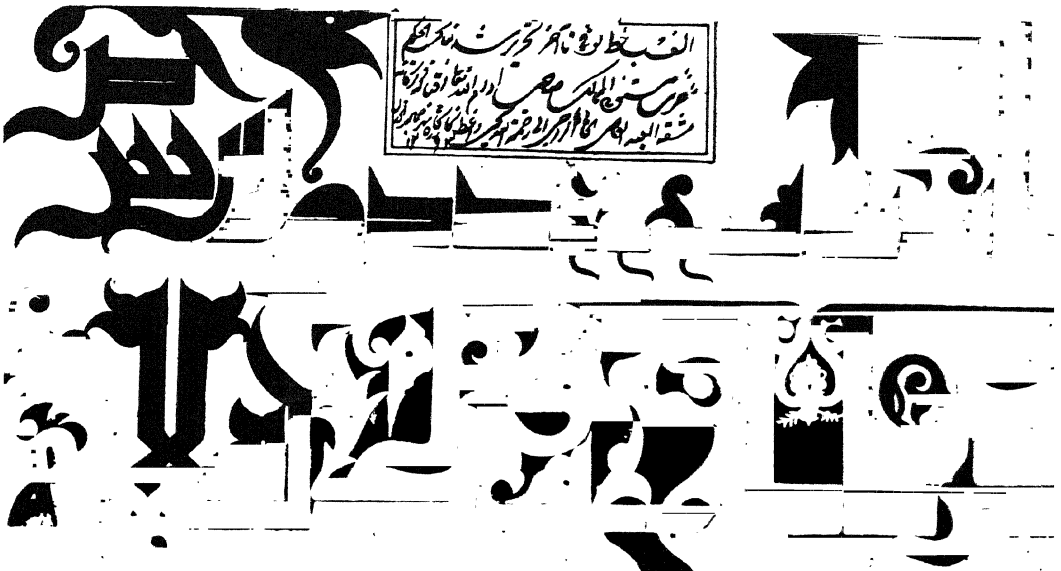
(2) The great Mustafîu'l-Mamâlik Sâhib (Chancellor of the Exchequer), may Almighty God ever preserve his honour and his prosperity !

(3) Derived from him the slave, the sinner, the pilgrim (to Makkâ), the suppliant for the mercy of God, Yaḥya, the public preacher : (dated) the month of Jumâdîu'l-awwal, 1293 (June 1876).

The next two lines transcribe the heavy black characters of the facsimile. These clearly represent a modernized form of the Kûfic alphabet, written in an ornamental style. The derivation of the letters from the mediæval Kûfic is obvious, and their form is interesting for the following reasons :—It will be observed that the modern order of the Arabic alphabet, which is by no means the probable Kûfic order, has been strictly followed, and a close inspection will show that every letter of the original has been carefully differentiated from its fellows. The last 'letter' I take to be the *sukûn* or sound-stop in Arabic. Now the modern Arabic letters ث خ ذ ض ظ غ are not found in the mediæval Kûfic at all, and of the rest one symbol did duty for the following pairs of letters, *viz.*

| ف ق | س ش | ر ز | ج ح | ب ت

The mediæval Kûfic in fact had but 17 symbols, with which all the sounds of the Arabic language had to be expressed. The forms of these are as under, and from a comparison the descent of the letters in the facsimile will be clearly seen.



VIDYAPATI AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

So little is known about Vidyâpati, the most famous of the old Master-singers of Bihâr, that no excuse is needed for offering the following very free translation of an excellent Baṅgâlî preface to an edition of the Baṅgâlî recension of his works.[1] I have endeavoured to give rather the spirit of the original than a literal translation, and have not scrupled to make excisions where it appeared necessary. As translator I do not consider myself responsible for every statement made in the article. At the same time, I have carefully checked and accept the responsibility for all that directly bears upon Vidyâpati and Mithilâ. Except where they are followed by my initials, the footnotes are portions of the original articles.

Owing to the influence of Chaitanya, Vidyâpati's poems obtained an immense popularity in Bengal, and were speedily compiled into written manuals of devotion, an honour to which they did not attain in their native country of Bihâr. In Bengal too, numerous imitators sprung up, some using Vidyâpati's language and name, and others writing under their own name in Baṅgâlî. The result was a great mass of Vaishṇava poems by various authors, which were finally collected, and arranged according to subjects in a series of Litanies or *Saṁkîrtanas,* called the *Vaishṇava-Pada-Kalpataru.* This has been printed at various times, the edition referred to in these pages being that of Bêṇî Mâdhava Dê and Co., Śaka 1788 (A.D. 1866).

From this collection various redactions have been made at different times, in which the hymns have been arranged according to their authors or supposed authors. The best known of these is the *Prâchîna-Kâvya-Saṁgraha,* published at Chuñchurâ (Chinsura) by Akshaya Kumâra Sarkâr, in the Baṅgâlî year 1285 (A.D. 1878-79). The volume attributed to Vidyâpati in this collection is of a very mixed character. While containing a number of hymns undoubtedly written by Vidyâpati, it also contains a great number certainly not written by him, and the bulk is of very doubtful authenticity. It should be added that even the genuine hymns are in a Baṅgâlî recension; *i.e.* they are written down as they were recited by the Baṅgâlî Chaitanya and his followers, who, not being acquainted with the Maithilî dialect, altered the verbal inflections and nominal declensions to suit the exigencies of Baṅgâlî grammar. It is rarely, however, difficult to correct the genuine ones, so as to get an approximately pure text, as Vidyâpati's metre is a guide which seldom fails. The Baṅgâlî recension is very incorrect when judged by the rules of Maithilî metre.

An independent collection of Vidyâpati's poems, collected by me in Mithilâ itself, has been given in my *Maithil Chrestomathy,* published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. These have been printed exactly as they were recited by the various singers, who retain a traditional memory of the songs of their famous countryman.

For further information regarding Vidyâpati and his times, the student is referred to an article in the Baṅgâlî Magazine called the "*Baṅga-Darśana,*" for 1282 (B. S). Vol. IV. p. 75; Mr. Beames' article in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. IV. p. 299ff., also contains all that is important, and gives a *résumé* of the contents of the article in the *Baṅga-Darśana,* with his own valuable criticisms thereon. In another article in the *Indian Antiquary,* Vol. II. p. 37ff., Mr. Beames also gives an interesting account of the Baṅgâlî recension of our poet. The introduction to the songs of Vidyâpati Ṭhâkur in the *Maithil Chrestomathy* may also be referred to.

The *Vidyâpati-Padâvali,* the introduction to which is now translated, is an excellent expurgated reprint of the Baṅgâlî recension with explanatory notes.

TRANSLATION.

The history of ancient India is enveloped in deep obscurity; none of its details can be distinctly seen: hence it is improbable that any clear account can ever be given of the birth and childhood of the Baṅgâlî language.

[1] *Vidyâpati-Padâvali,* edited by Śrî Sâradâ Chârana Mitra; Calcutta; 71 Cornwallis Street; Śrî Śrîśchandra Bhaṭṭâchârya, Printer and Publisher.

The Baṅgâlî line of S ê n a[2] kings was not compelled to devote itself to marshalling armies for the repulsion of conquering Pagans; its efforts were rather directed to collecting "troops of poems." At a time when the kings of Dehlî, Âjmêr, Mêwâr, and others were summoning up all their forces for a death struggle with the conquering flood of Musalmân invasion,—when Maḥmûd of Ghaznî was engaged in breaking the images of the gods in a Western India soaked in the blood of Hindûs,—the S ê n a kings of Bihâr and Eastern Bengal, surrounded by the gems of their court, were tranquilly engaged day and night in the enjoyment of the pleasures of poetry. On one side of India the day of destruction of Hindû religion and Hindû rule had arrived, and bearded ghouls in the form of men were plundering hearth and home; while on the other side of India the S ê n a kings were peacefully listening to the honied accents of J a y a d ê v a, soft and sweet as the clove-laden breeze of Malaya. They were great encouragers of learning, and their profound knowledge of Sanskrit is celebrated to the present day.

All invaders of the golden lands of India had launched their attack from across the Indus, and had been compelled to content themselves with engaging with the western provinces. Alexander was obliged to return without crossing the Śatadru; the Khalîfa Walîd conquered Râjputânâ and Gujarât and was satisfied; Mâmûn turned his back on Âryan land, after suffering several defeats in Râjputânâ; and Maḥmûd of Ghaznî was obliged to be content with conquering Kanyakubjâ. In short,—up to the year 1203, no invader had ever penetrated to Bengal; and hence the S ê n a kings had no necessity for laying plans for the protection of their country. The country of Mithilâ[3] fell within their territories, and to the present day it is called Darbhaṅgâ, or the western door of the dominions of the Sêna kings. In the height of Bengal's power, the flame of its poetry burnt brilliantly. Up to then no news of the approach of foes had reached the land, and in the midst of the timid Baṅgâlîs, who lay, as it were, enveloped in a profound sleep, arose, like the voice of a midnight lute, that song of the sweet poet J a y a d ê v a,[4] called the *Gîta-Gôvinda*.

[2] The Sêna kings reigned in Bengal in the eleventh and twelfth centuries after Christ, their dynasty ceasing in A.D. 1203. They were extremely powerful, and, according to the *Anvashṭa-Sambâdikôra*, Lakshmaṇa Sêna reigned for twelve years as far as Dehlî. Âdisûra was the first king of the race. It is uncertain in what year he wrested Bengal from the hands of the Pâla kings.—[See, however, Dr. Râjêndra Lâla Mitra's paper on the Pâla and Sêna Dynasties, in the *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. XLVII. 1878, Part I., p. 384.—G. A. G.]

[3] There is plenty of evidence that Mithilâ formed part of the kingdom of the Sênas. At the present time Maithila Brâhmaṇs use the Baṅgâlî alphabet,—[not strictly accurate, but sufficiently so for the purposes of the argument.—G. A. G.]—and the era of Lakshmaṇa Sêna. The era of Lakshmaṇa Sêna is not current in Bengal, although it is so in Mithilâ. Darbhaṅgâ is a corruption of Dwâra-baṅga, and Ayôdhyâ Prasâda, the historian of the Darbhaṅgâ Râj, has pointed out that Darbhaṅgâ is the western door of Bengal.—[This is the popular explanation, but I cannot believe it to be true. It is opposed to the rules of philology. I know of no instance in the modern languages of India, in which a *b* situated like the *b* of *baṅgâ*, has become *bh*. It is a standard saying in Mithilâ that the derivation of the names of places and people should not be sought for, as they cannot be found.—G. A. G.]

[4] There is considerable difference of opinion as to the date of Jayadêva. He was born in the village of Kenduvilva, on the north bank of the river Ajaya. The modern name of this village is Kedulî, and here a yearly festival takes place in memory of the poet. Mr. Elphinstone says that Jayadêva lived in the 14th century; while Bâbû Bajanî Kântâ Gupta, the author of a life of the poet, states that it may be admitted that he was born in the latter half of the 13th or former half of the 14th century, Professor Lassen maintains that his birth took place between the years 1100 and 1150, Professor Wilson calls him a follower of Râmânanda, and fixed Râmânanda's date as falling in the latter half of the 14th century or the former half of the 15th; and in that case the *Gîta-Gôvinda* must have been written in the 15th century. In our opinion Jayadêva was one of the gems of Lakshmaṇa Sêna's court, which is supported by Professor Lassen's opinion. In the doorway of Lakshmaṇa Sêna's palace, a slab has been found inscribed as follows:—

गोवर्धनश्च शरणो जयदेव उमापतिः ।
कविराजश्च रत्नानि समितौ लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥

"In the court of Lakshmâṇa Sêna, there were five gems, *viz.* Gôvardhana, Śaraṇa, Jayadêva, Umâpati, and Kavirâja." The opening lines of Jayadêva's poem contain some of the names of these gems, as follows:—

वाचः पल्लवयत्युमापतिधरः सन्दर्भशुद्धिं गिरां
जानीते जयदेव एव शरणः श्लाघ्यो दुरूहद्रुते ।
शृंङ्गारोत्तरसत्प्रमेयरचनैराचार्यगोवर्धनः
स्पर्धी को ऽपि न विश्रुतः श्रुतिधरो धोयी कविः क्ष्मापतिः ॥

[Not translated in the original. The translation is here given:—
"Umâpati is prolix in his language, and Jayadêva alone knows how to give a regular coherence to his words, while Śaraṇa is worthy to be praised for the ease with which he composes difficult verses. The master Gôvardhana is famous for his compositions excellently describing the most perfect love, and the poet Dhôyî, lord of the earth, is famous and without a rival." According to Maithil tradition there were two Jayadêvas, *viz.* (1) the famous author of the *Gîta-Gôvinda*; and (2) a less known poet, who with Vidyâpati and Umâpati adorned the court of king Śiva-Siṁha; see *J. A. S. B.* p. 76, sp. number, Part I. 1884, *Twenty-one Vaishṇava Hymns*, edited and translated by G. A. Grierson.—G. A. G.]

A comparison of these two passages makes it certain that Jayadêva was a member of the court of Lakshmaṇa Sêna. His songs quickly spread throughout India. The celebrated poet of Râjasthâna, Chand. in a catalogue of

When we notice that this poem was written in Sanskṛit, it must be considered that up to this time Baṅgâlî was held in little esteem; and in fact this was the case; the learned men of the country despised the local dialect, and were averse to using it. Lakshmaṇa Sêna[5] ruled in the twelfth century after Christ, at a time when Eastern India was blessed with peace. His kingdom had no need for preparations for battle, nor was it necessary to excite his subjects by the stirring strains of war-songs in the homely Doric of the people. He who sought for knowledge had leisure to study the abstruse technicalities of Sanskṛit; nor was his mind distracted by the necessity of protecting his independence, his religion, or his land.

From the time of Lakshmaṇa the garden of Baṅgâlî song commenced to wither, and in the reign of his grandson[6] the two sisters, Prosperity and Poetry disappeared from the land. The same bigoted barbarians who set fire to the library of Alexandria, became masters of India; and with India's freedom, disappeared her Sanskṛit civilization, and her collections of Sanskṛit works.[7] The thirst after knowledge which had existed in Bengal, the undying glory of Central India,—the devotion paid to Sanskṛit literature at the court of king Bhôja,[8] disappeared like a flash of lightning.

Nearly all the polished works of the Paṇḍits of the courts of Lakshmaṇa Sêna and king Bhôja have been devoured by the fires lighted by the Musalmâns. Only here and there a famous book, which had spread abroad in many copies, was preserved from their hands, but the garden, which had been planted and tended for many thousand years, was devastated root and branch.

It is probable that not very long after this catastrophe, the Sanskṛit-founded vernaculars of Northern India became a general means of communication, and hence we may fix their rise into importance as occurring in the thirteenth century after Christ. Similarly we see everywhere that the destruction of a nation causes the uprisal of a new national language. The Vandals, Franks, and other barbarian races conquered Rome, and then, and not till then, do we find the Latin language abandoned, and its place taken by Italian and other modern languages. The Muhammadans conquered Persia, and since then the modern Persian has taken the place of Zend:[9] and since the fall of ancient Turkey and Constantinople, we have only the modern Greek or Romaic language. So also in the place of our sacred tongue, Baṅgâlî,

Indian poets which he inserts in his epic [Chand, *Pṛithî Râj Râsau*, Vol. I. p. 5.

जयदेव अठं कवी कब्बिरायं ।

जिनै केवल कित्ती गोविन्द गायं ॥—[G. A. G.]

mentions the name of Jayadêva the author of the *Gîta-Gôvinda*, and hence we must conclude that Jayadêva was anterior to Chand. Chand was contemporary with Pṛithvî Râj of Dehlî, and was a courtier in attendance on Samarsî Râj of Chittôr. Pṛithvî Râj and Samarsî were overthrown in battle in 1193 A.D., and Chand's epic was written in the commencement of the 13th century. We must hence place Jayadêva early in the 12th century.

[5] According to the *Âîn-i-Akbarî*, Lakshmaṇa Sêna's father, the founder of the family, Ballâla Sêna, came to the throne in 1066 A.D., and according to the author of the *Samaya-Prakâśa* this same Ballâla Sêna had a book written called the *Dâna-Sâgara*, in the Śaka year 1011 = A.D. 1089. Ballâla Sêna lived for three years after this, and was succeeded by his son Lakshmaṇa Sêna, who therefore came to the throne in A.D. 1101. According to the *Brâhmana-Sarvasva*, a work written by Halâyudha, the minister of Lakshmaṇa Sêna, this king appears to have reigned certainly more than five years.—[As stated by Abû'l-Fazl.—G.A.G.] —Halâyudha states that Lakshmaṇa Sêna made him Court Paṇḍit when he was a boy, that when he became a youth he was made prime minister, and that when he ceased to be a youth he was made Dharmâdhikâra, or Chief Justice. Such a series of events could only occur in a long series of years, and hence it is most unlikely that Lakshmaṇa Sêna could only have lived for five years. The compiler of these facts therefore prefers to doubt Abû'l Fazl, and to fix the reign of Lakshmaṇa Sêna between the years 1101 and 1121 A.D.

[6] Minhâju'ddîn, the Musalmân historian, states that in the year A.D. 1203 Bakhtiyâr Khiljî conquered Bengal. At that time a king of the Sêna dynasty, eighty years of age, entitled Lakshmaṇiyâ, sat upon the throne of Navadvîpa. Who was this Lakshmaṇiyâ? It is difficult to decide the matter. Dr. Râjêndra Lâla Mitra maintains that "Lakshmaṇiyâ" is a corruption of the word Lakshmaṇêya [or Lâkshmaṇêya, G. A. G.]—This would represent a king whose real name was Aśôka Sêna, or Su Sêna, the son of Kêśava Sêna, the son of Lakshmaṇa Sêna. In Dr. Mitra's opinion, Lakshmaṇiyâ is formed by adding the patronymic affix *-êya* (ष्णेय) to the word Lakshmana. On this point we are not able to give a decided opinion, but the affix *-êya* (ष्ण्य) cannot follow Lakshmaṇa according to the rules of Sanskṛit grammar.—[See *Mugdhabôdha*, 415. बाह्वादितो ऽन्त्याबादेर्गर्गादेर्नडादेः पितृष्वस्रादेरेवंत्यादेः शेषाशिवादेः ष्णि ष्णेय ष्ण्य ष्णायन णीय ष्णिक ष्णा अपत्ये ॥ The ण of ष्णेय indicates *vṛiddhi* of the first syllable, hence we should expect Lâkshmaṇêya and not Lakshmaṇêya. According to Pâṇini this suffix is called *ḍhak* (Pâ., 4, 1. 120—125. Siddh. Kau., Vol I. p. 506.)—G. A. G.]

[[7] This is the invariable tradition also in North-West India.—ED.]

[8] King Bhôja reigned in Ujjayanî in the middle part of the twelfth century. He endeavoured to follow in the steps of another famous king of Ujjayanî, Vikramâditya, and received in his court a multitude of learned men. Everyone knows how the *Batriśa-Siṁhâsana* describes his efforts.

[9] [Or rather Pahlavî.—G. A. G.]

Hindî, Pañjâbî and the Râjpût languages, sprang up immediately after the Muhammadan conquest. We do not mean that just at that time these languages were created; on the contrary, for many generations back they had been gradually developing from Prâkṛit, and taking their present form in the mouths of the common people. Thus, many people say that Baṅgâlî is derived from the Prâkṛit dialect called *Ardha-Mâgadhî*; and if that is the case, it has taken a thousand years to assume its present form.[10] This Prâkṛit language was used by the common people, in the affairs of every-day life; while the learned conversed in the sacred tongue. According as the Musalmân empire extended, so did the respect for those who studied Sanskṛit decrease; the number of learned men became less and less; the Persian speech became necessary, and respect for it increased, and hence the dialects, which up to this had been those of the lower orders, with the aid of a slight admixture from Persian sources, took a new body, and became employed by every one, high and low.

It may be considered, that as in the time of Luther the European languages, and especially German, took a new form, so in many places a new religion has brought into existence with its doubts a new language, or that a new respect is paid to the language of the common people; and, indeed, the apostles of a new religion, in order to uproot the former cult, and to plant the seed of a new faith in the soil of the hearts of the ignorant crowd, do betake themselves to a language easily understanded of the people. If that were not so, how would Pâli be celebrated twenty-five centuries after it had ceased to be a written language. Buddha was far too clear-sighted not to understand how unsuccessful his mission would be, if he preached in difficult Sanskṛit, understood only by the upper classes. But before A.D. 1203 we can find no trace of any new religion being preached in that part of India governed by the Sênas.[11] It is uncertain when the *Bhâgavata Purâṇa*, and the *Brahma-Vaivarta-Purâṇa*[12] became well-known: even the date of the *Śaṁkara-Vijaya*[13] cannot be fixed with certainty. And neither the author of the *Bhâgavata*, nor of the *Brahma-Vaivarta*, nor the illustrious Śaṁkara ever tried to shake any person's faith in his own religion. Râmânuja and Madhvâcharya,[14] it is true, had spread the Vaishṇava religion throughout Southern India: and they and their disciples had become powerful in the 11th and 12th centuries, but there is no proof of the seed of their faith ever having been planted in Bengal.[15] They were Vaishṇavas, it is true, but they inculcated the worship of Râma, and we have never heard of any worship whatever of Râma existing in Bengal. There can be no doubt but that in the tenth and eleventh centuries the *Bhâgavata* and other similar books were much honoured by Sanskṛit scholars, and in that case the narrative of the sports of Kṛishṇa would necessarily have been deeply engraven in their hearts; but before the manifestation of Chaitanya no one arose in Bengal filled with the desire of converting the mass of the people to his way of thinking. Hence, on a consideration of all these circumstances, we can assume that, prior to the conquest of Bengal by the Muhammadans, no sufficient reason had arisen for changing the standard language of the country into that of the language commonly known as Baṅgâlî, and that no written evidence has floated down to us along the stream of time to prove that before that

[10] [Baṅgâlî is certainly the offspring of Mâgadhî Prâkṛit. Bihârî, on the contrary, is descended from Ardha-Mâgadhî.—G. A. G.]

[11] Some say that the *Bhâgavata* is the work of Vôpadêva, the author of the *Mugdhabôdha*. Wilson and Colebrooke incline to this opinion, and consider that it was written in the 13th century; but we can find no sufficient reason for such a theory. It is improbable that this, the best of all the *Purâṇas*, should have been written after the Muhammadan conquest.

[12] According to Wilson this *Purâṇa* was written in the 14th century. From internal evidence it appears to be a modern work.

[13] M. Nibh (?) and Wilson place Śaṁkarâchârya in the 8th or 9th century.

[14] The author of the *Smṛiti-Kâla-Taraṅga* fixes Râmânuja's date as 1127 A.D. Wilson is of a similar opinion, *viz.* that he was born in the latter half of the 11th century, and did not become famous till the 12th. Madhvâcharya is the celebrated author of the *Sarva-Darśana-Saṁgraha*. He also wrote many other works. He was a disciple of Râmânuja.

[15] Wilson calls Jayadêva a follower of Râmânanda; and according to him Tulasîdâsa and Jayadêva were of one faith. In our opinion, this is by no means the case. A reference to the *Gîta-Gôvinda* will show that Jayadêva in no way adored Vishṇu in his incarnation of Râmachandra. The eleventh—[? tenth.—G. A. G.] book of the *Bhâgavata* is the origin of the poem of Jayadêva, and he adored Vishṇu under the form of Kṛishṇa. It is true that in the *Chaitanya-Charitâmṛita* and other books of that sort, Râmânanda is spoken of as an old master, but, simply on this account, it must not be surmised that his form of religion ever became prominent in Bengal.

occurrence, Baṅgâlî was the standard language of the country.[16]

There are some who maintain that the Baṅgâlî language dates from the time of the Pâla[17] kings.

The Pâla kings were Buddhists, and Mahîpâla was the most powerful of the line. Owing to their power, and the oppression displayed by them, the Brâhmaṇs of Bengal were compelled to desert the country. It is not improbable that under such a race of kings the sacred tongue should have been held in small esteem, and that in their time the Baṅgâlî language took its present form.

But, be that as it may, we have proved this, that in Bengal for many centuries the Sanskṛit language was held in especial honour, that up to the end of the twelfth century learned men used Sanskṛit as the ordinary means of communication, in the ordinary affairs of common life; and that if any old master had a book to write he wrote it in that language. Before the 12th century no master ever had recourse to the dialect of the vulgar in composing a work dedicated either to amusement or to instruction. On the other hand, the Prâkṛit used by the common people in ordinary conversation became gradually altered in the ninth and tenth centuries, and under the rule of the Buddhist Pâla kings took a new form not essentially different from modern Baṅgâlî. Subsequently, under the Sanskṛit influence of the Sêna kings, this dialect received small encouragement, and Sanskṛit, regaining its lost ascendancy under the favouring influence of the dynasty, acted as a powerful drag upon its development. But when once the field of Bengal was touched by the hand of the Muhammadans, Sanskṛit civilization closed itself up like a modest creeper, and the dialect, which up to this time had been only a vehicle of common talk, two hundred years subsequently took a new form, and commenced to trickle forth like honey in the writings of a new line of poets.

Bengal, it is true, was ruled by the Muhammadans, but the Muhammadan language, and the Muhammadan faith never succeeded in entering the homes of the Baṅgâlîs. The timid Baṅgâlî attended the funeral pyre of his freedom without a pang, but no persecution could induce him to be a traitor to his Hindû religion and his Hindû customs. The North-Western provinces were directly under the feet of the emperor of Dehlî, and there the speech of the people speedily became more or less adulterated with Arabic and Persian words, but our ancestors adopted but few Persian forms, and hence their dialect became little modified by the invasion. Baṅgâlî had departed little from its Sanskṛit original, and gradually it became a well-known and harmonious language; and at length, in the court of king Śiva-Siṁha, Vidyâpati took the strains of the *Gîta-Gôvinda*, sung so many years before the Muhammadan conquest, by the side of the waters of Ajaya, as they purled past Kenduvilva, and created a new and wondrous kind of lay.[18]

The Afghâns and Paṭhâns had conquered Bengal and Bihâr; but while good fighters they were wanting in intellect, and were compelled to allow the burden of government of their subjects to remain in the hands of the Hindûs. These Hindû kings, as long as they acknowledged their submission to the Mughals by the payment of an annual tribute, were practically independent. In some places the

[16] [The author here discusses the question of the alphabet of the Brâhmaṇs of Mithilâ, which is practically the same as that of Bengal. He assumes that the Maithila Brâhmans borrowed it from Bengal: and on this supposition he founds arguments to prove that this borrowing must have taken place before the Muhammadan conquest. As, however, the basis of the argument is an assumption, and as the Maithila Brahmans contend that the Baṅgâlîs borrowed the alphabet from them, it has not been thought necessary to translate this portion of the original, more especially as the subject is of small importance, and hardly comes within the scope of the present article.—G. A. G.]

[17] It is impossible to say exactly when the Pâla kings reigned. It is known that they were Buddhists, and there are traditions that they were in the habit of divesting Brâhmaṇs of the sacred thread, on account of which Bengal became deserted by them. It is said that for that reason Âdiśûra was subsequently compelled to import Brâhmaṇs from Kanyakubjâ into Bengal. From the various inscriptions on copperplates found relating to them, it appears that Dêva Pâla, and Râja Pâla, [or rather Râjya Pala,—G.A.G.] were very great kings. The name of Mahî Pâla is even more widely celebrated. In the year A.D. 1026 he established the Buddhistic religion in Banâras itself. In Dinâjpur there is a tank, which is still called that of Mahîpâla, and to the present day there is a proverb current: धान्भान्ते महीपालेर् गीत,—the song of Mahîpâla at paddy husking, *i.e.* trying to do two things at once. —[The principal town of the neighbouring district of Raṅgpur is also called Mahîgañj.—G. A. G.]

[18] [It should be remembered that Vidyâpati wrote in Maithilî, which in those days was as distinct from Baṅgâlî as it is now. This is evident from a perusal of the works of Chaṇḍî Dâs, a contemporary of Vidyâpati, who wrote in pure Baṅgâlî.—G. A. G.]

Nawâbs continued the old Hindû kings on their former thrones, and in others they appointed new Hindûs to be kings, but, in either case, once that was done, they never interfered as long as the tribute was paid. All these princes were warm encouragers of learning, and desiring to emulate the fame of Vikramâditya, Lakshmaṇa Sêna, and Bhôja Râja, showed no niggard hand in encouraging preeminence in the knowledge of the *Śâstras*. Their courts were the asylums of Sanskṛit *belles lettres* and philosophy, and about this time many works, celebrated to the present day, were composed. They also gradually began to turn their attention to Baṅgâlî,[19] and in a very short time poems in that language began to be composed. These vernacular poets were specially honoured by the princes, and the names of several of the most famous have come down to us. Vidyâpati, Kavi Kaṅkaṇa, Râya Guṇâkara, all these wrote their songs for the delight of these petty courts. The Emperor of Dehlî's Viceroys at Gauḍa, Ḍhâkâ, and Murshidâbâd, surrounded by wanton dancing girls, and now and then taking a glance at the state of their treasury, lived like animals, engrossed in the enjoyment of sensual pleasures. They encouraged no kind of learning, either Persian, Sanskṛit or Baṅgâlî, while the subordinate Hindû princes were giving free grants of land to learned Brâhmaṇs, were promoting their religion by erecting new temples and new images of their gods, and were living in the enjoyment of a pure happiness, immersed in the study of their sacred books and poems. Through their efforts and generosity, in two hundred years, the Baṅgâlî language made astonishing progress.

In this way Mithilâ (or Darbhaṅgâ), while nominally under the sway of the Muhammadans, was really governed by a race of Hindû kings. They were in every way similar to the feudatory kings of the present day. They acknowledged their subordination to the Emperor of Dehlî, and paid him a yearly tribute, but in every other respect they were independent of him. From the year A.D. 1348 to 1549 Mithilâ was under a race of Brâhmaṇ kings,[20] and the third [or rather sixth.—G.A.G.] of this race was king Śiva Siṁha, who came to the throne in A.D. 1446, and reigned for three years and nine months. According to the *Pâñj*[21] Dêva Siṁha was his father, and Lakhimâ and Viśvâsadêvî his two wives. He was extremely celebrated, not only from the fact that Vidyâpati mentions him in his poems, for his name is famous to the present day, and the people of Mithilâ have nowadays a proverb that he alone was entitled to be called a king.[22] Vidyâpati attended the court of this famous king, and therefore we may consider that his poems appeared in the former half of the 15th century.

Vidyâpati's father was Gaṇapati, the son of Jaya Datta, the son of Dhîrêśvara, the

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[19] [Baṅgâlîs to the present day maintain that Vidyâpati wrote in old Baṅgâlî. It is hardly necessary to point out that this is not the fact. Maithilî is as different from Baṅgâlî as Gujarâtî is from Hindî.—G.A.G.]

[20] Ayôdhyâ Prasâda has given this line in his history of Darbhaṅgâ as follows:—

1. Bhava Siṁha (*alias* Bhavêśvara Siṁha) came to the throne A. D. 1348
2. Dêva Siṁha 1385
3. Śiva Siṁha 1446
4. Lakhimâ Dêvî 1449
5. Viśvâsa Dêvî 1458
6. Drabya Nârâyaṇa (*alias* Nara Siṁha Dêva) ... 1470
7. Hṛidaya Nârâyana (*alias* Dhîra Siṁha) 1471
8. Hari Nârâyaṇa (*alias* Bhairava Siṁha) 1506
9. Rûpa Nârâyaṇa (*alias* Râma Bhadra)........... 1520
10. Kaṁsa Nârâyana (*alias* Lakshmînâtha)........ 1532

[Ayôdhyâ Prasâda's history is in Urdû, and the names have been incorrectly read and given in the original. I give the correct names as found in the *pâñj* of this family. I may add that Bhava Siṁha was third of the dynasty, and not the first. Cf. Appendix V. p. 196, *post*.—G.A.G.]

[21] The *Pâñj* is a book giving particulars concerning the kings and Brâhmaṇs of Mithilâ, and much useful information can be gathered from it.—[The *Pâñj* is one of the most extraordinary series of records in existence. It is composed of an immense number of palm-leaf MSS. containing an entry for the birth and marriage of every pure Brâhman in Mithilâ: they go back for many hundred years, the *Pâñjiârs* say for more than a thousand. These *Pâñjiârs*, or hereditary genealogists, go on regular annual tours, entering the names of the Brâhmaṇs born in each village during the past year, as they go along. The names are all entered, as no Brâhman can marry any woman who has not been entered in the *pâñj* and *vice versâ*. At certain conjunctions of the heavenly bodies large marriage fairs are held at Saurâṭh, Mahêsi and other places, which are attended by the parents of marriageable children, and these *Pâñjiârs*, after ascertaining from the *pâñj* that the parties are not within the forbidden bounds of consanguinity, and that there is no other lawful impediment, the marriage contract takes places.—G.A.G.]

[22] पोखरि रजोखरी और सभ पोखरा
राजा सिब सिँघ और सभ छोकड़ा

"The tank at Rajôkharî is indeed a tank, all others are mere ponds: king Śiva-Siṁha was indeed a king. all others are mere princelets."—[The translation given in the original is incorrect. I have accordingly corrected it. Rajôkharî is the name of a village where there is a very large tank, said to have been dug by Śiva-Siṁha.—G.A.G.]

son of Dêvâditya, the son of Karmâditya.[23]

In the year A.D. 1400 he was presented with the village of Bisapî,[24] and to the present day this village is in possession of his descendants.[25]

Vidyâpati died an old man, and was the author of many works, amongst them the *Purusha-Parîkshâ*.[26] This work was translated into Bangâlî for the use of the students at Fort William College in Calcutta. The *Durgâbhakti-Taramginî*, the *Dânavâkyâvalî*, the *Vivâda-Sâra*, the *Gayâ-Pattana*, and other works are said to have been composed by him. The *Purusha-Parîkshâ* was written during the reign of Śiva-Simha, *i.e.* between A.D. 1446 and 1450.[27] The *Durgâbhakti-Taramginî* was written during the reign of Nara Simha Dêva,[28] that is to say after A. D. 1472.

In the commencement of the *Durgâbhakti-Taramginî* it is stated that Vidyâpati wrote the work during the reign of Nara Simha Dêva, at the request of the prince Rûpa Nârâyaṇa. Nara Simha came to the throne in A. D. 1470 and as the grant of Bisapî was made in the year A. D. 1400, this work must have been written in the poet's old age.[29]

The celebrated Vâchaspati-Miśra was writing at this time in Mithilâ the *Tattva-Kaumudî*, the *Vivâda-Chintâmaṇi*, and other works. He was therefore a contemporary of Vidyâpati, and an attendant at the court of Śiva-Simha.

We have already stated that Chaṇḍî Dâsa was a contemporary of Vidyâpati, and had also made his name famous by writing songs describing the sports of Krishṇa. Each hearing of the other's fame, they had an interview which has been celebrated in several poems.[30] The legend runs that the interview took place on the banks of the Bhâgirathî. Chaṇḍî Dâsa lived in the village of Nannûr in Bîrbhûm; which gave rise to the tradition that Vidyâpati was also born either in Bîrbhûm or Bâmkuṛâ.

The collection of Vaishṇava songs called the *Pada-Kalpataru* contains several songs by one Rûpa Nârâyaṇa, and it is most likely that he and Śiva-Simha were not the same person; although Vidyâpati in many of the *Bhaṇitâs* of his songs gives Śiva-Simha the title of Rûpa Nârâyaṇa. That the word Rûpa Nârâyaṇa was used as a title there can be no doubt, and there is not a single song of Vidyâpati's from which it can be gathered that they were two different persons. In one place[31] the poet

[23] [The original gives Dharmâditya, which according to the *Pâñj* is incorrect. Karmâditya's father was Harâditya, the son of Vishṇuśarman, who is called the founder of the family, and who lived in the village called Bisapî, modern Bisphî.—G.A.G.]

[24] King Śiva Simha gave him this village at a time when he was heir apparent to the throne.—[The original here gives some untranslated extracts from the deed of endowment. I give the whole, with a translation in Appendix Nô. I. p. 190.—G. A. G.]

[25] [Nanû Thâkur and Phaṇî Lâl Ṭhâkur, both 12th in descent from Vidyâpati. The latter of these two has lately died.—G. A. G.]

[26] Vidyâpati in the commencement and conclusion of this work, states that it was made during the lifetime of, and at the request of, Śiva Simha.—[I give the opening and concluding lines with a translation in Appendix No. II. p. 191.—G. A. G.]

[27] [Not the fact. It was written during the reign of Dêva Simha.—G. A. G.]

[28] [*Alias* Hara Dêva Nârâyaṇa (? Drabya Narâyaṇa.) —G. A. G.]

[29] [Mr. Beames doubts if Vidyâpati could have lived to such an age; and I myself am not by any means certain that these dates (which, with the exception of the date of the grant, which is certain, depend entirely on the authority of Ayôdhyâ Prasâda), are correct. I may point out, however, that one of the best Paṇḍits in Mithilâ is over 80, and is now translating the *Hitôpadêśa* into Maithilî for me. I give the opening lines of the *Durgâbhakti-Taramginî* in Appendix No. III. p. 192.—G. A. G.]

[30] It is quite certain that Chaṇḍi Dâsa dwelt in Bîrbhûm. The village of Nannûr is shown as his abode, where an image and temple of his patron goddess Bâmśulî Ṭhâkurâṇî is still shown, and where there are many legends concerning him. There are several poems concerning the interview of the two poets.—[The original here gives some extracts from poems in the *Vaishṇava-Pada-Katpataru*. The whole of the poems, with a translation, are given in Appendix. IV. p. 193.—G. A. G.]

[31] चीरजीव बहु पँचगौड़ेश्वर कबि बियापति भाण ॥

[but this is only found in the Bangâlî recension of Vidyâpati, and is not known in Mithilâ.

I have collected most of the songs of Vidyâpati current in Mithilâ, and they have been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in my *Maithil Chrestomathy*. In these the following are the *Bhaṇitâs* in which Vidyâpati's patrons are mentioned :—

(1.) (*Vid.* 6, 14, and 41.)

राजा सब सिँघ रूप नरायन

लखिमा दई प्रति भाने ॥

(Vidyâpati) sings in the presence of king Śiva Simha Rûpa Nârâyaṇa, and his queen Lakhimâ.

(2.) (*Vid.* 24, and 32.)

रसमय बियापति कबि गाव ।

राजा सब सिँघ बुझ रस भाव ॥

Vidyâpati the poet sings a song of love, and king Śiva Simha understands it.

(3.) (*Vid.* 30, and 73.)

भनहिँ बियापति प्रेहो रस जान

राय सिब सिँघ लखिमा विरमान

Vidyâpati says king Śiva Simha, and Lakhimâ his queen, know this love.

(4.) राजा सिब सिँघ रूप नरायण

प्राणबती कँठहार

calls Śiva Siṁha, the Pañcha-Gauḍeśvara, or lord of the five Gauḍas. From this it may be imagined that Śiva Siṁha was a Baṅgâlî monarch; but it is impossible to imagine that, under the Muhammadan rule, any Hindû king could conquer the whole of Bengal; hence the epithet must not be taken literally, but only as signifying the extreme power and excellence of this king over other kings.

Nothing more is certainly known about Vidyâpati; there are some legends about him, but they are hardly deserving of confidence. To satisfy the curiosity of our readers we give two of them.

(1.) "The emperor of Dehlî carried off king Śiva Siṁha to his capital in order to punish him for some offence. Vidyâpati hearing this hastened to Dehlî to release him, and entering into the presence of the emperor declared his ability to see things hidden from him, as well as if they were before his eyes. Hearing this, and in order to test him, the emperor ordered him to be tightly fastened up in a wooden box. In the meantime he made a number of women of the town bathe in the river and afterwards go home, and then sending for the poet told him to describe what had happened on the banks of the Yamunâ.

Vidyâpati by the favour of the lotus feet of his guardian deity, although he had not seen what had occurred, described it exactly as if he had seen it."[32]

The legend goes on to say, that the emperor, seeing Vidyâpati's superhuman power released king Śiva Siṁha, and gave the poet the village called Bisapî. But king Śiva Siṁha himself gave this village to the poet, and the deed of endowment has already been quoted.

(2.) "Vidyâpati, feeling that his end was near, determined to visit the Ganges. On the way he began to consider that the holy Bhâgirathî is the child of the faithful, and that there was no reason why it should not come to him, instead of his going to it. As he thus thought, he there and then sat down, and immediately the Bhâgirathî, dividing itself into three streams, spread out its waves up to the very spot where the poet was sitting. Joyfully gazing on the sacred waters, Vidyâpati laid himself down and died. A *Śiva-Liṅga* sprang up where his funeral pyre had been. That *Liṅga* and the marks of the river are seen to this day; and for all these reasons the place has become famous. It is in the northern part of the town of Bâzitpûr, on the north side of the river Bhâgirathî (Ganges) about five *kôs* from the town of Bâṛh."

That Vidyâpati was a devout follower of the *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* there can be no doubt. In the year of Lakshmaṇa Sêna 349 (=A.D. 1456) he copied out the whole of this work with his own hand, and this copy is still in possession of his descendants. In fact, in the 12th and 13th centuries after Christ, the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, the *Brahma-Vaivarta-Purâṇa*, the *Bhagavad-Gîtâ*, and *Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* had greatly altered the Hindû religion. In Bengal the Śâkta and Tântrik forms of worship had been powerful, but on the publication of these few books the number of their followers began to decline. Men who lived in the reign of Lakshmaṇa Sêna, had probably begun to worship Vishṇu under the form of Râdhâ and Kṛishṇa, and their chief guides were the works of the Jayadêva and Murâri. Shortly afterwards Bîrbhûm and Mithilâ produced Chaṇḍî Dâsa, and Vidyâpati, and they, being devoted to the praise of the sports of Râdhâ and Kṛishṇa, had recourse to the common vernaculars, and thereby relieved the pent up aspirations of their souls. Not long afterwards, the moon of Navadvîpa, the

King Śiva Siṁha Rûpa Nârâyaṇa, and Prâṇavatî his necklace.

(5.) (*Vid.* 61.)

भनहिँ बिद्यापति सुनु परमान ।
बुझु त्रिप राघब नव पचोबान ॥

Vidyâpati says, "Hear, and take it for granted, king Râghava understands young love.

(6.) (*Vid.* 75.)

राजा सिब सिँघ मन दय सजनी
मोदवती देइ कन्त

O Friend, king Śiva Siṁha, the beloved of queen Môdavatî pays attention.

(7.) (*Vid.* 76.)

मोदवती पति राघव सिँघ गति
कबि बिद्यापाति गाई

Vidyâpati sings, "Râghava Siṁha, the lord of Môdavatî, is my refuge."—G. A. G.]

[32] [By reciting a song descriptive of a woman returning from her bath, in the Maithilî dialect, which is extant to this day. It is the first in my edition of his songs.—G. A. G.]

lord Chaitanya[33] himself appeared, intoxicated with the sweetness of their strains in prose and verse.

In the time of Vidyâpati, Bengal and Mithilâ were not distinct as they are now. Then the customs and language[34] of both countries were nearly the same, and the learned men of each were on mutual terms of good feeling. From the writings of the 14th and 15th centuries, whether in Baṅgâlî or Sanskṛit, it is evident that the Baṅgâlî Paṇḍits did not look upon the the Maithilî Paṇḍits as forming a distinct caste. The Eastern Baṅgâlîs adopted Vidyâpati's songs almost as soon as they were written, and amongst men of taste the foreign Vidyâpati was preferred even to the Baṅgâlî Chaṇḍî Dâsa. We ceased to call him a Maithila poet, but, calling him a Baṅgâlî, gave him unhesitatingly a niche in the temple of our hearts. The language of the songs of Vidyâpati which are found in the *Pada-Kalpataru*, differ somewhat from the language of those songs of his which are current in Mithilâ[35]; but, whether knowingly or unknowingly, all we who meditate on the sports of Kṛishṇa, whether poets or worshippers, have placed him on the throne as prince of poets, and claimed him as our own, although he belonged to another land. In imitation of him Gôvinda Dâsa, Kṛishṇa Dâsa, Narôttama Dâsa, Jñâna Dâsa, Srî Nivâs, Narahari Dâsa, and other Vaishṇava poets, have sung their lays, and made their names famous thereby, and he will be long honoured at the head of the roll of Baṅgâlî poets. Even when the sun of the Hindû religion has set, when belief in faith in Kṛishṇa, and in that medicine for the "disease of existence," the hymns of Kṛishṇa's love, is extinct, still the love borne for the songs of Vidyâpati in which he tells of Kṛishṇa and Râdhâ, will never be diminished.

TRANSLATOR'S APPENDICES.

No. I. NOTE 24, p. 188.

The following is the deed of endowment granting Bisapî to Vidyâpati. It happened that for reasons which need not be detailed here, I have been unable to get possession of the actual copperplate. I managed, however, to get a carefully corrected copy. It has never, I believe, been published.

श्रीगजरथपुरात् समस्तप्रक्रियाविराजमान-श्रीमद्रामेश्वरीवरलब्धप्रसाद-भवानीभक्तिभावनापरायण-रूपनरायण-महाराजाधिराज-श्रीमच्छिवसिंहदेवपादास्समरविजयिनो जरैल-तप्पायां बिसपीग्रामवास्तव्यसकललोकान् भूकर्षकाँश्च समादिशन्ति । ज्ञातमस्तु भवताम् । ग्रामोऽयमस्माभिः सप्रक्रियाभिनवजयदेव-महापण्डित-ठक्कुर-श्रीविद्यापतिभ्यः शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो । ग्रामकस्था यूयमेतेषां वचनकरी भूकर्षकादिकर्म्म करिष्यथेति ॥ लसं २८३ श्रावण सुदि ७ गुरौ ॥

श्लोकास्तु ॥

अब्दे लक्ष्मणसेनभूपतिमते वह्निग्रहद्व्यङ्किते ।
मासि श्रावणसञ्ज्ञके मुनितिथौ पक्षेऽवलक्षे गुरौ ।
वाग्वत्यास्सरितस्तटे गजरथेत्याख्याप्रसिद्धे पुरे ।
दित्सोत्साहविवृद्धिबाहुपुलकः सभ्याय मध्ये शुभम् ॥१॥
प्रज्ञावान् प्रचुरोर्वरं पृथुतराभोगं नदीमातृकम् ।
सारण्यं ससरोवरं च बिसपीनामानमासीमतः ।
श्रीविद्यापतिशर्मणे सुकवये पुत्रादिभिर्भुञ्जताम् ।
स श्रीमान् शिवसिंहदेवनृपतिर्ग्रामं ददे शासनम् ॥२॥
येन साहसमयेन सत्त्रिणा तुङ्गवाहवरपृष्ठवर्त्तिना ।
अश्वपत्तिबलयोर्बलं जितं गज्जनाधिपतिगौड़भूभुजाम् ॥ ३ ॥
रौप्यकुम्भ इव कज्जलरेखा श्वेतपद्म इव शैवलवल्ली ।
यस्य कीर्तिनवकेतककान्त्या म्लानिमेति विजितो हरिणाङ्कः ॥ ४ ॥
द्विषन्नृपतिवाहिनीरुधिरवाहिनीकोटिभिः
प्रतापतरुवृद्धये समरमेदनी प्लाविता ।
समस्तहरिदङ्गनाचिकुरपाशवासक्षमं
सितप्रसरपाण्डुरं जगति येन लब्धं यशः ॥ ५ ॥
मतङ्गजरथप्रदः कनकदानकल्पद्रुम-
स्तुलापुरुषमद्भुतं निजधनैः पिता दापितः ।
सुखानि च महात्मना जगति येन भूमीभुजा
परापरपयोनिधिः प्रथममैत्रपात्रं सदा ॥ ६ ॥
नरपतिकुलमान्यः कर्णशिक्षावदान्यः

[33] He was born in 1401 Śaka = A.D., 1484 as the old rhyme says,

चौद्दशत सात शके जन्मेर प्रमाण ।
चौद्दशत पञ्चान्ने हइला अन्तर्धान
फाल्गुण पूर्णिमा सन्ध्याय प्रभुर जन्मोदय ।
सेइ काले दैवजोग चन्द्रेर ग्रहण हय ॥

—*Chaitanya-Charitâmṛita* I. 17.

[34] [This is not the fact as regards the language. The Baṅgâlî of Chaṇḍî Dâsa is quite a different language from the Maithilî of Vidyâpati, and they were contemporaries.—G. A. G.]

[35] [Only four or five of the songs in the *Pada-Kalpataru* are known in Mithilâ.—G. A. G.]

परिचितपरमार्थो दानतुष्टार्थिसार्थः ।
निजचरितपवित्रो देवसिंहस्य पुत्रः
स जयति शिवसिंहो वैरिनागेन्द्रसिंहः ॥ ७ ॥
ग्रामे गृह्णन्त्यमुष्मिन् किमपि नृपतयोहिंन्दवोऽन्ये तुरुष्का
गोकोलं स्वात्ममांसैः सहितमनुदिनं भुञ्जते ते स्वधर्मम् ।
ये चैनं ग्रामरत्नं नृपकररहितं पालयन्ति प्रतापै-
स्तेषां सत्कीर्तिगाथा दिशि दिशि सुचिरं गीयतां वन्दि-
वृन्दैः ॥ ८ ॥
सन ८०७ संवत १४५५ शाके १३२१ । शुभमस्तु ।

From Gajarathapura.—The victorious feet of king Śiva-Siṁha, illumined with all prerogatives, who has obtained favour by a boon at the hands of Râmêśvarî, who is intent on encouraging the faith of Bhavânî, Rûpa Nârâyaṇa, order and command all inhabitants and cultivators of Bisapî in Parganâ Jarail, as follows:— Be it known to you that this village is given by us to the great Paṇḍit Śrî Vidyâpati Ṭhakkura, glorious as a new Jayadêva. According to his commands must ye cultivate. Thursday, 7th of the light half of Śrâvaṇa, L. S. 293 (=A. D. 1400).

Verses.

(1 and 2.) In the year 293 called after Lakshmaṇa Sêna, in the month called Śrâvaṇa, on the seventh lunar day, in the light half of the moon, on Thursday, the wise and illustrious king Śiva Siṁha Dêva, the hairs of whose arms bristled with the desire of giving, in the midst of his famous city known as Gajaratha, gave to the excellent poet Śrî Vidyâpati Śarman, and to be enjoyed by his children, that village on the banks of the Vâgvatî known as Bisapî, up to its borders, with much cultivated lands, of wide extent, watered by rivers, endowed with woods and tanks.

(3.) By whom, courageous, sacrificer to the gods, and riding on the backs of excellent elephants (?), the armies, horse and foot soldiers of the kings of Gajjana and Gauḍa were conquered.[36]

(4.) The brilliancy of the fresh *kêtaka*-flower of whose glory has conquered the moon, and made it to fade, even as a silver jar is dimmed by collyrium, or a white lotus by a trailing *śaivala*-plant.

(5.) By whom, for the increase of the tree of his glory, the battle-field was soaked with tens of millions of rivers of the blood of the armies of kings who were his enemies; and who thus gained a glory in the universe, brilliant as a mass of whiteness, and able to clothe the tresses of all the (*female*)-quarters of the earth.

(6.) His father was a giver of elephants and chariots, and a wishing-tree of golden gifts; and through him he gave out of his own wealth, a wondrous gift equal to his (*father's*) weight in gold. By him, high-minded ruler of the earth, happiness was created, and the recipient of his first friendship was the eastern and western sea (*for no one else was worthy of it*).

(7.) Honoured amidst the race of kings, skilled in the science of archery, knowing the chief end of man, pleasing with his gifts the crowd of applicants for his favours, pure in habit, such is he, Śiva Siṁha, the son of Dêva Siṁha, as, like a lion, he overcomes the elephants of his enemies.

(8.) If any Hindû or Musalmân king ever annex this village, may he eat, together with his own flesh, that of cows and pigs according to his religion; while as for those who protect this jewel of a village from the royal tax, may the song of their good fame be sung by crowds of poets for ages in every land.

No. II. NOTE 26, p. 188.

The opening and concluding lines of the *Purusha-Parîkshâ* are as follows:—They have never, I believe, been printed before. They are taken from a correct copy in the possession of Bâbû Baṁśî-Dhârî Siṁha, of Râghabpur, in the Darbhaṅga District.

OPENING LINES.

ब्रह्मापि यां नौति नुतः सुरेण
यामर्चितोऽप्यर्चयतीन्दुमौलिः ।
यां ध्यायति ध्यानगतोऽपि विष्णु-
स्तामादिशक्तिं शिरसा प्रपद्ये ॥ १ ॥
वीरेषु मान्याः सुधियां वरेण्यो
विद्यावतामादिविलेखनीयः ।
श्रीदेवसिंहक्षितिपालसूनु-
र्जीयाच्चिरं श्रीशिवसिंहदेवः ॥ २ ॥
शिशूनां सिद्ध्यर्थं नयपरिचितैर्नूतनधियां
मुदे पौरस्त्रीणां मनसिजकलाकौतुकयुषाम् ।
निदेशान्निःशङ्कं सपदि शिवसिंहक्षितिपतेः

[36] The original of this line is very obscure and is probably incorrectly written in my copy.

कथानां प्रस्तावं विरचयति विद्यापतिकविः ॥ ३ ॥
नयानुबोधेन गुणेन वापि
कथारसस्यापि कुतूहलेन ।
बुधोऽपि वैदग्ध्यविशुद्धचेताः
प्रबन्धमाकर्णयतां न किम्मे ॥ ४ ॥
पुरुषाः परिचीयन्ते युक्तेरस्याः परीक्षया ।
तत्पुरुषपरीक्षायां कथा सर्वजनप्रिया ॥ ५ ॥

CONCLUDING LINES.

भुक्त्वा राज्यसुखं विजित्य हरितो हत्त्वा रिपून् सङ्गरे
हुत्वा चैव हुताशनं मखविधौ भृत्वा धनैरर्थिनः ।
वाग्वत्याः भवसिंहदेवनृपतिस्त्यक्त्वा शिवाग्रे वपुः
पूतो यस्य पितामहः स्वरगमद्दारद्वयालङ्कृतः ॥ ६ ॥
सङ्कुरीपुरसरोवरकर्त्ता हेमहस्तिरथदानविदग्धः ।
भाति यस्य जनको रणजेता देवसिंहगुणराशिः ॥ ७ ॥
यो गौड़ेश्वरगज्जने खररणे क्षौणीषु लब्ध्वा यशः
दिक्कान्ताचयकुन्तलेषु नयते कुन्दस्य दामास्पदम् ।
तस्य श्रीशिवसिंहदेवनृपतेर्विज्ञप्रियस्याज्ञया
ग्रन्थं (*something illegible*) नीतिविषये विद्यापति-
र्व्यातनोत् ॥ ८ ॥

OPENING LINES.

(1.) That primeval Śakti which Brahman even, praised by the other gods, praises, which Śiva, worshipped by them, worships, and which Vishṇu, meditated upon by them, meditates upon, I salute.

"(2.) May Śrî Śiva Siṁha Dêva, the son of Dêva Śri Dêva Siṁha, honoured amongst heroes, excelling among the learned, worthy to be written first amidst the wise, live long.

"(3.) For the accomplishment of the moral instruction of children of unripe understanding, and for the delectation of city women devoted to the enjoyment of love, at the command of Śiva Siṁha the king, Vidyâpati the poet fearlessly at once commenced the compilation of these tales.

"(4.) Will not also the Paṇḍit, whose intellect has been made clear by his intelligence, hear my work, either for the sake of the advantages to be gained by an acquaintance with morals, or from a curiosity regarding the elegance of the stories.

"(5.) Men are recognised by the touchstone of inference (from these stories), and therefore the "Touchstone of Men" will be "pleasing to every person,"

CONCLUDING LINES.

"(6.) He whose pure grandfather (*on the banks*) of the Vâgvati, king Bhava Siṁha Dêva, adorned with two wives, left his body in the presence of Śiva, and went to heaven, after having enjoyed the blessings of his kingdom, and after having conquered the universe, and slain his enemies in battle, offering oblations to fire according to the rules of sacrifice, and supporting suppliants by his wealth.

"(7.) Whose father, Dêva Siṁha, a conqueror in battle, in whom all worthy qualities were collected, is now alive (भाति), who dug the tank of Saṅkurîpura, and was skilled in granting gifts of gold, elephants, and chariots.

"(8.) He who, after gaining glory in a terrible battle with the king of Gauḍa and with (*him of*) Gajjana, is conducting it to its home in the white *kunda*-flower in the ringlets of all the ladies of the quarters.

"(10.) At the order of this Śri Śiva Siṁha Dêva the king, the friend of the learned Vidyâpati compiled this . . . . . . treatise on morals."[37]

No. III. NOTE 29, p. 188.

The following are the opening lines of the *Durgâbhakti-Taraṁgiṇî*. They have never yet, I believe, been printed. I have taken them from a good copy in the possession of the gentleman from whom I obtained a copy of the *Purusha-Parîkshâ*.

अभिवाञ्छितसिद्ध्यर्थं वन्दितो यः सुरैरपि ।
सर्वविघ्नच्छिदे तस्मै गणाधिपतये नमः ॥ १ ॥
भक्त्या नम्रसुरेन्द्रमौलिमुकुटप्राग्भारतारस्फुरन्
माणिक्यद्युतिपुञ्जरञ्जितपदद्वन्द्वारविन्दश्रियः ।
देव्यास्तत्क्षणदैत्यदर्पदलना सच्चित्प्रहृष्टामर-
स्वाराज्यप्रतिभूतविष्णुकरुणा गम्भीरदृक् पातु वः ॥ २ ॥
अस्ति श्रीनरसिंहदेवमिथिलाभूमण्डलाखण्डलो
भूभृन्मौलिकिरीटरत्ननिकरप्रत्यर्चिताङ्घ्रिद्वयः ।
आपूर्वापरदक्षिणोत्तरगिरिप्राप्तार्थिवाञ्छाधिक-
स्वर्णक्षौणिमणिप्रदानविजितश्रीकर्णकल्पद्रुमः ॥ ३ ॥
विश्वख्यातनयस्तदीयतनयः प्रौढप्रतापोदयः
सङ्ग्रामाङ्गणलब्धवैरिविजयः कीर्त्याप्तलोकत्रयः ।
मर्यादानिलयः प्रकामनिलयः प्रज्ञाप्रकर्षाश्रयः

[37] Note that Dêva Siṁha was alive when this was written.

श्रीमद्भूपतिधीरसिंहविजयी राजत्यमोघक्रियः ॥ ४ ॥
शौर्यावर्जितपञ्चगौडधरणीनाथोपनम्रीकृता-
नेकोत्तुङ्गतरङ्गसङ्गितसितच्छत्राभिरामोदयः ।
श्रीमद्भैरवसिंहदेवनृपतिर्यस्यानुजन्मा जय-
त्याचन्द्रार्कमखण्डकीर्तिसहितः श्रीरूपनारायणः ॥ ५ ॥
देवीभक्तिपरायणः श्रुतिमखप्रारब्धपारायणः
सङ्ग्रामे रिपुराजकंसदलनप्रत्यक्षनारायणः ।
विश्वेषां हितकाम्यया नृपवरो ऽनुज्ञाप्य विद्यापतिं
श्रीदुर्गोत्सवपद्धतिं स तनुते दृष्ट्वा निवन्धस्थितिम् ॥ ६ ॥

"(1.) Salutation to Gaṇêśa, who is praised even by the gods for the sake of the accomplishment of their desires, and who is the cutter away of all impediments.

"(2.) May the deep glance (which destroyed instantaneously the pride of the Daityas, and which beams tenderly upon Vishṇu who standeth bail (?) for the heavenly kingdom of the immortals delighting in Brahman,) of Dêvî, the glory of the lotus of whose feet is adorned by the collective brilliancy of the gleaming jewels surmounting the head-dress of Indra bending low in faith before her, protect you.

"(3.) There is a king, Śri Nara Siṁha Dêva, the Indra of the land of Mithilâ, whose feet are honoured by the jewel-studded turbans of other lords of the earth, conquering the fabled generosity of the wishing tree of Karṇa by his gifts of gold, land, and diamonds, of which his suppliants, whether they came from the east or west, north or south, obtained more than even they desired.

"(4.) His son, famed throughout the universe, and whose might is on its increase, conqueror as he is of his enemies in the battle-field, and glorified throughout the three worlds, the abode of honour, the abode of delight, the refuge of the excellence of knowledge, the king Dhîra Siṁha, reigns, a conqueror whose actions never are in vain.

"(5.) Whose younger brother Bhairava Siṁha Dêva, the king, having subdued the cowardly lords of the five Gauḍas, and thus on many high waves (*of glory*) having raised the beauty of his white umbrella, conquers with an uninterrupted fame reaching to the rays of the moon, Śrî Rûpa Nârâyaṇa.

"(6.) Devoted to the worship of Dêvî, and who has completed the study of the scriptures and the performance of sacrifices, in battle destroying the kings of his foes, as it were Nârâyaṇa in visible form destroying Kaṁsa,[35] for the benefit of the three worlds, this excellent monarch gave the order to Vidyâpati, and compiled (*through him*) a manual on the festival of Durgâ, according to the maxims found in other works.

No. IV. NOTE 30, p. 188.

The following four hymns occur on p. 270 of the *Vaishṇava-Pada-Kalpataru*. They treat of the meeting of Chaṇḍî Dâsa and Vidyâpati. The first two may possibly be by Vidyâpati, at least they are written in Maithilî, and have only been slightly altered into Baṅgâlî. I have not hesitated to restore the text into the original language, which was not a matter of any difficulty. The last two are probably by some Baṅgâlî imitator of Vidyâpati, and could never have been written by our poet. They are in Baṅgâlî, with a few pseudo-Maithilî forms inserted, to give a foreign air to the language. I have, therefore, given them as they are printed in the *Pada-Kalpataru*. A few alterations have been rendered necessary, owing to the change of alphabets; for the Baṅgâlî system of spelling certain sounds is different from that which is customary in the Dêvanâgarî alphabet. I am responsible for the translation. In the last two hymns the meaning is sometimes very doubtful.

चण्डि दास विद्यापति दुँहुँ जन पीरिति
प्रेम मुरति मय काँति ।
जें कयल दुँहुँ जन लीला गुन बरनन
निति निति नय नय भाँति ॥
दुँहुँ गुन सुनि चित दुँहुँ उतकण्ठित
दुँहुँ दुँहाँ दरसन लागि ।
दुँहुँक रसिकपन सुनि सुनि दुँहुँ जन
दुँहुँ हिय दुँहुँ रहु जागि ॥
निज निज गीती लिखि बहु भेजल
ताहि अति आरति भेल ।
राधा कान्हुक प्रेम रस कौतुक
ताहि मगन भै गेल ॥
निज निज सहचर रसिक भगत बर
ता सँगें करत बिचार ।

[35] The writer in the *Baṅga-Darśana*, mistaking the meaning of the text, says that Rûpa Nârâyaṇa conquered a king called Kaṁsa.

ताहि निति नबीन परम सुख पाओत
   आनन्द प्रेम अपार ॥
रूप नरायन विजय नरायन
   वैद्यनाथ सिव सिङ्घ ।
मीलन भावि दुँहुँक करु बरनन
   तसु पद कमल भिरिङ्ग ॥

२

चण्डि दास सुनि बिद्यापति गुन
   दरसन भेल अनुराग ।
बिद्यापति तब चण्डि दास गुन
   दरसन भेल अनुराग ॥
दुँहुँ उतकण्ठित भेल[39]
मङ्गहि रूप नरायन केबल
   बिद्यापति चलि गेल ॥
चण्डि दास तब रहइ न पारइ
   चललहिँ (? चललन्हि) दरसन लागि ।
पन्थहि दुँहुँ जन दुँहुँ गुन गाओल
   दुँहुँ हिय दुँहुँ रहु जागि ॥
दैबहि दुँहुँ दुँहाँ दरसन पाओल
   लखइ न पारइ कोइ ।
दुँहुँ दुँहाँ नाम स्रवनें तहिँ जानल
   रूप नरायन गोइ ॥

३

समय बसन्त याम दिन माझहि
   बट तले सुरधुनी तीर ।
चण्डि दास कबि रञ्जने मिलल
   पुलक कलेबर गीर ॥
दुहुँ जन धैरज धरइ ना पार[40]
मङ्गहि रूप नरायन केबल
   दुहुँक अबस प्रतिकार ॥
धैरज धरि दुहुँ निभृते आलापइ[41]
   पुछत मधुर रस कि ॥
रसिक हइते किये रस उपजायत
   रस हइते रसिक कहि ।
रसिका हइते रसिक किये होयत
   रसिक हइते रसिका ।
रति हइते प्रेम प्रेम हइते रति
   किये काहे मानब आधिका ॥
पुछत चण्डि दास कबि रञ्जने
   सुनैंतहिँ रूप नरायन ।
कह बिद्यापति इह रस कारन
   लछिमा पद करि ध्यान ॥

४

रसेर कारन रसिका रसिक
   कायाटि घटने रस ।
रसिक कारन रसिका होयत
   जाहाते प्रेम बिलास ॥
स्थलत पुरुषे काम सुक्ष्म गति
   स्थलत प्रकृति रति ।
दुहुँक घटने जे रस होयत
   एबे ताहा नाहि गति ॥
दुहुँक जोटन बिनाहि कखन
   ना हय पुरुष नारि ।
प्रकृति पुरुषे जे किछु हायत
   रति प्रेम परचारि ॥
पुरष अबशः प्रकृति सवश
   अधिक रस जे पिये ।
रति सुख काले अधिक सुखहि
   ता नाकि पुरुषे पाये ॥
दुहुँक नयने निकसये बाण
   बाण जे कामेर हय ।
रतिर जे बाण नाहिक कखन
   तबे कैसे निकसय ॥
काम दावानल रति जे शीतल
   सलिल प्रणय पात्र ।
कुल काट खड़ प्रेम जे आधेय
   पचने पिरिति मात्र ॥
पचने पचने लोभ उपजिया
   जब भेल द्रबमय ।
सेइ बस्तु एबे बिलासे उपये
   ताहाके रस जे कय ॥
भणे बिद्यापति चण्डि दास ताथि
   रूप नरायन सङ्गे ।
दुहुँ आलिङ्गन करल तखन
   भासल प्रेम तरङ्गे ॥

TRANSLATION.

1.

The mutual love of Chaṇḍî-Dâsa and Vidyâpati is the presentation of love itself in all its

[39] Half a line is missing here.

[40] Here again half a line is missing.

[41] From this verse to the end the metre is hopeless. It is a bad imitation of Vidyâpati, by some Bangâlî imitator, and is full of Bangâlî expressions, *e.g.* हइते as the sign of the ablative; Vidyâpati could never have written this. किये is the Bangâlî way of writing the Maithilî किश्र.

beauty, for both ever told the tale of Krishṇa's sports in ever-varying methods.

Each hearing of the virtues of the other became anxious for an interview; each hearing of the other's power in love, the heart of each woke up.

Each wrote songs and sent them to the other, and thereby increased his pangs; yet, as the songs of each dwelt on the loves of Râdhâ and Krishṇa, each was plunged into a sea of joy.

Each discussed the matter with his companions who were full of faith and love, and thereby each continually obtained a new happiness; nay, unlimited joy and love.

Rûpa-Nârâyaṇa, Vijaya-Nârâyaṇa, Vaidya-Nâtha, Śiva-Simha, the bees which haunted their lotus-feet, described the prospects of their meeting.

2.

Chaṇḍî-Dâsa heard of Vidyâpati's virtues, and desired to see him. So also Vidyâpati heard of Chaṇḍî-Dâsa's virtues and desired to see him.

Each became anxious for an interview, and then, accompanied by Rûpa-Nârâyaṇa only, Vidyâpati set out upon his journey.

Then Chaṇḍî-Dâsa could no longer abide at home, and himself started for the interview. On the way each sang of the other's virtues, and the heart of each woke up.

By chance they met, and the interview took place, nor was anyone able to gaze upon it (*so affecting was it*). Rûpa-Nârâyaṇa says that each heard privately with his own ears the name of the other.

3.

It was spring time, at about midday, at the foot of a fig-tree on the banks of the Ganges, that the two met.

Chaṇḍî-Dâsa met the Kavi-Rañjana (Vidyâpati) and the body and voice of each thrilled with joy.

Neither could check his emotions. With them was Rûpa-Nàrâyaṇa, and he was the only remedy for their helplessness.

Each checked his emotions, and began to converse secretly, asking each other, 'What is sweet love?'

'Doth it originate in the one who loveth, or doth he who loveth become so from the influence of love?

'Is it the love of the woman which causeth the man to love her, or is it the love of the man which causeth her to love him?

'Doth love spring from intercourse, or intercourse from love? In these two, which is more visible in the human being?'[42]

Chaṇḍî-Dâsa asked these questions of the Kavi-Rañjana, and Rûpa-Nârâyaṇa heard them. Vidyâpati meditated on the feet of Lakshmî, and said,—'This is the cause of love.[43]

4.

'The man and the woman become filled with love through love itself. Love is not born by close contact of the two.

'It is through the man that the woman becometh the subject of love, in which are the delights of affection.

'In the dull-souled desire scarcely entereth, and the essence of love is itself dull.

'When two such souls unite, their love hath no motion.

'By their union no happiness is produced, either in the man or woman.

'But in the natural (*i.e.* wise) man, love is produced in this way.

'The man himself is powerless,[44] and his nature full of power; and therefore is not the love which filleth him great?

'And at the time of union, great are the delights which fill (*his soul*).

'From the eyes of both issue forth the arrows of male love.[45]

'But woman's love (*rati*) hath no arrow. How then can they issue forth from (*the woman's*) eyes?

'Man's love is like a raging fire, and woman's like ice, and the mutual attachment is the vessel for holding water.

'Rank is the wood and straw-fuel, and affection is the receptacle in which love is cooked.

'By continually cooking desire is produced, and when the ice (*i. e.* woman's love) is melted down,

[42] The meaning of the latter portion of this half-line is very doubtful.

[43] Vidyâpati's reply is given in No. 4.

[44] These are unusual meanings of अबश, and सबश, but here and elsewhere I give the traditional interpretation.

[45] काम means the love of a man as distinguished from रति, the love of a woman.

'The melted substance so produced is what is called pure love.'

Vidyâpati sang this to Chaṇḍî-Dâsa, who heard it from Rûpa-Nârâyaṇa.

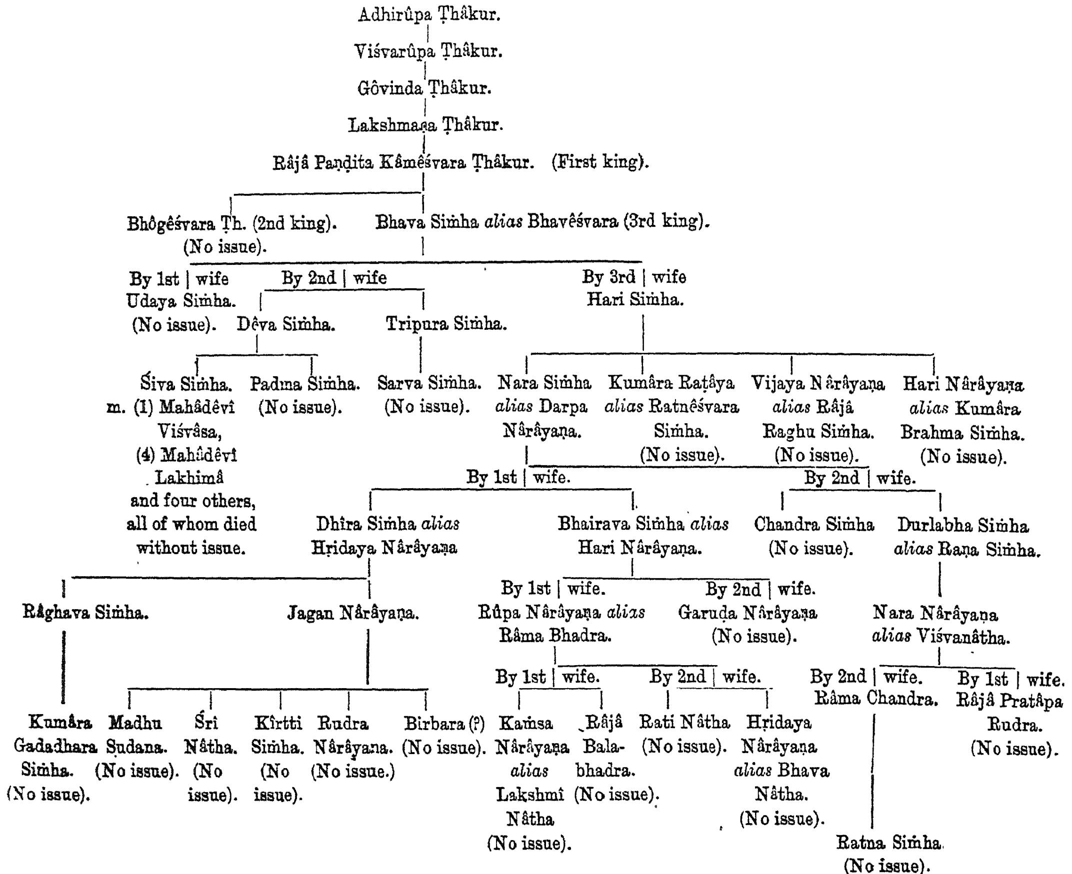
Then each embraced the other, and floated away upon the ocean of love.

It is needless to say that all the above is figurative, and refers to the love of the soul (or woman, *i. e.* Râdhâ) for God (Kṛishṇa).

No. V. NOTE 20, p. 187.

I here add a genealogical tree of king Śiva-Siṁha, which I have compiled from the *Pañjas* of Mithilâ.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE FAMILY OF RÂJÂ ŚIVA-SIṀHA, FROM ITS FOUNDATION TO ITS EXTINCTION.



A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA KING DHRUVA II., DATED SAKA 757.[1]

BY E. HULTZSCH, PH. D.; VIENNA.

I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. A. Führer, of Lucknow, for a rubbing and an ink-impression[2] of the present inscription, which was found at Baroda. It is a grant issued in the year 757 of the Śaka era (A.D. 835-36) by Dhruvarâja II. also called Dhârâvarsha, who belonged to the Râshṭrakûṭas of Gujarât, a collateral, but not independent, branch of the Râshṭrakûṭas (Raṭṭas) of Mânyakheṭa (Mâlkheḍ).

[1] A German version of this paper appeared in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*. The English translation of the grant differs from the German one in a few details, the correct explanation of which I owe to Paṇḍit Bhâgavatâchârya of Benares.

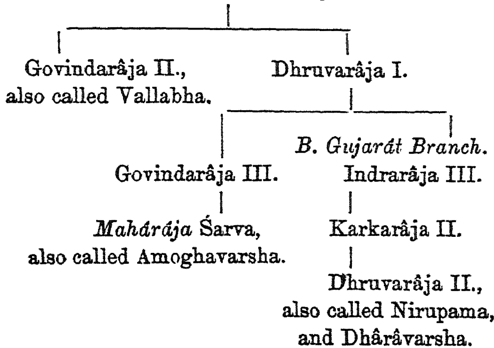
[2] The accompanying lithograph does not always agree with the materials supplied to me. Thus it reads सलील for सलीलं (line 2-3), दिचिन्य for विचिन्त्य (l. 22), and नरेन्द्रे° for नरेन्द्रै° (l. 49). On the other hand, the lithograph enabled me to make out the name of the granted village, *Pûsilâvilli*, which is indistinct in the materials supplied to me, and which I had therefore misread in my original paper.

Of this grant, only the last two plates are now extant, each measuring about 11⅜″ by 7¾″. The edges of them are fashioned somewhat thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing, and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. The grant originally consisted of four plates.[3] This is shewn—1, by the size of the two extant plates, which is such that the earlier part of the genealogy would cover three sides, not only one;—and 2, by a point noticed by Mr. Fleet, when he had the original plates under examination; *viz.*, that the last plate has four notches, and the last but one has three, on its lower edge. The rings and seal of the grant are not forthcoming.

The third plate begins with the second half of a stanza treating of Kṛishṇa I. The loss of the two first plates is of little moment; as those stanzas of the *Vaṁśâvali,* which must have been on the missing plates, are already sufficiently well known. The *Vaṁśâvali* of this new inscription comprises the following kings' names:—

A. Direct Line.

[Kṛishṇarâja I.]



The contents of the last two stanzas of the *Vaṁśâvali* (13, 14), which are the only fresh ones, are of an entirely general character. Nevertheless, we gain from this new inscription a number of important historical facts.

The second Karka's younger brother, G o v i n d a IV., who issued the Kâvî grant of Śaka 749 (Professor Bühler's Râṭhor grant No. I.),[4] is left out; as is also the case in the Bagumrâ inscription of Dhruva III. dated Śaka 789 (Râṭhor grant No. III.),[5] and in the Bagumrâ inscription of Kṛishṇa II. dated Śaka 810 (Râṭhor grant No. IV.)[6] The fact, that this omission occurs in a grant originating with the second Karka's own son, brings almost to a certainty Professor Bühler's conjecture,[7] that Govinda IV. was a usurper, and therefore was ignored by the direct descendants of Karka II

In the prose portion of the inscription (line 28-29) the expression is, that the Brâhmaṇ Yoga, in whose favour the grant was made, 'had received the title of (*court*)- astrologer, after (*his father's death*), from the illustrious G o v i n d a r â j a d e v a.' Hereby, of course, the king Govinda III., belonging to the direct line (Śaka 726-35),[8] might be understood. But, even if the usurper Govinda IV. was meant,—which is much more likely,—yet this involuntary mention of the name, that is wanting in the *Vaṁśâvali,* would rather confirm than discredit Professor Bühler's view.

According to the undoubtedly correct reading of this new inscription (and of the inscription No. IV.) A m o g h a v a r s h a, in stanza 10, must not be taken as a secondary name of Karka II., but must be understood as referring to his cousin and feudal lord Śarva-Amoghavarsha (Śaka 736-99),[9] who belonged to the direct line of the Râshṭrakûṭas. Karka II. supported the latter successfully in war against "the tributary Râshṭrakûṭas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience, dared to rebel with a powerful army." It is, I take it, beyond doubt, that, by "the rebellious Râshṭrakûṭas," we must understand Govinda IV. and his followers; and that Karka II., in conjunction with Śarva, succeeded in overthrowing the usurper Govinda IV., and in ruling a second time over Gujarât as the vassal of Śarva, just as we know[10] he did formerly as the vassal of Govinda III.

So far I have tacitly assumed that K a r k a II. was the father of Dhruva II. According to the inscription No. III., Indra III. was followed by his son Karka II. (stanza 26), and the latter by his son Karka III. (stanzas 27 to 29), who was again succeeded by his son Dhruva II. (stanza 30). In the inscription No. I., we find

[3] The numbering of the plates, the lithograph of which was not prepared under the management of the present Editors, should accordingly be altered from II.a, II.b, III.a, and III.b, to III.a, III.b, IV.a, and IV.b.

[4] *ante* Vol. V. p. 144.

[5] *ante* Vol. XII. p. 179.

[6] *ante* Vol. XIII. p. 65.

[7] *ante* Vol. XII. p. 180.

[8] *ante* Vol. XI. p. 126, Vol. XII. p. 12.

[9] *ante* Vol. XII. p. 216, Vol. XIII. p. 133.

[10] *ante* Vol. XII. p. 158.

at the beginning of the second Karka's reign the same stanza (31) as in No. III. (26). This new inscription (stanzas 9, 10), and No. IV. (17, 18) omit Karka II., and include the first and last of the three stanzas of No. III., which treat of Karka III. Now, it is inconceivable that the official who drafted the grant of Dhruva II. should have been unacquainted with the name of that king's grandfather. Accordingly, it must be assumed that the writer of No. III. selected stanza 26 and stanzas 27 to 29 from two different forms, preserved at the secretariate, both of which related to Karka II. The first form, which is given in full in No. I., was composed during the rule of the usurper Govinda IV., and was compiled from different stanzas of the *Vaṁśâvali* treating of earlier kings. The second form, the first and last stanzas of which are found in this new inscription and in No. IV., cannot have been composed before the overthrow of Govinda IV. The Baroda inscription[11] of Karka II., dated Śaka 734, contains a third form different from both and dating from the first period of the reign of Karka II. The name of Karka III. must, for the above reasons, be struck out from the list of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Gujarât.

Dhruva II., like his grandson Dhruva III., bore the surname Dhârâvarsha (lines 21, 24). When he issued the present document, he was staying at Sarvamaṅgalâsattâ near Śrî-Kheṭaka (line 26-27). By Kheṭaka, in all probability, we must understand here,—as is also the case in the Valabhî inscriptions,[12]—the modern Kheḍâ (Kaira) at the confluence of the Vâtrak and Sherî rivers, the capital of the Collectorate called after it. According to this, the province of Lâṭa, ruled over by the Râshṭrakûṭas of Gujarât,—which Govinda III. took away from the Gurjaras,[13] and gave in fee to his younger brother Indra III.,[14]—appears to have reached in a northerly direction as far as the Sherî; while, on the south, it extended to the further bank of the Taptî.[15] My books of reference do not enable me to identify the remaining localities mentioned in this grant (lines 27 and 29 to 31).

From a palæographical point of view, the following observations have to be made on this new inscription. For the most part, त has the form without the loop; and न the form with the loop. But in a few cases the form without the loop is used for न; see मान l. 1; स्तान्स l. 9; सर्व्वानिव l. 25; माध्यन्दिन l. 28; and यत्नाद्रक्ष l. 51. And in a few cases the form with the loop is used for त; see भोक्तुं l. 1; and नन्दित l. 15. With one exception,—भूत् l. 8,—final त् has the peculiar but now well-known form that appears in स्यात् l. 21. We have three forms of फ; see फलानि l. 1, फलम् l. 41, and फलं l. 49. For थ, standing single, two forms are used; see यथा l. 26, and प्रथमं l. 47. And three other forms of the same letter occur in compounds; see स्थानं l. 2, स्थित्या l. 39, and पार्थैः l. 15. The *avagraha* occurs once; in वा ऽनुमोदेत l. 43. The *jihvâmûlîya* occurs three times; *e.g.* in य×काञ्चनं, l. 48.

The engraver of the inscription has copied the original document without understanding it. This is best shown by the fact, that he spells the name of the king who issued the grant धारविर्षश्रीध्रुतराज instead of धारावर्षश्रीध्रुवराज (l. 24-25).

He often confounds similar letters. Thus he writes क for भ, in वहुकि for बहुभि (l. 48) and स्यकेव for स्याभव (l. 15); क for न, in क केन for न केन (l. 40) and कारायण for नारायण (l. 54); न for क, in नीर्त्ति for कीर्ति (l. 22); स for म, in सत्तेभ for मत्तेभ (l. 4) and क्रसोप for क्रमोप (l. 35); च for र, in चक्षित for रक्षित (l. 14). Other mistakes are pointed out in the foot-notes.

The grant contains in its last two lines the king's sign-manual, which is very remarkable, as its current-hand characters resemble the South-Indian alphabets, and completely differ from the archaic alphabet used throughout the remainder of the inscription. After the colophon, there occurs twice the peculiar flourish

[11] *ante* Vol. XII. p. 156. [12] *ante* Vol. X. p. 278.

[13] By this we have probably to understand the Gurjara dynasty, whose last date, 486, of an unspecified era, corresponds to A.D. 736 according to the ingenious supposition of Paṇḍit Bhagwânlâl Indrajî (*ante* Vol. XIII. p. 76f.). This would be about seventy years before Govinda III.

[14] *ante* Vol. V. p. 145; Vol. VI. p. 63; vol. XII. pp. 157, 180.

[15] *ante* Vol. XII. p. 181.

which is also found on the other inscriptions of the Râshṭrakûṭas of Gujarât; and which is evidently intended for an actual representation of the sign-manual.

TEXT.

(*First two plates not forthcoming.*)

Third plate; first side.

[1] दाता[16] मानभृदग्रणीर्गुणवतां योसै श्रियो वल्लभो भोक्तुं स्वर्ग्गफलानि भूरितप-
[2] सा स्थानं जगामापरं ॥ [१] येन श्वेतातपत्रप्रहतरविकरव्राततापात्सली-
[3] लं जज्ञे नासीरधूलीधवालतशिरसा वल्लभाख्यः सदाजौ [।] श्रीमद्गोविन्दराजो
[4] जितजगदहितस्त्रैणवैधव्यदक्षः (।) तस्यासीत्सूनुरेकः क्षणरणदलितारातिसत्तेभकुंभः । [२]
[5] तस्यानुजः श्रीध्रुवराजनामा महानुभावोप्रहत(:)प्रतापः [।] प्रसाधिताशेषनरेन्द्रचक्रः
[6] क्रमेण वालार्क्कवपुर्व्बभूव ॥ [३] रक्षता येन निःशेषं चतुरंभोधिसंयुतं [।] राज्यं धर्म्मेण लो-
[7] कामां कृता हृष्टिः परा हृदि । [४] यस्यात्मजा जगति सत्प्रथितोरुकीर्त्तिर्ग्गोविन्दराज इति गो-
[8] त्रललामभूत- ॥ स्त्यागी पराक्रमधनप्रकटप्रतापसन्तापिताहितजनो जनवल्लभोभूत् ॥ [५]
[9] एकोनेकनरेन्द्रवृन्दसहितान्यस्तान्समस्तानपि प्रोत्खातासिलताप्रहारविधुरान्वध्वा महा-
[10] संयुगे [।] लक्ष्मीमप्यचलां चकार विलसत्सच्चामरग्राहिणी संसीदद्गुरुविप्रसज्जनसुहृद्व-
[11] न्धूपभोग्यां भुवि । [६] तत्पुत्रोत्र ग्रते नाकमाकम्पितरिपुप्रजे [।] महाराजशर्व्वाख्यः ख्यातोराजा-
[12] भवद्गुणै [७] राजाभूत्तत्पितृव्यो रिपुभवविभवोद्भूत्यभविकहेतुर्ल्लक्ष्मीवानिन्द्रराजो गुणि-
[13] नृपनिकरान्त्तशनत्कोरकारी [।] सगादम्यान्युदस्य पुकटतविनया यन्दृपान्सेव्यमाना
[14] राजश्रीरेव चक्रे सकलकविजनोद्गीतकथ्यसभावं ॥ [८] श्रीकर्क्कराज इति चक्षितराज्यभा-
[15] रः सारः कुलस्य तनये नियशालिशौर्यस्यस्यकेवद्दिभवनन्दितवन्धुसार्थः पार्थः
[16] सदैव धनुषि प्रथमः शुचीनां । [९] स्वेच्छागृहीतविनयान्दृढसंघभाजः प्रोद्वृत्तदृप्ततर-

Third plate; second side.

[17] शुल्किकराष्ट्रकूटानुत्खातखड्गनिजवाहुवलेन[17] जित्वा योमोघवर्षमचिरात्स्वपदे व्यध-
[18] त्त ॥ [१०] पुत्रीयतस्तस्य महानुभावः कृती कृतज्ञः कृतवीर्यवीर्य [।] वशीकृताशेषनरेन्द्रवृन्दो वभूव
[19] सूनुर्ध्रुवराजनमो ॥ [११] चन्द्रो जडो हिमगिरिः सहिमः प्रकृत्या वातश्चलश्च तपनस्तपन(:)स्वभावः[।]
[20] क्षारः पयोधिरिति यः सममस्य नास्ति येनोपमा निरुपमस्तत एव गातः ॥[१२] अचिराभोज्वलव-
[21] पुषि क्षितिसंतापापहारिणि द्युम्नं [।] धारावर्षे वर्षति जलद इव न कः कृतार्थस्यात् ।[१३] प्रस्माण्डमे-
[22] तत्किमिति प्रजासृजा न मत्प्रमाणेन पुरा विनिर्म्मितं [।] एवं विचिन्त्य ध्रुवराजनीर्त्तिर्व्विधातुरासी-
[23] त्सुतरामसूयिनी ॥ [१४] तेनेदमनिलविप्रुच्चंचलमालोक्य जीवितमसारं [।] क्षितिदानपरम-
[24] पुण्यः प्रवर्त्तितो धर्म्मदायोयं ॥ [१५] स च समधिगताशेषमहाशव्दमहासामन्ताधिपतिधारावर्षि-
[25] श्रीध्रुतराजदेवः सर्व्वानेव यथासम्वध्यमानकान्राष्ट्रपतिविषयपतिग्रामकूटायुक्तनियु-
[26] क्त[का]धिकारिकमहत्तरादीन्समनुदर्शयत्यस्तु वः संविदितं यथा मया श्रीखेटकवाहिः सर्व्वमङ्ग-

[16] *Plate III. A.* Line 1, read योसौ. L. 2, the ज of जगामा° has an unusual shape. L. 3, जज्ञे looks almost like जज्ञो; read जग्मे and °धवलित°. L. 4, read °दक्षस्तस्या° and °मत्तेभ°. L. 5, read श्रीध्रुव°. L. 7, read °कानां and तस्यात्मजो. L. 8, read °भूतः। त्यागी and °धनः. L. 9, read °न्वद्ध्वा. L. 10, read °ग्राहिणीं. L. 11, read तत्पुत्रोत्र गते, °प्रजे and श्रीमहा°. L. 12, read °गुणैः ॥ L. 13, read °रान्तभ्रमत्कार°, सङ्गादन्या°, प्रकटित° and यं नृपान्सेवमाना. L. 14, read °स्वभावम् and रक्षित°. L. 15, read तनयो नयशालिशौर्यः। तस्याभव°. L. 16, read सदैव.

[17] *Plate III. B.* Line 17, the ि of °शुल्किक° is indistinct, read °कूटान्। उत्खात°. L. 18, read °वीर्यवीर्यः. L 19, read °राजनामा. L. 20, read तैः for यः, गीतः and °भोज्ज्वल°. L. 21, read कृतार्थः स्यात् and ब्रह्माण्ड°. L.22, the त्क of °त्किमिति looks as if it were composed of त् and भ, and the र्म्म of विनिर्म्मित as if it consisted of म् and स; read °कीर्त्ति°. L. 23, read °विद्यु°. L. 24, read °धारावर्ष°. L. 25, read °श्रीध्रुव°.

[27] लासत्तावासितेन मातापिग्रोरात्मनश्चैहिकामुष्मिकपुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये वदरासिद्धिवास्तव्य-
[28] तच्चातुर्व्विद्यसामान्यलावाणसगोत्रवाजिमाध्यन्दिनसव्रह्मचारिभट्टमहेश्वरसुतयो-
[29] गायानन्तरं श्रीगोविन्दराजदेवेन ख्यापितज्योतिषिकनान्मे काशहृडदेशान्तर्व्वर्त्तिपूसिला-
[30] विल्हिनामा ग्रामो यस्याघाटनानि पूर्व्वतो वेहिच्चाभिधाना नदीं वोरीवद्रकग्रामश्च
[31] दक्षिणतश्चतुःसरीनामा ग्रामोपरत[स्त]सिलावल्हिनामा । उत्तरतो विन्हुचवल्हिना-
[32] मा ग्राम एवमयं चतुराघाटनोपलक्षितः सोद्रङ्गः सपरिकरः संद-
[33] ण्डदशापराधः सभूतपातमत्यायसोत्पद्यमानविष्टिकः सधान्यहिरण्या-

Fourth plate; first side.

[34] देयोचाटभटमवेश्यः[18] सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीय आचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्ण-
[35] वक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयक्रसोपभोग्यः पूर्व्वप्र-
[36] दत्तदेवब्रह्मदायराहितोभ्यन्तरासिध्या शकनृपकालातीतसंवत्सरशतेषु सप्त-
[37] सु सप्तपञ्चाशदधिकेषु कार्त्तिकशुद्धपञ्चदश्यां महाकार्त्तिकीपर्व्वणि स्नात्वाद्योदकाति-
[38] सर्गेण वलिचरुवैश्वदेवाग्निहोत्रातिथिपञ्चमहयेज्ञकृयोत्सर्प्पणार्थं प्रतिपादि-
[39] तो यतोस्योचितया व्रह्मदायास्थित्या भुंजतो भेजयतः कृषतx कर्षयतः प्रतिदिश-
[40] तो वा क केनचित्परिपन्थना कार्या तथागामिनृपतिभिरस्मद्वंश्यैरन्यैर्व्वा सामा-
[41] न्यं भूमिदानफलमवेत्य विद्युल्लोलान्यनित्यैश्वर्याणि तृणाग्रलग्नजलविन्दुचञ्च-
[42] लञ्च जीवितमाकलस्य स्वदायनिर्व्विशेषोयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्भव्यः परिपालयित-
[43] तश्च यश्चाज्ञानतिमिरपटलावृतमतिराच्छिंद्यादाच्छिद्यमानकं वा ऽनुमोदेत स प-
[44] ञ्चभिर्म्महापातकैरुपपातकैश्च संयुक्तः स्यात्। इत्युक्तञ्च भगवता वेदष्यासेन व्या-
[45] सेन [।।] षष्टिंर्व्वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे तिष्ठति भूमिद आछेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नर[के]
[46] वसेत्। [१६] विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवासिनx कृष्णाहयो हि जायन्ते भूमिदायं
[47] हरन्ति ये। [१७] अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्ण्णं भूर्व्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावो लोकत्रयं तेन भ-
[48] वेद्हि दत्तं यx काञ्चनं गाञ्च महीञ्च दद्यात्।[१८] वहुकिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादि-
[49] भिर्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं॥ [१९] यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रैर्द्दानानि
[50] धर्म्मार्थयशस्कराणि [।] निर्म्माल्यवान्तप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत [२०]

Fourth plate; second side.

[51] स्वदत्ताम्परदत्तां[19] वा यत्नाद्रक्ष नराधिप [।] महीं महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानोच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं ॥[२१] इति क-
[52] मलदलाम्वुविन्दुलोलां श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितञ्च । अतिविमलमनोभिरात्मनीने-
[53] र्न्न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति [२२] दूतकोत्र श्रीदेवराजो लिखितं च श्रीदुर्ग्गभटसूनु-
[54] न्रा सान्धिविग्राहिकश्रीकारायणेनेति ॥ मतम्मम श्रीध्रुवराजदेवस्य (।।) श्रीकर्क-
[55] राजदेवसुतस्य यदुपरि लिखितं ॥

L. 27, read °पित्रोरा° and °नश्चैहि°. L. 29, read °नाम्ने. L. 31, for । read ग्राम. L. 33, read °प्रत्यायः.

[18] *Plate IV. A.* Line 35, read °क्रमोप°. L. 36, read °देव-दायब्रह्मदाय° and °सिद्ध्या. L. 38, read °महायज्ञक्रियो°. L. 39, read ब्रह्म° and भोजयतः. L. 40, read न for क. L. 41, the anusvâra of सामान्यं is indistinct. L. 42, read °कलय्य and °मन्तव्यः. L. 43, read °व्यश्च. L. 44, read वेदव्यासेन. L. 45, read षष्टिं वर्ष°, भूमिदः। आच्छेत्ता and नरके. L. 46, read °वासिनः। L. 47, read भूर्वैष्णवी and गावः। L. 48, °वेद्हि looks like °वेदुकि; read बहुभिर्व°. L. 49, read °भिः। यस्य.

[19] *Plate IV. B.* Line 51, read द्दाना°. L. 53, read °र्न्नै (i.e. °र्न्नै) हि. L. 54, read °न्ना सांधिविग्रहिकश्रीनारा°.

SCALE — 8 : 10 OF THE ORIGINAL.

GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA GRANT OF DHRUVA II.— SAKA 757.

ORIGINAL PLATES— 11 1/16" BY 6 3/8"

IIIa. GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA GRANT OF DHRUVA II, OR DHARAVARSHA II — SAKA 757.

SCALE — 8 : 10 OF THE ORIGINAL.

GUJARAT RASHTRAKUTA GRANT OF DHRUVA II.— SAKA 757.

J. Burgess, fecit.

SCALE — 8 : 10 OF THE ORIGINAL.

W. Griggs, photo. lith.

TRANSLATION.[20]

This favourite of fortune (Kṛishṇarâja), who was liberal, proud, and the first among the virtuous, went to the highest[21] abode, in order to enjoy the heavenly rewards (*which he had gained*) by his great austerities.[22]

2. One of his sons was the illustrious Govindarâja, surnamed Vallabha. His head being whitened by the dust of the vanguard, he ever walked in battle with sportive gait, as the heat of the sun's rays was warded off by his white parasol.[23] He conquered the world,—knew how to make widows of the wives of his enemies,—and split open the temples of the *mast* elephants of his foes in battles which to him were feasts.[24]

3. He was succeeded by his younger brother, the illustrious Dhruvarâja, who conquered all kings and resembled the morning sun (*by*) his great majesty and his irresistible prowess (*or heat*).[25]

4. While he righteously ruled his whole kingdom together with the four oceans, he filled the hearts of men with the highest joy.[26]

5. His son was the liberal and brave Govindarâja, the favourite of mankind and the ornament of his race. He, whose great fame was spread over the world by the virtuous, distressed his enemies by his notorious valour.[27]

6. In a great battle, he alone caught all these[28] and many other kings, who were distressed by the blows of his unsheathed sword, and acted so that even the goddess of fortune left off her inconstancy, wore his glittering precious *chaurî*,[29] and could be enjoyed by all suffering people on earth, by his *Gurus*, by Brâhmaṇs, by the virtuous, and by his friends and relations."[30]

7. When he, who made his enemies tremble, had gone to heaven,—his son, the illustrious *Mahârâja* Sarva, famous for his virtues, became king.[31]

8. His paternal uncle, the illustrious[32] Indrarâja, became king. He was the common cause of the non-existence of his foes and of their non-success, and excited admiration in the hearts of all virtuous princes. From attachment (*to him*) royal fortune rejected other kings, and, humbly serving him, caused his praiseworthy character to be sung by all poets.[33]

9. His son was the illustrious Karkarâja, the best of his race. He took great care of the government which he had to conduct,—joined political wisdom to prowess,—gladdened his relatives by wealth,—and ever was, like Pârtha (Arjuna), the first of the guileless in the (*use of the*) bow.[34]

10. By the strength of his arm, that wore the unsheathed sword, he vanquished the tributary Râshṭrakûṭas, who, after they had voluntarily promised obedience,[35] dared to rebel with a powerful army; and he speedily placed Amoghavarsha on his throne.[36]

11. To him, who longed for male offspring, was born a majestic, clever, and grateful son, called Dhruvarâja, who equalled Kṛitavîrya[37] in valour and subdued all kings.[38]

12. Because he could neither be compared to the cool (*or stupid*) moon, nor to the Himâlaya mountain, which is naturally covered by snow (*while he would not submit to oppression by another*), nor to the moving (*or inconstant*) wind, nor to the sun whose nature it is to heat (*or to torment*), nor to the salt ocean (*since his speech was sweet*),—therefore he was called Nirupama (*i.e.* "the incomparable") in song.[39]

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[20] With Professor Bühler's permission, I have made free use of his translations of two very similar grants of the same dynasty. For the prose part of the inscription I have also availed myself of Mr. Fleet's translation of the grant of Karka II.

[21] *Apara* = *anuttama*.

[22] Stanza 1 = No. I. 17; No. III. 14.

[23] The use of the parasol implies that Govinda had become king. By the mention of the white dust and of the brilliantly white parasol, the poet also alludes to the greatness of his (*white*) fame.

[24] Stanza 2 = No. I. 18; No. III. 15; No. IV. 9.

[25] Stanza 3 = No. I. 19; No. III. 16; No. IV. 10.

[26] Stanza 4 = No. I. 22; No. III. 18; No. IV. 12.

[27] Stanza 5 = No. I. 23; No. III. 19; No. IV. 13.

[28] The pronoun refers to a stanza (No. I. 27) which is left out here and in No. III.

[29] *i.e.* he became king.

[30] Stanza 6 = No. I. 28; No. III. 21.

[31] Stanza 7 = No. III. 22; No. IV. 14.

[32] *Lakshmîvân* is the correct reading; the v. l. in Nos. III. and IV., *lakshmîmân*, disagrees with Pâṇini, VIII. 2, 9.

[33] Stanza 8 = No. III. 24; No. IV. 16.

[34] *i.e.* he had no recourse to unfair fighting, and made no use of his weapons against the helpless and the disarmed; see Baudhâyana, I. 10, 18, 10f., and the corresponding passages of the other lawbooks. There is also a play on the word *śuchi*, with reference to *arjuna*, both of which words have the meaning 'white.' Stanza 9 = No. III. 27; No. IV. 17.

[35] With *gṛihîtavinaya* compare *vinayagrâhin*.

[36] Stanza 10 = No. III. 29; No. IV. 18.

[37] The comparison with Kṛitavîrya rests on a mere etymological play; it is chosen for the sake of alliteration with *kṛiti*, *kṛitajña*, *vaikṛita*, and *vîrya*.

[38] Stanza 11 = No. III. 30; No. IV. 19.

[39] Stanza 12 = No. III. 31.

13. Who is not satisfied, when Dhârâvarsha (*i.e.* "the torrent of rain"), whose body shines like the lightning, pours forth wealth and removes distress on earth,—as when a cloud, whose body shines with the lightning, pours forth rain and removes the heat of the earth.[40]

14. The fame of Dhruvarâja was highly displeased with the Creator, thinking:—"Why did not of old Brahman create this world according to my measure?"[41]

15. Seeing that this worthless life is as unstable as the wind or the lightning, he effected this pious gift, which is most meritorious, as it consists of a grant of land.

(L. 24.)—And he, the illustrious Dhruvarâjadeva, (*surnamed*) Dhârâvarsha, the lord of great vassals, who has attained all the great sounds,[42] informs all those whom (*this order*) concerns, lords of provinces, lords of districts, heads of villages, officials and functionaries, magistrates, great men, &c.:—

(L. 26).—"Be it known to you that, in order to increase my parents' and my own spiritual merit and glory in this world and the next, I, residing at Sarvamaṅgalâsattâ outside Śrî-Kheṭaka, have given to Yoga,—who is the son of *Bhaṭṭa* Maheśvara; lives at Vadarasiddhi; belongs to the *Chaturvedins* of that (*place*), to the *gotra* of the Lîvâṇas (?), and to the school of the Vâji-Mâdhyaṁdinas;[43] and has received the title of (*court*)-astrologer, after (*the death of his father*), from the illustrious Govindarâjadeva,—the village of Pûsilâvilli, which is situated in the country of Kâśahrada and the boundaries of which are:—on the east, the river called Vehichcha and the village of Vorîvadraka; on the south, the village of Chatuḥsarî; on the west, (*the village of*) Tasilâvalli; on the north, the village of Vinhuchavalli—this (*village*), thus defined by its four boundaries, together with the *udraṅga*, together with the *parikara*,[44] together with (*the right to*) punishment and (*the right of fining those who commit*) the ten offences, together with the *bhûtapâtapratyâya*, together with (*the right to*) eventual forced labour, together with the income in grain and in gold, not to be entered by regular or irregular soldiers, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the earth, the rivers, and the mountains shall endure, to be successively enjoyed by his sons, grandsons, and (*further*) descendants, with the exception of grants previously made to temples and to Brâhmaṇs,—with heartfelt devotion,—when seven hundred and fifty-seven years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed, on the fifteenth day of the light half of Kârttika, (*which was*) the great day when the full-moon stood in Kṛittikâ, after having bathed, to-day, with a libation of water,—in order to (*enable the donee to*) perform the five great sacrificial rites, (*viz.*) the *bali*, *charu*, *vaiśvadeva*, *agnihotra*, and hospitality.[45]

(L. 39.)—"Wherefore, nobody shall cause obstruction to him, if he enjoys (*this village*), (*or*) causes it to be enjoyed, (*or*) cultivates it, (*or*) causes it to be cultivated, or assigns it (*to others*) according to the usual rule relating

[40] Metre of stanza 13,—Âryâ.

[41] *i.e.* the world was too small for Dhruva's fame. Metre of stanza 14,—Vaṁśastha, with the exception of its third *pâda*, which is composed in Indravajrâ.

[42] The 'five great sounds' (*pañchamahâśabda*) mean the permission to use in public certain musical instruments, which was conferred on vassals as a gift of honour by their feudal lords. This is evident from the two subjoined passages of the Arabian traveller Ibn Batûta (edited by Defrémery and Sanguinetti). Vol. III. p. 106:—"(Le roi de l'Inde) donna (à Ratan) le titre de chef du Sind, l'établit gouverneur de cette contrée, et lui accorda en fief la ville de Siwécitân et ses dépendances. Enfin, il le gratifia des *honneurs* (المراتب), c'est-à-dire de timbales et de drapeaux, ainsi qu'il en donne aux principaux émirs." And in Vol. III. p. 110:—"(Le bâtiment du gouverneur de Lâhary) était entouré, à sa droite et à sa gauche, par quatre navires, dont deux renfermaient les *honneurs* de l'émir (مراتب الامير), c'est-à-dire les drapeaux, les timbales, les trompettes, les clairons et les flûtes, que l'on appelle (au Maghreb) ghaïthah, et les deux autres portaient les chanteurs. Les timbales et les trompettes se faisaient entendre d'abord, puis les chanteurs faisaient leur partie," &c. The number 'five' of the 'great sounds' relates to five different musical instruments, which are enumerated in a note of Mr. Growse (*ante* Vol. V. p. 354) and in a paper of Mr. Pâṭhak (*ante* Vol. XII. p. 96). According to Sir Walter Elliot (*ante* Vol. V. p. 251) it implies, that the band played five times a day, as stated by Ferishta.—[Professor Kielhorn has translated the expression *pañchamahâśabda* by "the five titles commencing with *great*" (*ante* Vol. XIII. p. 134.) There can be no doubt now that the expression properly, and usually, denotes the sounds of five musical instruments, as explained above and in the references quoted there. But, that it may sometimes have been also used in the sense given to it by Professor Kielhorn, appears probable from the way in which five titles commencing with *mahâ*, 'great,'—viz. *Mahâsâmanta*, *Mahâpratîhâra*, *Mahâdaṇḍanâyaka*, *Mahâkârtâkṛitika*, and *Mahârâja*,—are given collectively to Dhruvasêna I. of Valabhî in the grant published *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 104ff.—ED.]

[43] *i.e.* the Mâdhyaṁdinas, a subdivision of the Vâjins or Vâjasaneyins.

[44] For *saparikaraḥ*, which is also the reading of No. III., No. IV., and the Baroda grant of Karka II., other inscriptions have *soparikaraḥ*.

[45] A different enumeration of the five great sacrifices is found in the *Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa*, XI. 5, 6, 1, and in the *Baudhâyana-Dharmaśâstra*, II, 6, 11, 1 to 6.

to gifts to Brâhmaṇs. And future kings of our lineage, or others, shall assent to this our gift, (*considering it*) as equal to their own gifts, and shall preserve it, recognising that the reward of a grant of land is common (*to all kings*), and reflecting that the inconstant royal dignity is as transient as the lightning, and that life is as unstable as a drop of water hanging on the tip of a blade of grass. And if one, whose mind is covered by the thick darkness of ignorance, shall confiscate (*this grant*) or assent to its confiscation,—he shall incur (*the guilt of*) the five great sins and the minor sins."

(L. 44).—And the holy Vyâsa, the arranger of the *Vedas*, has said:—"He who gives land, dwells for sixty thousand years in heaven; he who confiscates it or assents to (*its confiscation*), shall dwell as long in hell! Those who confiscate a grant of land, are re-born as black snakes, which dwell in dry holes of trees in the waterless forests of the Vindhya (*mountains*)! Gold is the first offspring of fire;[46] the earth belongs to Vishṇu; and cows are the daughters of the sun: the three worlds will be given by him who gives gold, a cow, and land! Many kings have enjoyed the earth, commencing with Sagara; as long as (*a king*) possesses the earth, so long the reward (*of grants*) belongs to him! Those gifts, productive of spiritual merit, wealth, and glory, which have been formerly made here (*on earth*) by kings, are like offerings to a deity or vomited food; what good man would take them back again? O prince, best of the rulers of the earth, assiduously preserve the land, given by thyself or given by others; to preserve (*land*) is more meritorious than to give it! Therefore men of pure minds and possessed of self-restraint, shall not destroy the fame of others,—reflecting that royal dignity and human life are as unstable as a drop of water on a lotus-leaf!"

(L. 53).—The messenger for this (*grant*) is Śrî-D e v a r â j a. And it is written by the minister of war and peace, Śrî-N â r â y a ṇ a, the son of Śrî-D u r g a b h a ṭ a.

(L. 54.)—What is written above, is the pleasure of me, Śrî-D h r u v a r â j a d e v a, the son of Śrî-K a r k a r â j a d e v a.

MISCELLANEA.

NOTE ON THE FAMILY AND DATE OF THE GREAT RAJENDRA-CHOLA OF TANJORE.

The two inscriptions, Nos. CLIII. and CLIV., contributed by Mr. Fleet on pp. 48 to 59 of the February number of this volume, contain matter of so much value and interest from their bearing on the supersession of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty by the Choḻas of Tanjore, and especially with reference to the history of Râjendra, entitled Kulottuṅga-Choḻa, Kopparikesari Varman, &c., that I am desirous of drawing attention to some difficulties in which his exact date and parentage appear to be involved.

I have had occasion, more than once, to refer to these points, and particularly in a contribution I made to the *International Numismata Orientalia* in November last. Some of the information I possessed was founded on another copper *śâsanam*, which I hope Mr. Fleet will be good enough to publish in continuation of the two just referred to. This I have frequently quoted under the name of the Chelûr grant, from the place where it was found—a village in the Kokanâda Tâlukâ, 18 or 20 miles south-east of Râjamahendri, on the way from that place to Koringa.

The oldest of these three grants, which I have marked A, after detailing the genealogy of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty as far as Vimalâditya, states that his queen was the daughter of a Râjarâja, of the solar race, and the father of Râjendra-Choḻa, brother of the queen. The son of Vimalâditya and the Choḻa princess is then said to have been Râjarâja II., who ascended the throne in Śaka 944 = A.D. 1022-23. He appears to have given the village of Korumelli, situated about 40 miles south of the Godâvarî, to a Brâhmaṇ.

The second, which I have called the Chelûr grant B, was copied by Mr. Fleet; a copy of it is included in my MS. Collection, and the original is now in the British Museum. It is a remarkably fine *śâsanam*, with a large handsome seal, which as well as that of the following (C) is represented in the *Madras Journal*, N. S., Vol. IV. plate ii. figs. 2, 3, and at p. 94. To this I can only refer from my own notes, and an abstract translation made for Colonel McKenzie which I have lately discovered. It calls Râjarâja-Narendra the son of Vimalâditya, and states that he married Ammaṅga, the daughter of a certain Râjendra-Choḻa of the solar race, and

[46] According to the *Naiyâyikas*, gold consists of fire (*tejas*).

reigned 40 years. Their son was called Râjendra-Choḷa. He married Madhurântari, the daughter of another Râjarâjendra-Deva, the ornament of the solar race. They had several sons. Among them was one named Râjarâja. "The earth-lord (or sovereign), seeing his many good qualities, thus addressed him:—Being myself desirous of ruling over Choḷa, I appointed my uncle Vijayâditya to rule the country of Veṅgi, which he did for 15 years. Now, in consequence of his death, that duty is imposed on you. Hearing this, the son, though reluctant to part with his father, assumed the dignity and administered the affairs of Veṅgi for one year, when, thinking that happiness consisted in sitting at his father's feet, which could not be placed in competition with the possession of power, he returned to his parents. The Chakravartin (or sovereign) then bestowed the government on his younger brother, the valiant young prince Vîra-Choḷa, and blessed him, saying that his feet should be placed on the heads of kings. Accordingly he took leave of his mother, father, and elder brother, and accompanied by a younger brother repaired to Veṅgi. He was installed in his office in Śaka 1001(=A.D. 1079-80)." One of his first acts was to confer a mark of distinction on a favoured dependant named Medamârya, the son of Potana of the Mudgala *gôtra*, by giving him a village named Kaleru for the endowment of two *chattrams*, one at Draksharam, the other at Piṭhâpur, and for the maintenance of a tank and temple in the *agrahâram* of Chelûr in Śaka 1001 = A.D. 1079-80.

Mr. Fleet's second grant C is the latest, and is said to have been transmitted by a Mr. Smith, who obtained it from the *Karṇam* of Chittûr. This I take to be a mistake for Chelûr, as my notes state both this and the last to have been procured by Mr. George Anthony Smith, the Collector of Râjamahendri, from Dantla Veṅkaṭapati Râz the *Karṇam* of Chelûr. They were forwarded to me by that gentleman about the year 1843 or 1844. It gives the same genealogy as A down to Vimalâditya. His son Râjarâja II. reigned 41 years, and was succeeded by his son Kulottuṅga-Choḍa-Deva I. who ruled 49 years. Next comes Vikrama-Choḍa, his son, for 15 years, and his son Kulottuṅga-Choḍa-Deva II. He bestowed the village of Ponduva on Kolani-Kâṭamanâyaka, who resided at Sarasîpurî in a lake-district of which he was the governor. With the sanction of his superior he transferred the village just conferred on him to certain Brâhmaṇs as an *agrahâram* in Śaka 1056= A.D. 1034-34. The lake in question is evidently the Kolâr lake, lying between the Godâvarî and Krishṇâ, and the village of Panduva is shown in Arrowsmith's map No. 94 on its eastern border about 50 miles south of the Godâvarî or more nearly 22 miles west of the Vasishthi branch.

I am unable to reconcile the discrepancies found in these three documents, which are probably due in a great measure to the incorrect version of B. above referred to; but, that Vira-Choḷa was a son of Râjendra, and governed the Veṅgi-country for many years, appears to be certain from the great number of inscriptions in his name included in my MS. Collection. A difficulty however occurs in identifying the great Râjendra with the names mentioned in the grants. In the *I. N. O.* I have made what I believe to be his exact date as A.D. 1064-1113. With this Vîra-Deva-Choḷa's vice-royalty would agree tolerably well, the date of the Chelûr inscription in his first year being A.D. 1079, or 15 years subsequent to his father's accession, tallying nearly with the administration of Vijayâditya which is stated to have been 15 years, or, including Râjarâja's one year, 16 years. Of this youthful Râjarâja we hear no more; but he was probably the Vikrama who succeeded his father in A.D. 1113, and whose other name of Râjarâja has been perpetuated on the numerous coins of that period.

The views I took in the paper communicated to the *Madras Journal* in 1858 accord nearly, as far as they go, with those above stated.

Vijayâditya was a family designation in the Eastern Chalukya line, as well as Vishṇuvardhana; and it was from the latter that Vîra-Deva took the title of *saptama* or 'seventh' Vishṇuvardhana, as well as that of Kulottuṅga-Choḷa. Râjendra calls the Vijayâditya here referred to his uncle, but the loose description of the genealogy does not enable us to see how this could be. Perhaps he was the son of Vimalâditya and Râjendra's sister, and by a mistake in the translation has been called "my" instead of "your" uncle.

Similar views were stated in the *I. N. O.* at pp. 88, 120, 121, 131, where I have also referred to Dr. Burnell's conclusions, and a *résumé* of the Chelûr inscription, when found, was added a p. 150.

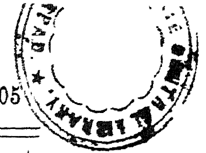
The importance of the points at issue makes it desirable to have that portion of the Chelûr inscription containing the genealogy printed from the original plates for insertion in this Journal, with a critical translation by the able paleographist, whose aid I have already invoked.

WALTER ELLIOT.

Wolfelee, 18*th March* 1885.

THE GENEALOGY OF THE CHOLAS.

The latter portion of the genealogy of the larger Chôḷa grant at Leiden, of which Dr. Burgess

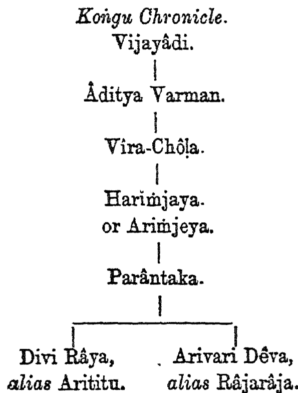


has published a notice in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII. p. 311, corresponds with the pedigree of the Chôḷas in the Koṅgu Chronicle,—Vîra-Chôḷa of the Chronicle receiving in the grant the eponym of Parântaka I.

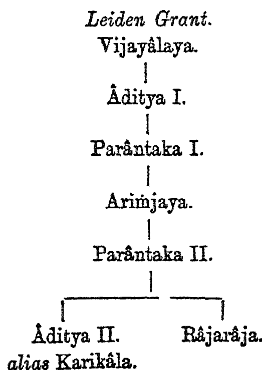
The full pedigree of the Chôḷas, so far as it is given in the Koṅgu Chronicle, may be seen in the *Manual of the Salem District*, Vol. I. p. 39, arranged in tree-form from Dowson's abstract of the Chronicle in *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, O. S., Vol. VIII. p. 1ff. and Taylor's full translation of it in *Madras Jour. Lit. and Sc.* Vol. XIV. p. 4ff.

Stripped of collateral names, the two pedigrees stand as follows:—

Koṅgu Chronicle.



Leiden Grant.



The early portion of the genealogy of the Leiden Grant agrees with the grant of Vîra-Chôḷa, and with popular tradition, in *ante* Vol. IX. p. 47ff., and *Salem Manual*, Vol. II. p. 365ff., asserting the descent of the Chôḷas from the Solar Race through Ikshvâku and Manu. The Vîra-Chôḷa grant traces their pedigree still higher than this, boldly carrying them up to the four-faced Brahmâ himself.

The Leiden Grant and the Koṅgu Chronicle thus render mutual support to each other for six generations of the Chôḷas: and it is something to have obtained this amount of confirmed foothold in the midst of the great confusion in which the history of this dynasty is involved.

The Leiden Grant states that Râjarâja-Chôḷa conquered Satyâśraya: and there is scarcely room for doubt that the reference is to one of the Western Châlukya kings, five at least of whom bore this eponym. If the name in the grant is to be regarded as a dynastic title, applicable to all the Western Châlukyas, the event referred to may well be the great victory obtained by the Chôḷas over Sômêśvara-Âhavamalla. This identification may possibly suggest the date of this grant, and at the same time afford a corrective for some of the difficulties which now surround the chronology of the Chôḷas. But it would be unsafe to press it at present, any further than as a tentative suggestion.

Considering the small quantity of original materials hitherto published for the history of this dynasty, and the important part which these kings once played in the annals of the Peninsula, it would be a great service to those who are working on the very intricate problems of Chôḷa history if some one would publish the Sanskṛit portion of the Leiden grant in the *Indian Antiquary*.

THOS. FOULKES.

Coimbatore, 12th January 1885.

THE LEIDEN COPPER-PLATE GRANTS—A CORRECTION.

At p. 59 of Vol. XIII., tentative readings have been given of the legends on the seals of the two Chôḷa grants in the University Museum at Leiden. An excellent cast of the seal of the larger grant, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Professor Kern, and a more careful examination of the photograph of the other than I was able to give to it in January 1884, enables me to give revised readings of the inscriptions.

That on the smaller and later grant runs,—*Śrî-Kulôttuṁga-Chôḷasya Râjakêsarivarmaṇaḥ puṇyaṁ kshôṇîśvara-sabhâ-chûḍâratnâyâ(ya) śâsanam*:—

"Srî-Kulôttuṁga-Chôḷa Râjakêsarivarman's auspicious edict to the crest-jewel of the assembly of earth-rulers."

The mistake in the first reading was mainly, if not entirely, due to the very peculiar form of the *ḷa* in *Chôḷa*, which being mistaken for *ṅga*, the syllables written below were taken in at the wrong place. These are—°*ḷasya Râjakêsarivarmaṇaḥ*, inserted below °*ṁga-Chô* and *puṇyaṁ kshôṇîśvara*. Dr. Kern has kindly pointed out this reading, and helped me with some of the letters in both inscriptions, about which I had doubts.

The legend on the larger and older grant is in an earlier and more difficult character: it reads,—*Iti Rájêndra-Chôlasya Parakêsarivarmmaṇaḥ rája-rájanya-makuṭa-śrêṇi-ratnêshu śásanam*:—

"This is Râjêndra-Chôla Parakêsarivarman's edict to the jewels of the range of diadems of kings and princes."

The character used here for the first syllable of *Rájêndra* and in the third of *rájarájanya* is quite different from that employed to represent *ra* in all other cases in the inscription, and is more like what we might expect to find for *dra* or *pra*.

JAMES BURGESS.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

ANOTHER MACARONIC VERSE OF GUMANI KAVI.

पूर्वजशुद्धिमिषाद्भुवि गङ्गां
प्रापितवान्स भगीरथभूपः ।
बन्धुरभूज्जगतः परमो ऽसौ
सज्जन हैं सब का उपकारी ॥

Under the pretext of purifying his ancestors, king Bhagîratha brought down the Ganges (*to us on earth*). He thus became a supreme friend of the world; for—"A good man benefits every one, (*even when he is working out his own purposes.*)"

With this may be compared the following Sanskṛit lines, by an unknown author, also popular in Tirhut:—

एको मुनिः कुम्भकुशाग्रहस्तः
आम्रस्य मूले सलिलं ददाति ।
आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च तृप्ताः
एका क्रिया द्व्यर्थकरी प्रसिद्धा ॥

A single saint, with a pitcher and a brush of *kuśa*-grass in his right hand, pours water on the root of a mango-tree. By this the mangoes are irrigated, and his ancestors satisfied; (*so that*) one act is declared to have a twofold accomplishment.

G. A. GRIERSON.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI EBN ABI TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S. Principal, Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 124.

224. A man's companion resembles himself.

225. The ornament of men is their learning, but the ornament of women is their gold.

226. Acid food is better than acid speech.

227. Fear God and you will be safe.

228. The fear of God brightens the heart.

229. A mind free from care is better than a full purse.

230. The best riches are those which are laid out in pious uses.

231. To acquiesce in the decrees of God is the medicine of the heart.

232. The religion of a man is known by his words and deeds.

233. Treat him kindly who has injured you, that he may be ashamed.

234. Leave the perverse in his perversity.

235. What princes give to taste burns the lips.

236. The most despised of creatures is precious in the sight of God.

237. The remembrance of death cheers the heart.

238. Honour your father and your son will honour you.

239. Visit a man according to his attentions to you.

240. The ornament of the mind is better than that of the body.

241. He is allured by vain hope who rejoices in worldly things.

242. The safety of man lies in controlling his tongue.

243. Priests rule a people.

244. The disgrace of learning is boasting.

245. A little wisdom is better than many works.

246. A rich miser is poorer than a liberal pauper.

247. Prayer at night brightens the day.

248. The silence of a fool is his protection.

249. His labour is lost who trusts in any one but God.

250. The blow of a friend is the sharpest.

251. To enjoy lawful things enlightens the mind.

252. He who is stingy has a narrow mind.

253. The desire of learning is better than the desire of gold.

254. The injustice of a man overthrows him.

255. The tyranny of kings is better than the rule of the people.

256. The thirst for wealth is greater than the thirst for water.

257. Live contented and you will be a king.

258. The fault of a discourse is its length.

259. A wise enemy is better than a foolish friend.

BOOK NOTICES.

SEVEN GRAMMARS of THE DIALECTS and SUBDIALECTS of THE BIHARI LANGUAGE. By G. A. GRIERSON, B. C. S.—Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1883.

These little volumes, four only of which have as yet appeared, shew the immense progress that has been made in the study of Indian dialects since I published my article on the Bhojpurî dialect, seventeen years ago, in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Vol. III. 1868). In the first place, it is now clearly recognized that the term Hindî,

as used by Europeans, is merely a vague expression for so many of the Aryan dialects as have not been distinguished by territorial names. I had partially grasped this fact, though not fully, when I wrote the remarks on p. 31 *et seq.* of Vol. I. of my *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India* in 1872. All round the outer edge of Aryan India is a circle of kingdoms or provinces; Bengal, Orissa, Mahârâshṭra, Gujarât, Sindh, Pañjâb, Nepâl; and the "Indian," or as the Muhammadans called it the Hindî, spoken in each of these places came by degrees to be called Baṅgâlî, Oṛiya, Marâṭhî, and so on.

But in the centre there remained a vast area for which no special name was found, it was merely Hind, and its language or languages were all merely Hindî. It has long been known that under this general term were included forms of speech differing very widely from each other, and it only remained for some scholar to enquire into the subject and classify these various forms, referring them to their proper relationships. Mr. Grierson has done this for the Eastern part of the hitherto undefined area, and he has therefore a perfect right to give a name to the form of speech whose independence he has successfully established. Indeed, it is highly probable that had the province of Bihâr, like the neighbouring province of Bengal, maintained itself in independence of the crown of Dehlî for any length of time, its language would have been called Bihârî many centuries ago.

In the second place, the researches of Dr. Hoernle into the obscure subject of the Prâkṛit dialects, have placed it beyond a doubt that these forms of speech fall into two groups, called respectively Mâgadhî, and Saurasênî, the former being the elder of the two and at one time probably the only language of Northern India, the latter and younger having gradually extended from the west eastwards and pushed the older language before it, till the domain of Mâgadhî lay entirely to the east of a line drawn north and south through Benares, though its influence on the Saurasênî resulted in the growth of a mixed dialect called Arddha-Mâgadhî, which seems to have extended far to the west. At a later period Mâgadhî pushed to the south-west through the Marâṭhâ country, but in the valley of the Ganges it never seems to have got much further west than the longitude of Benares. From this it follows that the dialects spoken in Bihâr have very much less connexion with those spoken in the western parts of the loosely defined and misleadingly designated "Hindî" area than they have with the other speech forms of Mâgadhî origin, such as Baṅgâlî and Oṛiya.

While, however, I fully agree with Mr. Grierson in separating Bihârî from the so-called Hindî, I feel a little difficulty in following him when he divides his newly discovered language into so many as *seven* dialects. Indeed, he himself seems rather doubtful on this point, for he admits on p. 15 of the Introduction that there are in reality only *three* dialects, Bhojpurî, Maithilî and Mâgadhî, and his seven grammars are, or are to be, made up by giving in addition to these three, four mixed forms, such as Maithilî affected by Mâgadhî, Maithilî-Baṅgâlî, and so on. All this extremely fine classification and subdivision, though it entitles Mr. Grierson to high rank among scientific philologists, is rather out of place in hand-books intended to teach officials the patois of their districts.

When one comes to look even at the three leading dialects, one finds them so very much alike that a grammar of any one of them would almost be a sufficient guide to the whole group. Take for instance the pronouns. That of the first person may be summarised as follows:—

	Nominative.		*Oblique.*	
	Short form.	Long form.	Short form.	Long form.
Singular, "I"	meṅ	ham	morâ	hamrâ
Plural, "we"	hamanî	hamrani	hamanî	hamranî

The only deviations from this scheme are that *meṅ* is not used in Mâgadhî or South Maithilî; that North Maithilî uses *moh* as well as *morâ*; that Bhojpurî adds *kâ* to *hamanî*, and all the dialects use also *ham sabh* and *hamrâ sabh* for the nom. and obl. plural respectively. The same close similarity runs through all the parts of speech. Apart from this defect of over-refining and over-classifying, which is a defect only in so far as it tends to embarrass the practical student, these little grammars are as complete and perfect as can be desired. The arrangement is admirable, being both scientific and simple. The rules are clear, and not too numerous, and the examples well chosen and carefully worked out. As none of these languages possesses any literature (with the exception of Maithilî, which has a little poetry), there is no recognized standard of speech for any of them, and it is therefore inevitable that there should be many varying forms for every person of every tense. Mr. Grierson's trained musical ear has enabled him to detect a very large number of these variations, very many more in fact than are apparent to the ordinary observer; and all of these are very fully given. It would have been well if some effort had been made to select for each person or tense one form, to be considered as the standard form, from

which the others should be held to be deviations. By this means the vagaries of rustic pronunciation might by degrees be reduced into manageable limits.

Specially noteworthy is the attempt to indicate several fine distinctions in vowel sounds by signs borrowed from the Gurmukhî character, a measure in which Dr. Hoernle took the lead, and which, it may be hoped, will become general.

JOHN BEAMES.

BULANDSHAHR; OR SKETCHES OF AN INDIAN DISTRICT, SOCIAL, HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL. BY F. S. GROWSE, C.I.E., Indian Civil Service. With illustrations. Benares. Medical Hall Press, 1884.

This short quarto of some 90 pages is divided into three distinct portions. Part I. describes the District of Bulandshahr, Part II. gives an account of its history from ancient times to the Mutiny, and Part III. an account of the rebuilding of its towns under the auspices of the artistic author.

Mr. Growse's qualifications for the first two divisions of his subject are so well known and have been so well illustrated in his model district memoir on Mathurâ that it is almost superfluous to say that both are treated with consummate skill and scholarship, and are safe guides for those who may have to study the locality.

The main interest in the book lies in the third part, which describes how he set to work to improve the towns over which chance had given him control; a duty to which he evidently gave his whole heart and performed with all the enthusiasm of the artist. The key to the spirit which animated him throughout is to be found in the quotation on the title-page:—"Our western civilization is perhaps not absolutely the glorious thing we like to imagine it." Accordingly we do not find him improving the city of Bulandshahr by the erection of European buildings on European models for purposes considered desirable by Europeans, but by taking the city and the people as he finds them and inducing the latter to satisfy their wants, as *they* feel them, by buildings after their own hearts: Indian listlessness having been hitherto content with mere mud and untidiness.

This method of proceeding brought him into more or less direct collision with the powers that be, especially in the Public Works Department, and accordingly with all the courage of his opinions that has distinguished the author in other publications he runs full tilt at the Department without any mincing of words or beating about the bush: unmindful of the native proverb with which no doubt he is acquainted, '*pañch pañch mil kîjê kâj, hârê jîtê na âvê lâj*: when a company does business no one is blamed if it succeed or fail,' and which so aptly expresses the hopelessness of trying to fasten blame on a corporate body. However, it must be as gratifying to him as it is to us, to see that his repeated hammering at the folly of holding up ourselves to the Indian public as official approvers of all that is ugly and tasteless, is at last bearing useful fruit, and that the Pañjâb Government has lately officially disapproved of plans submitted by the Lahore Municipality, merely on the ground that they are ugly. It was admitted that the plans proposed had been largely adopted elsewhere, but the Government in effect hoped that the Municipality would be able to prepare plans of a more ornamental kind without materially adding to the cost of the buildings.

If we have read Mr. Growse's pages aright it would seem that he is of opinion that the Natives are likely to largely copy the warehouse style of architecture adopted by the Public Works Department in our public buildings. Here we think that his enthusiasm has carried him too far. Here and there an 'advanced' Native of the 'noble' class may do so, but it is our opinion, after careful examination of many a building, that as architecture in India is still a living art, there is no servile copying to be found in the majority of buildings; and that even in British Cantonment towns, where British influence is strongest and the very builders are nearly all trained in the Public Works Department, British influence in native buildings is mainly to be seen in adaptations of European ideas and materials to native architectural requirements in reasonable subordination.

A COMPREHENSIVE COMMENTARY ON THE QURÂN: comprising Sale's Translation and Preliminary Discourse, with additional notes and emendations. By the REV. E. M. WHERRY, M.A., Vol. II. (London: Trubner and Co.)

In noticing the first volume of this work (*ante*, Vol. XI. p. 304), we have pointed out its importance to the student of Islâm, and sketched its plan.

This volume contains chapters III. to XIII, inclusive, or about one-third of the total contents of the *Qurân*, so that two more volumes will be required to complete the work. We could wish that, in what still remains, and in the promised index to the text, Sale's Discourse, and notes, the author would, as far as possible, rectify his transcriptions of Arabic and Persian names and words—which is not scholarly, and is the worst, if not the only fault we have to find with the book.

THE SONG OF ALHA'S MARRIAGE; A BHOJPURI EPIC.

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.C.S.

ROUND the history of the famous Bundêl'khaṇḍ heroes Âlhâ and Rûdal, an enormous cycle of folk-epics has collected. Probably these were originally written in the Bundêl'khaṇḍî dialect of the Bihârî language; but, so popular did the narrative of their exploits become, that the poems are now found in almost every dialect current in Hindûstân. The different versions can, however, be roughly divided into two classes, the Hindî (or Western) and the Bihârî (or Eastern) recension. The most noteworthy example of the Hindî recension is one usually, though probably erroneously, attributed to Chand Bardâî. Another version, in modern Hindî, has been lately edited by Chaudh'rî Ghâsî Râm of Bhaṭipurâ.[1] In this version, as in other Western versions, the heroes are named Âlhâ and Ûdal. A third version of the same recension exists in Kanaujî, and has been translated by Mr. Waterfield in Vols. LXI., LXII. and LXIII. of the *Calcutta Review*, under the name of "The Nine-lakh Chain, or the Mârô Feud." The translation is in English ballad metre.

The Eastern version only exists in the mouths of itinerant singers, and is nearly always couched in the Bhoj'pûrî dialect of Bihârî,—sometimes, however, mixed with Bais'wâṛî, when the audience is supposed to be of an educated character. The following Bhoj'pûrî text was obtained with considerable difficulty from the mouth of one of these men, and has been carefully revised with the help of competent Bhoj'pûrî scholars.

Although broken up into lines, the poem is hardly in metre, being adapted for singing to music, and not for rhythmic recitation.

I have adhered to the system of spelling usually adopted in printing Bihârî, *viz.* to spell every word rigidly as pronounced. As in the case of other Gauḍian languages, a final *a* is not pronounced; and words ending with this letter are treated as practically ending in consonants; thus देखब, 'I shall see,' is pronounced *dêkhab*, and not *dêkhaba*. Occasionally, however, (principally in the case of monosyllables and the 2nd persons plural of verbs) a final *a* is pronounced, and this is shown by the sign ॰, thus देखब॰ *dekhaba* (or in prose *dekh'ba*) 'you will see.' I have used the signs, ए॒, ऐ॒, ओ॒, and औ॒, for the short diphthongs *e*, *ăi*, *o*, *ău*, peculiar to Eastern Gauḍian languages. Their non-initial forms are ॆ *e* ॆै *ăi*, ॊ *o*, and ॊौ *ău* respectively. These vernacular signs are those used by the Bengal Asiatic Society, the Royal Asiatic Society, and the Government of Bengal, for the purpose. Natives, in writing, make no distinction between long and short vowels or diphthongs. When non-initial, *i* is always written long, whether really long or short; and short when initial. So also *u* is always written short.

The following is a brief account of the tradition concerning the origin of the two heroes of the story:—

Râjâ Par'mâl or Par'mâr,[2] the Chandêlâ, conquered the whole of India. The first city he conquered was Mahôbâ, of which Bâs'dêo was the prince. This man had three daughters. The eldest, Malan'dê Nâr (also Mal'nâ, and Mal'nâwatî), Par'mâl took in marriage. The other two were named Diwalâ and Til'kâ. One day the king was out hunting in the forest of Kaj'rî[3], and found therein two infant boys deserted by their parents. He took them up on to his elephant and returned to his palace at Mahôbâ. At the request of his wife he adopted them. One of the boys was named Das'râj (also Jassarâj, and

[1] Printed by Paṇḍit Hardêo Sahâî, Gyân Sâgar, Mêraṭh (Meerut).

[2] *i. e.* Paramârdî Dêva (*circa* A.D. 1165 to 1202) of Mahôbâ (called in the text Mahubâ or Mohabâ) in Bundêl'khaṇḍ. He was the most famous of the Chandêl dynasty of that province, and was finally defeated, and Mahôbâ captured by Pirthîrâj in A.D. 1182. See V. A. Smith, *History of Bundel'khaṇḍ*, *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. I. Part I. 1881, p. 1 ff.

[3] A very famous forest. According to Hariśchandra, the author of *Hindî Bhâkhâ*, there was once in Central India a Raj'pût prince named Dâdu Rây, in whose time no Musalmân dared touch the Ganges. He was much beloved by his subjects. On his death, a peculiar kind of song, called *Kaj'rî*, was invented in his memory. It received this name for two reasons: first, that the Kaj'rî forest was situated within his dominions; and second, that the third of the month on which this song is most sung is known in the *Purâṇas* as the *Kajjalî tîj*. According to tradition, Âlhâ finally disappeared into this forest, and is now lying there *perdu* awaiting his opportunity for issuing from it again. [The Kajjalî Ban is a stock locality in modern legends. See *Legends of the Pañjâb*, Vol I. p. 520. The popular notion in the Pañjâb is that it is on the banks of the Ganges in Gaṛh'wâl.—ED.]

Jâsar); and him the king married to his sister-in-law Diwalâ. The other was named B a c h h' r â j, and was married to Til'kâ. When they grew up, Par'mâl divided his kingdom and his army between them. Each of them had children. Jâsar's son by Diwalâ was called A l h â or Âlhâ. He had also another son by a maid-servant, whom he named D h â d h û. A son, subsequently born to him by his legitimate wife, was named R û d a l or Ûdal. The former is the Bihârî, and the latter the Hindî version of his name.

Â l h â was a suitor for the hand of S o n' v a t î, the sister of Râjâ I n d a r' m a n of Nainâgaṛh. Indar'man was opposed to his sister marrying any one, and had captured and imprisoned several would-be suitors. The present poem deals with R û d a l' s many battles with Indar'man on behalf of his brother Âlhâ. Finally Indar'man is conquered and slain, and Âlhâ marries Son'vatî.

TRANSLATION.

When Âlhâ's court was held, his palace was attended by great noblemen. The courts of the Ujains and Bisains[1] were also held there. Nine-hundred Nâgâs of Nâg'pûr, armed with Nag'phênî swords were there, and Kâkan of Ḍillî was seated there, with three thousand Loh'-tamiyâs.[2] (5) There were also there Maṛh'war, Tirautâ, Karam'wâr and Kumh Chanḍâl. So also were seated there, Jharô, Ujhaniya, Guj'haniyâ, and the Lord Gadahiyâwâl.[3] Dancing is going on and Mur'lîdhar is playing on the flute. '*Mur'mur mur'mur*' sound the fiddles, and '*run'run*' sound the guitars. The drums roll, the flutes express love, and the *mukh'chands*[4] studded with jewels give forth music. (10) Girls from Ceylon and boys from Goâliyar are dancing. So also are dancing girls[5] of Baṅgâl, verily a dance of fairies is going on in the bungalow. The *kunḍî*[6] weighs seven *mans*[7] and its pestle ten. Eighteen pitchers of *sabjî*[8] have been prepared, and nine balls of opium for each guest. Â l h â himself is chewing fourteen *battîs* of poisons,[9] and (in his intoxication) (15) the pupils of his eyes are inverted, and his eyes themselves shot with blood. Fierce shone the features of the kings, brave as lions in battle. The son of Jâsar[10] is immortal. At that moment Rûdal, at whose step the earth used to shake, and at whose shout the trees would wither, entered the palace. (20) As Â l h â looked upon him he became grieved in heart, saying, 'I see your body dimmed and your face sad. What distress has befallen you? Tell me, sir, in what difficulty you are. Tell me the secrets of your heart, for how else shall my soul be comforted.' Rûdal said respectfully,[11] 'O brother, hear the real fact. (25) I am much distressed[12] in body, let my elder brother agree to do a certain thing. In the East I took Paṭ'nâ city,[13] on the day when I conquered the seven divisions of Nepâl. In the West I conquered Badam and Lahaur, and in the South the mountain of Birin. I have searched the four quarters of the earth, but nowhere have I found a maiden fit to be your wife. A bride has been born in Nainâgaṛh, in the palace of king Indar'man (her brother). (30) She is the daughter of Sam Dêvâ, and is grown up, and her father demands a tiger-fighting bridegroom. Great is the desire in my heart to celebrate the marriage of my brother, and I would wed him to Son'vatî.'

This much heard Âlhâ and he began to grieve in his mind. Folding his hands he said respectfully, 'O Rûdal, pay heed unto my words. (35) Go not to Nainâgaṛh, for its prince destroys castles just as if they were but wild beasts' holes.[14] Powerful is the king of Nainâgaṛh, and very mighty[15] in arms. He has thrown into prison fifty-two (would-be) bridegrooms, and seven hundred and fifty thousand

[1] Raj'pût tribes..

[2] Said to be the name of a Raj'pût tribe.

[3] These are all said to represent Raj'pût tribes. It is a common saying that there are as many kinds of Raj'-pûts as there are kinds of rice, रजपूत ओं धान प्रके हाल.

[4] A kind of wind instrument.

[5] तोफा for طوایف or طایفہ

[6] A stone vessel for grinding *bhang*.

[7] About a quarter of a ton.

[8] An intoxicating drink made from *bhang*.

[9] A *battî* is the lump of opium eaten at one time.

[10] *i. e.* Âlhâ. The latter half of the line appears to have no meaning. It is recorded exactly as it was sung, but the singer was unable to interpret it. This often happens in these songs. [See Preface to Vol. I. *Legends of the Panjâb*, p. x.—ED.]

[11] Rûdal was younger than Âlhâ, hence his respect in addressing him.

[12] पड़ि is *metri gratiâ* for पड़ी which is Hindî for पड़ल.

[13] पुर पाटन means either 'Paṭ'nâ city,' or a 'well-laid-out city.' The phrase constantly occurs in folk-songs. Thus in one celebrating the birth of Râm, the fourteenth line commences, ऊँच नगर पुर पाटन, the town is well-laid out and a high city (*J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XVI. Part 2, *Some Bihârî Folk Songs*. No. 9.)

[14] मान is the den of a wild beast: नाहिँ, here means like.

[15] A common use of the word चण्डाल.

attendants of their marriage processions.[16] The fathers of the bridegrooms he has shut up in dungeons,[17] and the match-makers have been clothed in fetters. The very bards and musicians have all been reduced to mud under the marriage canopy. (40) Three thousand men of the tribes of Ek'hâ, Ḍhek'hâ, Ḍhel'pur'wâ, and Muṭ'ghiñch'wâ (has he slain). You will be killed in Nainâgaṛh. O Rûdal, pay heed to what I say. There is no hero in the world who dare marry Son'vatî. Go not to Nainâgaṛh.' So much heard Rûdal, and in a rage he blazed up like burning coals. (45) Reverently said he, 'Brother, hearken to me. O cowardly brother, you are frightened and have lost your wits. Shame upon your life! Has your sword sunk in the world ?[18] O Ambâ,[19] on the day on which I go to Nainâgaṛh will my sword be wielded furiously. Look not at my thin body, nor on my slender limbs, (50) for on the day on which I go to Nainâgaṛh will my sword be wielded night and day.' When Âlhâ heard these words he was thrown into great perplexity, and said politely, 'Lord Rûdal, hear me. How often have I remonstrated with you, Bagh Rûdal,[20] and you never paid heed to me? If you had been a child I could have prevented you by force, but how can a hero like you be stayed, if he pays no heed to words? (55) So whatever is your pleasure, that do.' When Rûdal heard this, he rejoiced greatly, and after crying shame on cowardice, he said, 'Hear, O Brother, cherisher of the poor! It would have been better, elder brother mine, that you had drowned yourself, for it is disgraceful for you to live. Had you been born in the house of a leather-worker, you (might have stayed at home and) dressed leather every morning. (60) But we are Raj'pûts by caste, and we have but a few days in which we can live in this world. There are but three or four days of life, and then comes the dark night. Even if fate is displeased with us, God can but take away our life. What else can he do? Whatever he has written in the book of fate that cannot be erased. If I die the earth is but smaller by a single yard.[21] Let me have one struggle (*lit.* blow) with destiny. (65) Then shall I be worthy to be called the Lord Rûdal, the son of Jâsar.'

Rûdal departed thence, and went to the fort of Piarî, to where Ḍêbâ[22] was holding court. Ḍêbâ spread a golden bed for him, and made ready a golden stool. He sate him down on the top of seven carpets. (70) Rûdal folded his hands, and said, 'My blessing be upon Ḍêbâ, the Brâhmaṇ. War has been declared with Nainâgaṛh. Ḍêbâ, accompany me.' When Ḍêbâ heard this he was thrown into perplexity, but with folded hands said, 'Lord Rûdal, hear my words. Wherever Rûdal's sweat will fall, there will my blood fall too.' (75) 'Ḍêbâ, Ḍêbâ,' cried out Rûdal, 'Ḍêbâ, pay heed unto me. The horse[23] is tied up in my stable, go and bring it to me this day.' Ḍêbâ went off from Piarî to Rûdal's stable. Fifty-two horses of Kôtal were tied there, and in the midst was the horse Benuliyâ; 'twas then that Ḍêbâ approached it. (80) With folded hands Ḍêbâ said, 'O horse, hear my words! You are summoned by Bagh Rûdal. War has been declared with Nainâgaṛh. O horse, accompany me!' So much heard the horse, and in a rage he blazed up like burning coals. Said he, 'My blessing be upon the Lord Ḍêbâ. (85) Has a thunderbolt fallen upon Âlhâ (that he fights no more)? May torrents of anger fall upon him too. Ever since I have come from Indra's heaven, have I been put to this sad plight. Worms have bred in my hoofs. Spiders have spun webs on the shields, and rust has formed upon the swords. Has the sword sunk in the world ?[24] Âlhâ has never seen a fight (since then), and we have but a few days to live in the world.' (90) Ḍêbâ was delighted at hearing these words; and unfastened the horse's front, heel, and neck-ropes. He put on him the golden saddle and bridle. As he unfastened the bridle he patted

[16] This was a common custom in those days. When a Raj'pût gave his daughter in marriage, it was a rule of honour only to give her at the point of the sword.

[17] गारद is a corruption of the English 'guard.'

[18] *i. e.* is there no one else left to fight with?

[19] A name of Dêvî.

[20] *i.e.* Tiger Rûdal. बाघ has become shortened to बघ as it is in the before the penultimate of a compound *tadbhava* word.

[21] *i. e.* taken up by my grave. This song is sung principally by *naṭs* and *jôgîs*, who bury their dead.

[22] An astrologer who plays an important part in the poem. In the western recension he is Ḍhêwâ, the son of Rah'mal, and his horse was named Manur'thâ.

[23] Âlhâ and Rûdal and their cousins were possessed of five magic horses, which were foals of a horse belonging to Indra out of a piebald mare belonging to Par'mâl, and which had wings. In the Western version Âlhâ's horse is named Kariliyâ, and Udal's Ras'bêndul or Bendulâ.

[24] *i.e.* Is there no one left to conquer?

the horse's body. saying, 'My steed, may you always be happy.' Ḍêbâ saddled the horse and started, (95) and in two and a half *gharîs* reached Rûdal. When Rûdal saw the looks of the horse he was delighted. As he smoothed down its body he smiled and said reverently, 'O horse, hear my words!' Then shouted he, 'My blessing be upon Ḍêbâ, the minister. (100) Make ready the horse Benuliyâ and carry out my orders.' Ḍêbâ the Brâhmaṇ saddled the horse and tied on it a silken saddle-cloth. He plaited the hair of its mane with gold, pinned on with silver pins. Its tail (O gentlemen, hear what I say!), he plaited with pearls, and a necklace worth seven *lâkhs* he put round its neck. (105) So much was the array of the horse. Now hear about Rûdal.

He fastened on a loin-cloth fifty-two yards long, and drawers of *kharuâ* cloth. At his side hung a shield weighing eighty *mans*[25] and in his hand he carried a spear weighing thirty *mans*.[26] He put on a curved leather belt, which reached down to his side, and below its flap hung his sword. (110) At his waist swing[27] fifty-six knives and nine javelins. Shoes of cloth shine on his feet, and at the echo (of their movement) his moustaches quiver. A necklace of fifty-two gold *mohars* he put on round his wrist. On his arm above the elbow shines a golden spangle. The awe-inspiring hero Rûdal leaped upon his horse and bestrode it. (115) Bagh Rûdal rode the horse Benuliyâ, and Ḍêbâ the horse Hansâ,[28] and each on his own horse started for Nainâgaṛh. They whipped their horses, and these no longer set foot upon earth. They flew up and went in the sky at even pace. '*Rim'jhim rim'jhim*' danced the horses, as peacocks of the forest dance; (120) and going night and day they arrived at Nainâgaṛh.

When Rûdal saw the garden of Son'vatî he was delighted, and shouted, 'Ḍêbâ, Ḍêbâ, hear my words! Rest here in this garden, and let us take a short sleep.' Great was the beauty of the garden, and there they took their rest. (125) As Rûdal wandered round it he was filled with delight, and especially when he saw Indar'man's wrestling arena. (Said he), 'My body has become stiff[29] from the journey, let me perform a few exercises.[30] He tightened up his fifty-two yards of loin-cloth and put on tight athlete's drawers. He rubbed his body with the dust of fifty-two granaries,[31] (130) placed the palms of his hands on the ground and performed nine hundred thousand exercises. He whirled Indian clubs weighing twenty-two *mans*[32] and *ḍîls*[33] weighing seventy and a half *mans*.[34] The *nêjam*[35] weighed thirty *mans*.[36] All these did Rûdal break, as he cleared the ground around him. As he clapped his right hand[37] (O gentlemen, hear my words!), all the flowers in the garden fell down, the trees of the grove were rooted up, (135) and the fishes were driven out of the water. By his mere shout people became deaf. Śiva mounted his bull and ran away, while Dêvî wept tears of pearls, saying, 'Who is this powerful king that has desolated the garden under my charge? If king Indar'man come to hear of it, he will strip my skin from my body. Dêvî, with her seven sisters[38] departed from Indra's paradise, (140) and in two and a half *gharîs*[39] arrived at the garden.

Rûdal was sleeping in the garden, and thither Dêvî went, and when she saw his form she was filled with perplexity. (Said she) 'This youth is of great beauty, and his eyes burn brilliantly. If he come in front of Indar'man he will cut him off.' (145) By this time Rûdal awoke from his sleep, and gazed around. Then folding his hands he said, 'O Dêvî, heed my words. I will sacrifice fifty-two goats to you, and full fifty bull-buffaloes. I will even offer a human sacrifice to you, if you will grant my petition.' So much heard Dêvî, and in a rage she blazed up like burning coals. (150)

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[25] About 3 tons. [26] Over a ton.

[27] हुले is *metri gratiâ* for हूले, *cf.* line 428.

[28] Called Manur'thâ in the Western version.

[29] कैँड़ा is stiffness of the joints from travelling.

[30] डएड is an athlete's exercise. The body is stretched and supported on the palms of the hands and toes, and then swung backwards and forwards.

[31] कोठवार is the dust made by pounding up the earthen granaries or कोठी which natives keep in their houses. It is used by athletes for smearing on their bodies.

[32] Nearly a ton.

[33] A डील or नाल is an instrument used by athletes. It is a heavy wooden block with a handle for lifting.

[34] Over two and a half tons.

[35] The नेजम or लेजिम is a kind of bow, with iron chains instead of a string, used by athletes, for lifting as a test of strength.

[36] Over a ton.

[37] *i.e.* on to the elbow of his left arm.

[38] Dêvî is said to have seven sisters, or rather incarnations. Seven altars are usually erected to her at one place.

[39] A *gharî* is about half an hour.

Then spake she with her mouth, 'O Lord Rûdal, listen to me. Many and many a time have I warned you, but, my boy, you did not heed my words. Mighty is the king of Nainâgaṛh, whose name is Indar'man. Fifty-two minarets has his fortress, and fifty-three thousand markets. There are fifty-two police-stations in Nainâgaṛh, which extends from heaven to hell. (155) The wedding crowns of fifty-two suitors has he cast away to float upon the river at Guraiyâ Ghâṭ. Lord Rûdal, you will be killed. For nothing will you lose your life. You will not be left to offer *piṇḍâs* for your ancestors, and your whole family will be uprooted.' So much heard Rûdal, and from the soles of his feet blazed up fire through his body. He seized Dêvî by her top-knot and cast her to the ground. (160) (The baleful star) Sanîchar was in his eye; O gentlemen, his eyes were dread as death itself! Twice or thrice did he slap and thump Dêvî, as he pressed her down under his knee. She screamed 'Râm, Râm,' and weeping cried, 'O Rûdal, spare my life! I will bring you and Son'vatî together.' (165) Rûdal heard this much and was delighted. He spared Dêvî's life and she ran away in terror to Indra's paradise. The five Pâṇḍavas were there,[40] and their eyes fell upon her. (170) Wept they, 'O Dêvî, hear our words! You are the mistress of the three worlds, why do you weep so bitterly.' Then shouted Dèvî, 'O Pâṇḍavas, hear my words! The son of Jâsar, by name Rûdal, has come, and wishes to marry Son'vatî by force. (175) Even I, Dêvî, could not save my life from his hands. Do you protect me, O Pâṇḍavas.' The Pâṇḍavas heard this much and wept tears of pearls. They all began to tremble, 'O Dêvî, hear our words! Powerful is king Bagh Rûdal, and mighty is he in arms.'

Dêvî fled from Indra's paradise congratulating herself that she had not lost her life (180) and went to Nainâgaṛh. Inside fifty-two doors was Son'vatî sleeping. The bed was of silver and the side planks of gold. Four nurses sat round her, and in their midst Son'vatî slept. The betel-dresser was preparing betel, and other (nurses) were standing by in reverent attitude. (185) Some nurses were opening the plaits of her hair, and others stood by with water in their hands. At that time Dêvî arrived and showed Son'vatî a dream, saying, 'O Son'vatî, hear my words! King Bagh Rûdal has come and is camping in the garden. He wishes to marry Son'vatî by force. (190) (If he does not succeed) he will assuredly take my life, so, Son'vatî save me from death.' When Son'vatî heard Rûdal's name she was delighted, and called out, 'Nurse, nurse, nurse Muṅgiyâ, consent to do something for me. Last night I saw in a dream that I went to worship in Śiva's temple. Bring me my casket of jewels and my clothes. (195) Bring it hither.' The box of clothes was opened and a heap of apparel taken out. She put on a petticoat of western (cloth), embroidered with a hem of velvet. She put on a bodice of *mus'ruf*[41] which was fastened with fifty-two ribbons. On every joint of her fingers she put rings, and the tinkling of her bangles (became audible). (200) A *nagînâ* stone adorned her little finger, and her teeth shone like diamonds. The spangle on her forehead was worth seven *lakhs*. Her plaited hair was loosened and meandered down her back like black snakes. She took out her mirror, and looked at herself, and became perplexed in mind. 'May my brother Indar'man die the death, for he keeps his sister a maiden in his house. (205) My youth has passed away. And I am still a maiden in Nainâgaṛh. Cursed be this beauty of mine, for I dwell a maiden in Nainâgaṛh.' The litter of Son'vatî issued forth (from the castle), and she set out to worship Śiva: and the eyes of Indar'man fell upon it, and he called his guards. 'Ho, there! Of what country is this king so mighty, who has mounted a litter? (210) Cut off his head and cast it into the field'.[42] King Indar'man grasped his naked sword, and leaped fifty-two cubits in the air. Son'vatî's eyes fell upon him, and the soul of her inner heart[13] took fire. 'No longer will I keep up the

[40] The five Pâṇḍavas (Yudhishṭhira and his brothers) continually appear in folktales of this character as a species of demi-gods.

[41] A mixed stuff of silk and cotton. A corruption of the Arabic مشروع

[42] A कूर खेत is a field in which crops are not growing, but not necessarily a barren one. It may be ploughed and otherwise prepared, as long as it is not sown. I have not met the word कूर in any other connection. Natives connect the word with कुँआरी, a virgin, hence, a field which has not been sown. [Is there any connection with Kurukshêtra, in the way of a field too sacred by association to be used for ordinary purposes?—ED.]

[43] I have only met the word कोंह in the phrase अन्त कोंह, which is not uncommon. The phrase means the 'inmost heart.'

tie of brother with this man.' She took off all her jewels, and laid them in the litter. (215) She fastened round herself a loin-cloth fifty-two yards long, and leaped forty-two cubits in the air. Then began the fight between the brother and sister; O gentlemen, terrible[44] was the fight! The scimitars shrieked '*tar̤'tar̤ tar̤'tar̤*' and the swords '*khat̤ar khat̤ar.*' '*San'san san'san*' hissed the bullets, as the combatants hardly set foot to earth. (220) For seven days and eighty-seven nights (*sic*) the battle lasted. Even when seven cubits of earth had been hollowed out by their feet, still Son'vatî did not retreat. Then king Indar'man drew his scimitar and called upon the name of Alî,[45] and as he struck at Son'vatî, she warded off the blow with her plaited hair; a second blow he aimed at her which she warded off with her bracelet, and a third which she warded off with the border of her garment.[46] (225) Then the lady leaped fifty-two cubits high, caught Indar'man by the wrist and threw him to the ground. She then pressed him down under her knee, till he screamed out 'Râm, Râm.' Sam Dêvâ[47] saw this and began to weep bitterly. Crying 'Alas, alas!' he caught hold of her, and said, 'Daughter Son'vatî, agree to this. (230) First cut off your father's head, and then[48] your brother's.' Son'vatî heard this much and became much perplexed. She, however, spared Indar'man, and answered her father,' 'How often have I warned this brother, but he heeded not my words. Last night I had a dream from Śiva.'[49] (235) So much heard Indar'man, and in a rage he blazed up like burning coals. Cried he, 'I will have a canal dug from the Ganges to this place, and will fetch here Śiva's discus[50] itself. Flowers will I supply from the garden, so that you may do your worship at home.' No one knows the arts of women. She turned the subject, and began to speak disparagingly of Bagh Rûdal. (240) 'He! Oh, he is the man that was turned out of Soṅṛh'ṛî. The king Jhag'rû turned him out. He is the slave[51] of a foreign master. How could he aspire to marry Son'vatî?'

Then Indar'man sent with Son'vatî her five sisters-in-law, and called out to nurse Muṅgiyâ, 'O Nurse, hear my words! Whatever you see occur in Śiva's temple you must send word to me about it at once.'

(245) The litter of Son'vatî started, and she entered the temple. The temple had fifty-two gates, and inside them all went Son'vatî. When she saw the image of Śiva she began to grieve in her heart. 'Nurse, nurse,' she called, 'My blessing be upon nurse Muṅgiyâ! The flowers in my basket have run short. Go and fetch some from the garden.' (250) So much heard the nurse, and she was delighted in her heart. She took a golden flower-basket in her hands, and went to the garden.

Ḍêbâ, the Brâhmaṇ, was seated there when the nurse arrived. Rudely said she, 'Sir, hear my words! Of what country is the king who has come and encamped in the garden? (255) You will have to pay tribute for the garden. Give me my tribute.' Then called out Ḍêbâ, "My blessing be upon nurse Muṅgiyâ! I am Duniyâ Siṅgh, king of Loh'gâṅjar. I am come at the invitation of Sam Dêvâ. I am come to comply with his invitation.' So much heard the nurse, and in a rage she blazed up like burning coals. (260) She began to speak disparagingly of Bagh Rûdal. 'The slave of a foreign master, Rûdal earns his bread from a stranger. How can that Rûdal be so audacious as to aspire to Son'vatî's hand?' (When Rûdal heard these words) his heart burned within him, and from the soles of his feet he blazed up like burning coal, as he cried, 'She is only a nurse, and dares to reply thus. Then what audacity is this of mine (compared with hers).' (265) He leaped towards the nurse, seized her by the wrist and threw her to the ground. He tore off the border of her garment[52] and the precious strings of her bodice, and dishonoured her as she screamed, 'Râm, Râm.'

Son'vatî's nurse fled from the garden (270)

[44] कचैँधी is connected with कच्चा unripe,' hence 'hard,' hence the word means the sound produced in beating a hard substance. Thus they say कचदे मार देब, I will give you a beating which will make a great sound.

[45] For 'Ali, the son-in-law of Muḥammad and the patron of the Shi'a Musalmâns.

[46] In all these battles, it seems to have been etiquette not to strike the first blow. There is generally a contest of politeness between the combatants as to who is to begin. Usually the villain of the combat strikes three ineffectual blows at the hero, who then goes in and wins.

[47] Her and Indarman's father.

[48] *i.e.* Not till then.

[49] *i. e.* I must go to his temple and worship there.

[50] His special object of worship.

[51] A सेरहा is a servant paid by being given a *sêr* of food each day.

[52] Where it hid her bosom.

to where her mistress was sitting in Śiva's temple. Said she to the nurse, 'O Nurse, my blessing be upon you! With whom had you an assignation that you stayed so long away?' Then screamed out the nurse, 'My blessing be upon Son'vatî! Your husband's younger brother, Bagh Rûdal, has come to the garden. (275) Your nurse's life has not been saved from him. O Son'vatî, protect me!' When she heard the name of Rudêlâ, Son'vatî was delighted. 'The very boon which I asked for in the temple of Śiva has come to me.' So much is the narrative about Son'vatî, now hear about Rûdal.

Bagh Rûdal mounted his horse Benuliyâ, and Ḍêbâ his horse Hansâ, (280) and the former made his horse to fly and arrived at Śiva's temple. He tied his horse at the gate, and entered. The eyes of Son'vatî fell upon him, and she ran away to the inner window. She caused a golden bed to be spread, and a golden stool to be laid, (285) and on seven carpets she made Bagh Rûdal sit. Reverently said Son'vatî, 'My blessing be upon Lord Rûdal! Where is that girl born for whom you are ready to fight[53]?' Bagh Rûdal replied, 'My blessing be upon my sister-in-law Son'vatî. Twelve years have passed and my brother is still a bachelor. (290) I shall pull down the fort of Nainâgaṛh and marry him to Son'vatî.' So much heard Princess Son'vatî, and she was filled with delight. 'My husband's younger brother is a hungry warrior. Let me give him food to eat.' She sent for cows' milk and made *khôâ*[54] mixed with lumps of sugar. 'Eat, eat, Lord Rûdal, the only hope of my life is in you.' (295) But Rûdal answered roughly and said, 'O sister-in-law, pay heed to my request! I have taken an oath in Moh'bâ fort that I will neither eat nor drink (till I have accomplished my purpose). To me water is as unlawful as if it were wine, and food as if it were beef.' Then called out Son'vatî, 'O Muṅgiyâ, my blessing be upon you. Play the sports of the *Hôlî* with my brother-in-law.' (300) So they mix *abîr*[55] in Śiva's temple. Some of them chuck him under the chin,[56] and others pat his cheeks.[57] They empty pitchers full of mud upon his body. His silken[58] loin-cloth, and his brown wrapper are wet through. His sheet studded with small pearls is besmeared with mud. (305) Then said Rûdal, 'O Lord Ḍêbâ, hear my words. I am not the slave of women, that I should forget myself amongst these females. I am the slave of weapons, happen what Sîtâ and Râm may ordain.' He sent for a roll of betel which he filled[59] with leaden (bullets). Then uttering a charm he struck the nurse with it, and the spangle on her forehead was thereby smashed to pieces. (310) The nurse ran away to save her life.

The court of Indar'man, full of great lords, was assembled in the palace, and at that time the nurse arrived in his presence. She rolled[60] on the ground under the bed and cried, 'O king Indar'man, hear my request. King Bagh Rûdal has come and surrounded the litter of Son'vatî. (315) He wishes to marry by force. Is there any strength in your thighs? Then go and rescue her.' In his heart king Indar'man was sorrowful, and in his heart he grieved. 'Time on time have I warned Son'vatî, but she would not heed my words.'

He set a roll[61] of betel on the carpet. Nine hundred thousand rolls were put. (320) 'If any king would fight with Rûdal, let him chew one of these rolls.' The jaws of the warriors trembled, the very thirty-two teeth in their mouths shook. They replied, 'Let him whose life is a burden to him go and be killed by Rûdal.' But Lah'râ Siṅgh took up a roll and put it into his mouth.[62] Then he caused the war-drums to be beaten, and the drum-sticks to sound '*jujhâm jujhâm*.' (325) One by one the army collected till there were fifty-two and ninety thousands. The old men and those who had children were not counted in it, when

[53] *lit.* you have tightened your loin-cloth.

[54] Milk boiled down till it is thick.

[55] The red powder thrown about at the *Hôlî* festival. It is also mixed with water and squirted from syringes.

[56] हुतका is a chuck under the chin. Sometimes the meaning is extended to a dig in the ribs.

[57] √मैस means to rub between the finger and thumb.

[58] लरमी is explained as 'silken,' but the meaning is doubtful.

[59] √पिलाव here means 'fill.'

[60] खवे is *metri gratiâ* for खावे or, more properly, खाये, *lit.* 'she eats (the act of) rolling.'

[61] This is the regular ceremony for calling for volunteers for any hazardous enterprise. It is frequently referred to in this class of songs. *Cf.* Chand, *Rêvâtaṭa*, 16. [Also *Legends of the Panjâb*, *passim*.—Ed.]

[62] *lit.* under his jaw.

the armies were not numbered.[63] The king brought out fifty-two male elephants with short tusks, and sixteen hundred tuskers. There was altogether a circle of ninety hundred elephants, while above them hovered war-balloons.[64] The mountaineers came down from the mountains, and the Lâkaṭs[65] started armed with swords. (330) Baṅgâlîs mighty in arms came from Baṅgâl and Mar'haṭṭâs (Marâṭhâs), whose (cannons took) balls weighing full nine *mans*,[66] came from the South. Nine hundred cannons belonging to the king came, besides thirteen thousand which he borrowed. Fifty-two carts were loaded with flints, fifty-three with gunpowder, and thirty-two with lead. Naked swords were also loaded (on carts). (335) Against one Rûdal and one Ḍêbâ, ninety hundred thousand horsemen started. For fifty-two *kos*[67] around he caused beat of drum to be made inviting men to come in and take advances of a hundred rupees on their monthly pay; but that if any one ran away at the time of battle, he would be loaded with nine *mans* of fetters.

The bugle[68] sounded in the battalion,[69] (340) and the army of Lah'râ started, O gentlemen! like torrents of rain from a cloud. The horsemen who fought with gunpowder[70] were seven hundred and fifty thousand in number, so the army of Lah'râ started, and came within sight of the temple of Śiva. He caused guns to be set at all the fifty-two doors of the temple; so Rûdal, Rûdal, was surrounded[71] in the temple of Śiva. (345) His heart was in a flame, and he leaped upon his horse. Then he slapped his left elbow with his right hand, and at the sound the fifty-two temples fell down. Then said king Lah'râ Siṅgh, 'O Rûdal, pay heed to my words! Depart from hence and you will be saved from your fate.' But Bagh Rûdal paid no heed, and cried saying, 'Hear the word of virtue.'[72] (350) From words they came to quarrelling, and then to wrangling. Who could stop the wordy warfare? Fiercely they began to ply their scimitars. '*Taṛ'taṛ taṛ'taṛ*' hissed the scimitars, and '*khaṭar khaṭar*' the swords, '*san'san san'san*' whizzed the bullets, so that on neither side could the ears (of the warriors) bear to hear the terrible noise. A hundred and sixty horsemen, who fought with gunpowder fell, (355) for just as a carpenter cuts down the trees of the forest, so did Rûdal leap and hack. A stream, half Ganges water and half blood, flowed. Foot-soldiers fell on foot-soldiers, and horsemen on horsemen. In the stream the shields floated resembling tortoises, and the swords like alligators. Knives and daggers floated like *sidh'rî* fish and ate up the soldiers. (360) In the battalion of ninety thousand men only ten escaped. Then Lah'râ Siṅgh bound Rûdal with an oath to spare his life, saying, 'Always will I be thankful to Bagh Rûdal.' So much heard Rûdal and he was delighted, and turned back (from the attack). Then Lah'râ Siṅgh attacked him a second time with greater violence[73] (365) and calling upon the name of Alî,[74] drew his scimitar. As he struck at Rûdal, Dêvî immediately warded off the blow. Then Rûdal's heart burst into flame, and he leaped fifty-two cubits into the air, and so struck he Lah'râ that his corpse[75] rolled upon the earth. Away then fled the army of Lah'râ to Nainâgaṛh,

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[63] The meaning of this line is very obscure.

[64] A नाग डम्बर is described as a kind of balloon in which soldiers could fight in the air.

[65] A Raj'pût tribe. [66] About a third of a ton.

[67] About 104 miles.

[68] बीगुल is a corruption of the English 'bugle.'

[69] पलटन is a corruption of the English 'battalion.'

[70] झाड़ means here 'simply,' *i.e.* soldiers who fought with gunpowder, and not with other weapons.

[71] घिराइल is a good example of the potential passive, a form made from the primitive root by adding आ and shortening the penultimate. It thus differs from the causal, which is formed by adding आव. Thus from घेर 'surround,' we have potential passive घिरा p.p. घिराइल 'surrounded,' and causal घिराव p. p. घिराओल 'caused to surround.' The change of ए to इ is a Westernism borrowed from Hindî: *cf.* line 314. Usually ए shortens regularly to ए़ so that √घेर usually becomes √घेरा and घेराव.

[72] *i. e.* the real fact.

[73] सरेख is a curious word. I am not quite sure of its derivation. Bate, *Hindî Dict.*, gives सरेखा as equivalent to सरीखा, but in Bhoj'pûri the two words are quite distinct. सरीख means 'like, resembling,' but सरेख, 'greater,' 'stronger,' 'older:' always in a comparative sense: *e.g.* बर कन्या से सरेख बा, 'the bridegroom is bigger than the bride.' But one can never say simply बर सरेख बा 'the bridegroom is big.' [74] See above, line 223.

[75] लोथ, 'a corpse,' √ फहरा, 'quiver.'

(370) to where Indar'man was sitting in court. They cried to Indar'man to save their lives. When Indar'man saw them he grieved in his soul, and he himself took up one of the rolls of betel, which he had deposited as a challenge. He called for his elephant Bhaunrânand, and had it fed with nine *mans* of *bhang*,[76] (375) and taking only ten soldiers with him, as a quiet battalion, started. In a moment's walk he arrived at Śiva's temple. Rûdal's horse, which was tied there, saw the battalion, and lamenting, called upon Dêvî to save his life. Dêvî came in the form of Banas'patî (the goddess) of the forest, (380) and untied it. The horse flew into the sky, to where Rûdal was sleeping in the temple, and wakened him with the trampling[77] of its hoofs, telling him that Indar'man's battalion had come. Rûdal leaped upon his steed and arrived in the midst of the battalion (385) and without considering whether it was a propitious time or not, he immediately[78] began to use his sword.

Then began the fight between Indar'man and Rûdal in Śiva's temple. Such a fight was it that no one had time to recognize friend from foe. The discus-headed arrows hissed '*gan'gan gan'gan*,' and the camels cried '*bal'bal.*' '*San'san san'san*' whizzed the bullets, so that on neither side could the ears (of the warriors) bear to hear the terrible noise. (390) Rûdal cut down all the ten soldiers of Indar'man, and made a clear space. Then Indar'man became greatly enraged and drew his sword, but when he struck at him Rûdal received the blow on his shield which weighed eighty *mans*. But the shield was cut through by the stroke, and only the inside pad remained in the hand of the man behind it. The arm and rib of Rûdal was broken by the blow; (395) his horse's shoe was broken, and the horse's rider fell to the ground screaming 'Râm, Râm!' When Dêvî saw Rûdal in this parlous state, she came from Indra's paradise to him, and dropped ambrosia[79] into his throat. (400) As soon as his palate tasted it, Rûdal rose in amazement, and finding his life saved by Dêvî, fled to save it himself. Fleeing, fleeing, he arrived at Moh'bâ. So much for Rûdal, now hear the account of Âlhâ.

Quoth he, 'how often did I warn Bagh Rûdal, but the boy paid no heed to my words.' (405) For fifty-two leagues in all directions did Bagh Rûdal have the drum beaten, and he wrote a letter and sent it to Til'rî. The oilmen and shopmen of Til'rî, terrible in arms as a black tempest, sent a letter to Nar'bar'gaṛh, to the audience hall of king Med'nî Siṅgh, who (on its receipt) set out for and arrived at Moh'bâ. (410) So also came the kings of Mak'rannâgaṛh and the Moraṅg[80] and Bhûwan Singh the king of Sil'haṭ, Sur'jan Siṅgh the king of Ḍillî came, and the old Saiyad of Banâras,[81] with his nine sons and eighteen grandsons. He could stop lowering[82] clouds. Very terrible was he in the fight[83] (415) Miyâṅ Meh'dî of Kâbul came, who ate his food in his hand.[84] He will fly in the air as he fights, and the corpses of those killed by him will be eaten by fairies. Came King Lâkhan Siṅgh with *lâkhs* on *lâkhs* of horsemen. Naûmaniyâ came whose sword[85] weighed nine *mans*[86] and whose grindstone weighed a hundred and twenty-five *mans*.[87] He was a leader amongst a hundred heroes. How can I describe his entrenchments? (420) Bhûwan Siṅgh, the king of Sil'haṭ came.[88] Rûdal quickly summoned every king who could fight. All who could fight, and who owned a *lâkh* and a quarter of cavalry he summoned. So much is the account of the kings, now hear about Rûdal.

He threw down the rolls of betel[89] and took one up himself. (425) He caused war-kettle-

[76] It has the property of infuriating elephants.

[77] √रौन, to trample.

[78] जाते is for जातहि oblique of जात or जाइत, present participle of √ जा 'go,' immediately on going.

[79] फाहा is the soft pad of cotton on which scents (such as *'itar* of roses) are dropped, as on a sponge. It is also used to mean the bed of cleaned cotton on which a person is laid when suffering severely from eruptive diseases. Thus they say प्रतना माता निकसल बाड़ी, कि रूई का फाहा पर सुतौले बानी 'So badly has the small-pox come out on him that I have put him to lie on a cotton *phâhâ*.' घट or घाट is the inner throat.

[80] The Moraṅg is the Eastern end of the Nepâl Tarâi.

[81] He was Tâlâ, a great friend and ally of the Banâphals. See Summary of the *Âlha Khand*, *post*. Compare Mr. Waterfield's translation of the Kanaujî version of that poem, *Cal. Rev.*, Vol. LXI., p. 309:—

'And Mîrâ Tâlhan the Saiyid
In Banâras then abode;
And by his banner nine stout sons
And eighteen grandsons rode.'

[82] ओनहल means, 'hanging as if about to rain'. I have only noted its use in connection with clouds.

[83] *lit.* in arms.

[84] As he rode to the meeting, so hasted he.

[85] *lit.* iron.

[86] About six *cwt.*

[87] About four and a half tons.

[88] This line is repeated twice.

[89] See note to line 319.

drums to be sounded, and the drumsticks sounded '*kaṛâṁ kaṛâṁ*.' Quickly he sent for Âlhâ, 'O brother, come with me! I will celebrate your marriage with Son'vatî, night and day will the swords be plied.'

Gaṅgan, the washerman of Dur'gaulî, had fifty-two asses tied at his door.[90] On these he loaded his maces; terrible as a black tempest was he in the fight. Dânî the Koïrî of the Baburî forest,[91] who had a *lâkh* of cavalry mounted on Siṅghin horses, came. So the battalion of Bagh Rûdal started, with its three hundred thousand cavalry. After a journey of a night and a day they arrived at their destination,[92] and in Dur'gaulî did they pitch their tents. Folding his hands Rûdal asked his brother to attend to his instructions. Then leaving a guard of nine hundred soldiers over Âlhâ he went to Indra's paradise. He went, having bought vermilion of the immortals.[93] So much is the account of Rûdal, now hear the tale of Nainâgaṛh.

The bard of Nainâgaṛh was a tale-bearer, and so he went into the audience chamber of Indar'man (saying), 'Rûdal's brother is Alh'gañjar, and he is encamped at Dur'gaulî. There is an army of three hundred thousand men with Âlhâ.' Folding his hands respectfully he said, 'My blessing be upon the lord Indar'man. If you give me the order, I will call him here.' At hearing so much, king Indar'man was delighted and exclaimed, 'The day on which you bring Âlhâ here, on that day will I give you half the kingdom of Nainâ.' The bard went forth from Nainâgaṛh and arrived at Dur'gaulî: folding his hands he said, 'Lord Âlhâ, king of kings, hear me. The sword will not be plied in Nainâgaṛh, and the marriage will take place peaceably.'[94] Âlhâ folded his hands and replied, 'O Bard, hear the truth! I will not go to Nainâgaṛh; (if I did), I would fall into calamity.' But the bard took an oath, 'O lord Âlhâ, hear my words! Let him who deceives a king be washed away by the Ganges.' So Âlhâ's palanquin started in great pomp, and in two and a half *ghaṛîs* arrived at Nainâgaṛh, accompanied by nine hundred bearers. They entered into the fort where Indar'man was seated. Indar'man leaped upon Âlhâ, and seizing him by the wrist cast him to the earth. With fifty-two rows of string he tied his hands behind his back, and packed him up in a sack. Then he put him upon a barge and cried, 'Brother Chhôṭak, my blessing be upon you. Take Âlhâ away and drown him in the Ganges.' Chhôṭak made ready a battalion of a hundred and twenty-five thousand men, and arrived at the Ganges' bank. There they sank him in the Ganges. They sank Âlhâ in the water, but he being the immortal son of Jâsar was not drowned.

In the meantime Rûdal came back to camp from Indrâ's paradise. The palanquin-bearers are weeping in Dur'gaulî, 'O lord Rûdal, take some measures. They have drowned Âlhâ: they have drowned him in the Ganges.' Rûdal leaped upon his horse and arrived at the Ganges' bank.

The fight with Chhôṭak commenced. '*Taṛ'taṛ taṛ'taṛ*' shrieked the scimitars, and '*khaṭar khaṭar*' the swords. As a wolf falls upon goats, so fell Rûdal upon the battalion. Those whom he caught by the leg and flung to the ground were torn to pieces. He cut off the heads of the elephants, and they floated in the water like little boats. He smote the camels a slap, and they fell down with their legs in the air. The hundred and twenty-five thousand men-at-arms of Chhôṭak were cut to pieces. Then he smote Chhôṭâk, and cleft his head in two. Away fled Chhôṭak's soldiers to king Indar'man's audience hall. 'A hard warrior,' say they, 'is Bagh Rûdal, he has cut us all to pieces, and cleared the field.' So much is the tale of Indar'man, now hear about Rûdal.

He took Âlhâ out of the barge and laid him on the ground. Then when he opened the sack and saw his brother, Rûdal smote his chest with his mighty hand. He put him into the palanquin, and escorted him to Dur'gaulî. So much is the tale of Âlhâ, now hear about Indar'man.

He threw down the rolls of betel and took up one himself. He made the war-music play and the instruments sounded '*jujhâm*,

[90] *lit.* swinging: *cf.* note to line 110.

[91] This is the forest where Am'râ Gurû, the spiritual preceptor of the Banâphals, lived.

[92] धावा, from धाव, 'run,' means the goal which runners strive to reach.

[93] This line is quite unintelligible. The singer himself did not know its meaning.

[94] *lit.*, through *or* by means of (दुआरे) virtue.

ujhâm.' (485) One by one an army assembled; an army of fifty-two and ninety thousands. Fifty male elephants with small tusks, and three thousand single tuskers. Nine hundred of his own cannons he took, and three thousand he borrowed and yoked. He borrowed twelve-barrelled[95] cannons, and loaded them with balls. He borrowed eight-barrelled cannons and loaded them with knives. (490) Then the kings all swore, 'Shame upon our lives; let us go and cut them off, and clear the field.' Indar'man's army started, and came to Śiva's temple. There he fired a cannon as a salute, and caused war-music to be played. The news of this was taken to Rûdal. Cried he, 'Brother Âlhâ, hear my words! (495) Make ready the army, and let us haste to Śiva's temple.' So the army went forth to Śiva's temple. Then said King Indar'man, 'Lord Rûdal, hear my words! Depart from hence and you will be saved from your fate.' But called out Bagh Rûdal, 'My blessing be upon King Indar'man! (500) Perform Son'vatî's nuptial ceremonies. Why do you prolong the conflict?'

Then the fight began, and fiercely were the swords plied. Foot-soldier fell on foot-soldier, and horseman upon horseman. The earth did not attack the foot soldiers, nor did horses their riders.[96] (Rûdal) split into two parts[97] the heads of all the elephant-drivers. (505) The fight lasted for six months, but still king Indar'man did not retreat. Then Bagh Rûdal went to Son'vatî, and folding his hands said, 'Sister-in-law, my blessing be upon you. He cannot be killed by anyone. Only you can cut him down,[98] and when you will cut your brother down, then your marriage will take place.' (510) So much heard Son'vatî and she was delighted in her heart. She took her magic[99] scimitar in her hand, and disguising herself as a man, hastened out followed by Rûdal. When Indar'man and Son'vatî saw each other, the former cried out, 'Blessed be God! (515) My enemy, my sister, has at length come.' He drew his scimitar and attacked her, but she received the blow on her shield, and then she struck Indar'man, and cleft his head in two. The blood of Indar'man flowed from his body, and Son'vatî fled away to save her life.[100] (520) Then called out Bagh Rûdal, 'O Brother, follow my advice.' And his whole battalion went to the Ganges' bank and there bathed,[101] and then started for and arrived at Nainâgaṛh. There Rûdal addressed Sam Dêvâ,[102] 'My Lord, my blessing be upon you! (525) Perform now Son'vatî's nuptial ceremonies, why should you prolong the conflict?' So much heard Sam Dêvâ and he was filled with delight, and cried he, 'Do you now perform the nuptial ceremonies. Why should you prolong the conflict.' Rûdal heard this much and was filled with delight. Now hear about Sam Dêvâ.

He got felled a fresh *mahuâ* tree, (530) and six green bamboos.[103] With scimitars he thatched it, and he sent for nine hundred learned men and made them sit within it. Golden pitchers[104] placed he under the canopy. The stools he has placed therein were made of the backs,[105] (535) and the plough share[106] out of their thighs, and the (four-wick) lamps out of their skulls. All in the midst of the canopy.

Rûdal's battalion came and entered beneath the canopy, and there they found seated the old man Madan Siṅgh, Son'vatî's grandfather. (540) He roared under the canopy, so that its ten doors shook.[107] Said the old man Madan Siṅgh, 'You caitiff Rûdal, hear my words! How great is the audacity of Bagh Rûdal that he would marry my daughter?' So battle ensued under the canopy: a severe fight it was. Nine *mans* of snuff[108] were scattered in the air, as they fought with logs of wood.[109] Bricks rained in showers under the canopy, and Rûdal began to grieve in his heart. Half his battalion was cut to pieces and in the

[95] फरै is the English 'fire.'

[96] This is quite unintelligible, the singer himself does not know its meaning.

[97] √ दुखराव, 'divide into two.'

[98] The latter half of the line is unintelligible. It is as the singer gave the words, but he was unable to tell the meaning.

[99] *lit.* immortal.

[100] *Sic* in original. The singer explains that her affection was aroused on seeing her brother's blood, and she ran away in shame.

[101] डुबकी 'a plunging.'

[102] The father of Indar'man and Son'vatî.

[103] For the posts of the marriage canopy.

[104] These pitchers are gaily painted and are surmounted by four-wick lamps (चौमुख) and form a necessary part of the wedding apparatus.

[105] Of the heroes whom he had slain in battle.

[106] This is also a part of the wedding apparatus.

[107] √दलक v. intr. 'shake.'

[108] *Buk'wâ* is a kind of snuff scattered in the air during the marriage ceremony.

[109] चैली is wood split for fuel.

marriage canopy the golden pitchers sunk.[110] Invoking the aid of Mother Dêvî he drew his sword and smote old Madan Siṅgh, so as to sever his head from his body.

(550) With folded hands Sam Dêvâ said, 'My blessing be on lord Rûdal. Celebrate now Son'vatî's nuptials.' So they called nine hundred learned men, and at midnight they summoned the bridegroom. There they sat Son'vatî down and celebrated her marriage with Âlhâ. So was it done: by force was the marriage celebrated.

(555) Nine hundred prisoners were confined in the canopy and he cut all their fetters as they cried, 'May you live for ever, lord Rûdal, and may your sword be ever famous.'[111]

So the litter of Son'vatî started and came within sight of Moh'bâ, and by travelling night and day it arrived there.

TEXT.

॥ अथ गीत आल्हा ॥

लागल कचहरी जब आल्हा के बँगला बड़े बड़े बबुआन
लागल कचहरी उजैनन के बिसैनन के दरबार
नौ सौ नागा नागपूर के नगफेनी बाँध तरवार
बैठल काकन डिल्ली के लोहतमियाँ तीन हजार
मढ़वर तिरौता करमवार है जिन्ह के बैठल कुम्ह चण्डाल
झड़ो उझनिया गुजहनिया है बाबू बैठल गदहियावाल
नाच करावे बँगला में मुरलिधर बेन बजाव
मुरमुर मुरमुर बाजे सरङ्गी जिन्ह के रुन रुन बाजे सितार
तबला चटके रस बेनन के मुखचन्द सितारा लाग
नाचे पतुरिया सिङ्घल दीप के लौंड़ा नाचे गोआलियरवाल
तोफा नाचे बँगला के बँगला होय परी के नाच
सात मन का कुण्डी दस मन का घुटना लाग
घैला अठारह सबजी बन गैल नौ नौ गोली अफीम
चौदह बत्ती जहरन के आल्हा बत्ती चबावत बाय
पुतली फिर गैल आँखन के आँखिया भैल रकत के धार
चेहरा चमके रजवाड़ा के लड़वैया शेर जवान
अम्बर बेटा है जासर के अपना कटले बीर कटाय
जिन्ह के चलले धरती हीले डपटै गाछ झुराय
ओहि समन्तर रूदल पहुँचल बँगला मे पहुँचल जाय
देखल सूरत रूदल के आल्हा मन में करे गुनान
दोहिया देखौं तोर धूमिल मुहवाँ देखौं उदास
कौन सकेला तोर पड़ गैल बाबू कौन ऐसन गाढ़
भेद बताव॰ तूँ जियरा के कैसे बूझे प्रान हमार
हाथ जोड़ के रूदल बोलल भैया सुन॰ धरम के बात
पड़ि सकेला है देहन पर बड़का भाइ बात मनाव
पूरब मारलोँ पुर पाटन में जे दिन सात खण्ड नेपाल
पच्छिम मारलोँ बदम लहौर दक्खिन बिरिन पहाड़
चार मुलुकवा खोजि ऐलोँ कतहीं न॰ जोड़ी मिले बार कुआँर
कनियाँ जामल नैना गढ़ में राजा इन्दरमन के दरबार
बेटी सयानी सम देवा के बर माँगल बाघ जुझार
बाड़ि लालसा है जियरा में जौं भैया के करौं बियाह
करों बिअहवा सोनवाँ से
प्रतना बोली आल्हा सुन गैल आल्हा मन मन करे गुनान
जोड़ गदोइ अरजी होय गैल बबुआ रूदल कहना मान हमार
जन जा रूदल नैना गढ़ में बबुआ किल्ला तूरे मान के नाहिं
बरिया राजा नैना गढ़ के लोहन में बड़ चण्डाल
बावन दुलहा के बँधले बा साढ़े सात लाख बरियात
समधी बाँधल जब गारत में अगुआ बेड़ी पहिरलन जाय
भाँट बजनियाँ कुल्हि चहला भैल मँड़वा के बीच मँझार
अकहा ढेकहो ढेलफुरवा मुटघिँचवा तीन हजार
मारल जैब॰ नैना गढ़ में रूदल कहना मान हमार
केऊ बीर न॰ बा जग दुनियाँ में जे सोनवाँ से करे बियाह
जन जा रूदल नैना गढ़ में बबुआ कहना मान हमार
प्रतना बोली रूदल सुन गैल रूदल जर के भैल अँगार
हाथ जोड़ के रूदल बोलल भैया सुनीं बात हमार
कादर भैया तूँ कदरैल॰ तोहरो हरि गैल ग्यान तोहार
धिरिक तोहरा जिनगी के जग में डूब गैल तरवार
जेहि दिन जाइब नैना गढ़ में अम्बा जोर चली तरवार
दूबर दोहिया तूँ मत देख॰ झिलमिल गात हमार
जेहि दिन जाइब नैना गढ़ में दिन रात चली तरवार
प्रत्ना बोली आल्हा सुन गैल आल्हा बड़ मोहित होय जाय
हाथ जोड़ के आल्हा बोलल बाबू सुन॰ रूदल बबुआन
केत्ता मनौलों बघ रूदल के बाबू कहा न॰ मनल॰ मोर
लरिका रहल तो बर जोरी माने छैला कहा न॰ माने मोर
जे मन माने बघ रूदल से मन मानल कर॰ बनाय
प्रतना बोली रूदल सुन गैल रूदल बड़ मङ्गन होय जाय
दे धिरकारी रूदल बोलल भैया सुनीं गरीब नेवाज
डूब ना मूइल॰ तूँ बड़ भाइ तोहरा जीअल के धिरकार

[110] In the stream of blood.

[111] बजे 'may it be famous'; *lit.* 'may it sound.'

जाइ जनमतऽ तूँ चमरा घर बबुआ नित उठ कुटतऽ चाम
जात हमार रजपूतन के जग में जीबन है दिन चार
चार दिन के जिनगानी फिर अँधारी रात
दैब रुसिहें जिब लिहें आगे का करिहें भगवान
जे किछु लिखल नरायन बिध के लिखल मेटँ नाहिँ जाय
गज भर धरती घट जैहें एक चोट करों दैब से मार
तब तो बेटा जासर के नैयाँ पड़े रूदल बबुआन
चल गैल रूदल ओजनी से गढ़ पिअरी में गैल बनाय
लागल कचहरी है डेबा का जहवाँ रूदल पहुंचे जाय
सोना पलँगरी बिछवाइ सोना के मोंढा देल धरवाय
सात गलैचा के उपर माँ रूदल के देल बैठाय
हाथ जोड़ के रूदल बोलल बाबू डेबा ब्राहमन के बलि जाओं
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A NOTE ON A SECOND OLD SANSKRIT PALMLEAF MANUSCRIPT FROM JAPAN.[1]

BY DR. G. BUHLER, C.I.E.

Through the kindness of Professor Max Müller I am enabled to describe a very interesting find lately made in Japan. The search for ancient Sanskrit MSS. which Mr. Bunyiu Nanjio institutes there, has brought to light a second fragment, consisting of a single leaf, which possesses a high importance for Indian palæography. According to the eye-copy before me, which appears to have been made with great care, the leaf measures 32½ centimetres by 3½. Each page contains six lines with 58-77 *aksharas*. Each line is broken up, according to the usage observable also in other ancient palmleaf MSS., into three parts, blank spaces of the breadth of two *aksharas* being left near the holes for passing the strings. The leaf appears to be well preserved, as only about a dozen *aksharas* have been destroyed. The writing is less carefully done than that of the Horiuzi Palmleaf, which is a model piece of calligraphy. There are also a number of bad clerical mistakes and some corrections. The second side, or *sâṅka-prishṭha*, bears on the left margin the number 129, expressed by the ancient signs of the *aksharapalli*, 100 + 20 + 9, which are placed vertically in the order indicated, one below the other. The sign for 100 is a variety of *śu*, and holds the middle between the second Gupta form in 400 (Dr. Bhagwânlâl's Table (*Ind. Ant.* VI. 45), and the seeming *lu* of the Eastern copper-plates (*ibidem*) and of the Cambridge MS. No. 1702 (Bendall, Catalogue, Table of Letter-numerals). The sign for 20, *tha*, is a little more ancient than that used in the just-mentioned Cambridge MS. And that for 9, *ô*, resembles the sign of the Valabhî plates (*Ind. Ant. loc. cit.*) The characters of the new document are closely related to those of the Horiuzi Palmleaf (*Anecdota Oxon.* I. 3. Table VI.) But they show a considerable number of older forms which connect them with the Gupta alphabet of Kuhâon (*Anecd. Ox. loc. cit.*), and with the oldest Nepalese inscriptions (*Ind. Ant.* IX. 164). Among these archaic forms the following are the most remarkable;—1, the tops of the letters *kha*, *ga*, and *śa*, are invariably round;—2, the prolongation of the vertical strokes on the left of the letters *gha*, *cha*, *pa*, *ma*, etc., is frequently wanting;—3, the small vertical stroke at the lower end of *da* is mostly wanting;—4, *ya* shows twice or thrice the tripartite form of the Gupta inscriptions, which is found also in the Nep. Inscrs. 1-12; more frequently the transitional form with a loop, found in the Cambridge MS. No. 1702 (Bendall, Catalogue, Table of letters); and rarely the form of H.P.;—5, *ra* consists occasionally of a simple vertical stroke with the serif, just as in Gu. Ku. (*An. Ox.* III. 1, Table VI. col. IVa); more frequent is the form of Ne. Inscrs. No. 15 (*loc. cit.* col. VI.); and rarer that of H. P.;—6, *va* is always made triangular, the bottom-line sloping to the right; —7, *sa* shows occasionally the form of Gu. Ku. with a loop, and more frequently that of Gu. Ind. (*loc. cit.* cols. IVa and IVb);—8, the medial *â*-stroke turns upwards not only after *ja*, but also after *pa*, and rises in the latter case from the left-hand vertical stroke; it shows besides the wedge-shape of H. P., also other varieties, found hitherto only in inscriptions;—9, medial *ô* has once the form of Gu. Ku., in all other cases those of H. P.;—10, the division of the sentences and periods is invariably marked, as on the ancient copper-plates, by one or two very short horizontal strokes; where two strokes are used it is difficult to distinguish them from the *visarga*. In two points, the form of the initial *a* and of *na*, the MS. frequently agrees with the Jhâlrâpâṭhan inscription (*loc. cit.* col. V.) Most peculiar is the notation of *û* in *rû*. The latter sign looks like *râ-u*, because one of the *u*-strokes is attached to the top of the *ra*, while the other stands in the usual place. A similar separation of the two elements of the *û* is known to me only from the inscription on the Jagayyapeṭṭa *Stûpa* (*Ind. Ant.* XI. 257).[2] All these various points indicate, it seems to me, that the new MS. is much older than the Horiuzi Palm-

[1] Translated from the *Oestreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient*, Vol. XI. p 68.

[2] [Compare also the following instances from Southern India,—*râshṭrakuâ(ku)ṭa* . . . . *samahuâ(hû)ya*, in *Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions*, No. CLIII. line 77-78 (*ante*, p. 53); *duâ(dû)ratah*, *id.* l. 92; and *ind-uâ(û)parâgê*, *id.* l. 103.—ED.]

leaf, and I should not be surprised if it went back to the beginning of the fourth century of our era.

The contents of the MS. are Buddhistic, and probably belong to one of the larger Sûtras. They treat of the definitions of *rûpa*, *vêdanâ*, *saṁjñâ*, *saṁskâra*, and *vijñâna*, and of their origin. Short as the piece is, it furnishes several new words, hitherto not found in the Sanskṛit dictionaries; *iñja*, a sub-division of *sanidarśana-rûpa* (compare the verb *iñj* and Pâli *anêñja*); *naishkarmya*, a term which Childers supposed to be the original of the Pâli *nêkkhamma*; and *manâpa* 'agreeable' (found in Pâli). The first line of the text runs as follows:—*katividhaṁ rûpaṁ katividhâ vêdanâ êvaṁ saṁjñâ saṁskârâ vijñânaṁ . . . , ṇa dvividhâḥ skandhâḥ vipâkajâś-châvipâkajâścha dvividhô rû[pa]skandhô vipâkaratvâvapâkavâścha*(sic) *êvaṁ vêdanâ saṁjñâ saṁskârâ dvividhô.*

It is to be hoped that Professor Max Müller will soon procure a photograph of this valuable document, as well as certain data regarding its history.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p.* 142).

No. CLVII.

BRITISH MUSEUM PLATES OF EREGANGA.

I have already published one spurious grant of the Western Gaṅga dynasty.[1] I now publish another spurious grant of the same dynasty, from the original plates, which belonged to Sir Walter Elliot, K.C.S.I., and have been presented by him to the British Museum. I have no information as to where they were found.

The plates are seven in number, each about 8¾″ long by 2¼″ broad at the ends and somewhat less in the middle. The edges are slightly raised into rims, to protect the writing; and, except for a few rust-holes in the seventh plate, the plates and the inscription are in a state of perfect preservation almost throughout. The ring, on which the plates are strung, is about ¼″ thick and 3½″ in diameter; it had been cut when the grant came under my notice. The seal on the ring is of irregular shape, neither circular, oval, nor rectangular, and measures about 1¾″ by 1⅝″; it has, in high relief on the surface of the seal itself, and not, as is usually the case, on a countersunk surface, an elephant, standing to the proper right. The first plate has, on the outer side of it, in characters of much about the same period as those of the body of the inscription,—*Vinammaya magan=Dasivimmana magan=Dikesamma*,—recording probably the name of a person to whom the plates at some time or another belonged. The language of the inscription is Sanskṛit down to line 49, and in lines 62 and 63. The passages from line 49 to line 62, and in line 63 to the end, are in the Old-Kanarese language. The language of the whole inscription is extremely corrupt; so much so that, without the assistance of the Merkara and Nâgamaṅgala plates,[2] it would have been difficult to make proper sense out of it. And to add to the confusion thus caused, the text itself does not run on continuously,[3] but goes backwards and forwards in a way that would render the context utterly unintelligible, but for the Merkara and Nâgamaṅgala grants.

The inscription commences with an invocation of Padmanâbha,—either Vishṇu, or one of the Jain *Arhats*. It then gives the genealogy of a race of kings, of the Kâṇvâyana *gôtra* (line 4), and of the Jâhnavîya family (l. 1) or lineage of the river Gaṅgâ.[4] The first king mentioned is the *Mahâdhirâja* Koṅgaṇivarman (l. 4). His son was the *Mahâdhirâja* Mâdhava I. (l. 15). His son was the *Mahâdhirâja* Harivarman (l. 17). His son was the *Mahâdhirâja* Vishṇugôpa (l. 19). His son was the *Mahâdhirâja* Mâdhava II. (l. 22). His son was the *Mahâdhirâja* Koṅgaṇi I. (l. 9), also called Avinîta,[5] who was the son of a sister of the Kadamba *Mahâdhirâja* Kṛishṇavarman

[1] *ante* Vol. VIII. p. 212ff.
[2] *ante* Vol. I. p. 363ff., and Vol. II. p. 156ff.
[3] See notes 12, 13, 19, 20, 31, and 32, below.
[4] Conf. *ante* Vol. XIII. p. 275.—The name Gaṅgânvaya, or 'lineage of the Gaṅgâ,' occurs in line 34 of the Nâgamaṅgala grant.
[5] Mr. Rice translates the Nâgamaṅgala, Mallôhaḷḷi (*ante* Vol. V. p. 138ff), and Hosûr (*Mysore Inscriptions*, p. 284ff.) grants, in such a way as to make Avinîta another name of the next person, Koṅgaṇivṛiddha I., also called Durvinîta. But this is not justified by the construction.

(ll. 23 and 6). His son was the *Râjâ* Koṅgaṇivṛiddha I. (l. 12), also called Durvinîta, who was victorious in battle at Andari, Âlattûr, Porulare, Peḷnagara, and other places not specified. His son was the *Râjâ* Koṅgaṇivṛiddha II. (l. 14), also called Mokkara.[6] His son was the *Râjâ* Koṅgaṇivṛiddha III. (l. 25), who also had the renowned name of Vikrama or Śrîvikrama, and whose mother was a daughter of Sindhurâja or of the king of Sindhu. His son was the *Mahâdhirâja* Koṅgaṇi II. (l. 32), who also had the name of Bhûvikrama,—who conquered the leader of the Pallavas (l. 35), in battle at Viḷanda,[7] and acquired the name of Śrîvallabha, and made the whole of the Pallava dominions subject to himself (l. 37). His younger brother was Navakâma (l. 40), who seems also to have been called Dêvarâja (l. 43). The genealogy terminates with the description of Navakâma, which continues down to line 49.

The inscription then mentions a certain Eṛegaṅga (l. 49),—with nothing to indicate whether this is another name of Navakâma, or the name of one of his feudatories,—who was governing the Toṛenâḍu Five-hundred, the Koṅgalnâḍu Two-thousand, and the Male Thousand. The rest of the inscription records a grant made by Eṛegaṅga of a site or village which seems to be named Panekôḍupâdi (ll. 51, 54, and 64). The inscription is not dated; but the fabrication of it may be allotted to about the ninth century A.D.

TEXT.[8]

First plate.

[1] Svasti[9] Jitaṁ bhagavatâṁ[10] gata-[ghana*]-gagan-âbhêna Patma(dma)nâbhêna [||*] Śrîmat Jâhnavê-

[2] ya[11]-kul-âmala-bhyô(vyô)m-âvabhâsana-bhâskaraḥ sva-khâ(kha)ḍg-aika-prah[â*]ra-khaṇḍita-mah[â*]śilâ-

[3] stambha-labdha-va(ba)la-parâkramaḥ dâruṇ-âri-gaṇa-vidâraṇa-ran(ṇ)-ai(ô)palabdha-vraṇa-vi-

[4] bhûshaṇa-vibhûshitaḥ K[â*]ṇvâyana-sagôtraḥ śrîmat-Ko[ṁ*]gaṇiva[r*]mma-dha[r*]-mmamah[â*]dhirâja[ḥ*] [||*]

[5] Tasya putraḥ pitur=anvâgata-guṇa-yuktô vidy[â*]-vinaya-vih[i*]ta-vṛittaḥ samya[k*]-pra-

Second plate; first side.

[6] jâ-pâlana-mâtr-[â*]dhigata-râjya-prayôjanô vidvat-kavi-kâñchana-nikashôpala-[12] [r*]mma[13]-

[7] mahâdhirâjasya priya-bhâginêyô vijṛimbhamâṇa-śakti-traya-sa[ṁ*]bhram-âvanamita-

[8] samabta(sta)-sâmanta-maṇḍalô vidyâ-vinay-âtiśaya-paripût-ântarâtm[â*] niravagra-

[9] ha-pradhâna-śauryy[ô*] vidvatsu prata(tha)ma-gaṇya[ḥ*] śrîmat-Koṅgaṇi-mâdhirâjo Avinîta-tavi[14] [||*]

[10] Tat-putra Andari-Âlattû[r*]-Pporulare-Peḷnagar-âdy-â(a)nêka-samara-mukha-mu(ma)khi-âhu-

Second plate; second side.

[11] ta-prahata-śûra-purusha-paś-u(û)pahâra-vighasa-vihastîkṛita-Kṛitânt-[â*]gni-mukh[ô*] Du[r*]vvinî-

[12] ta-nâmadhêyaḥ śrîmat Koṅgaṇivṛiddha-râjô[15] [||*] Tasya putra[ḥ*] [cha*]durddanta-vimardda-vimbi(mṛi)dita-vivi-

[6] In the Nâgamaṅgala and Hosûr grants, this name is written 'Mushkara.'

[7] Mr. Rice translates the Nâgamaṅgala and Hosûr grants in such a way as to make Viḷanda another name of Koṅgaṇi-Bhûvikrama. A reference to the text in lines 25-26 of the Nâgamaṅgala grant (that of the Hosûr grant has not been published), as well as in line 35 of the present inscription, will shew that this is quite wrong.—Nor can there be any justification in the Hosûr grant for the translation by which he makes the battle occur at the village of Bhîmêsagrâma. This is due only to a misunderstanding of the words *sammarda-bhîmê saṅgrâmê*; see lines 34-35 of the present inscription, and line 25 of the Nâgamaṅgala grant.

[8] From the original plates.

[9] The original has *svastî*. There are but few instances in these plates in which the proper form of *i*, with the circle closed down on the letter, is used. In most places, *î*, with the circle not closed down on the consonant, is used indifferently for *i* or *î*. I draw attention to it here, in preference to encumbering the text with a number of corrections on this point alone.

[10] Read *bhagavatâ*. [11] Read *śrîmaj-Jâhnavîya*.

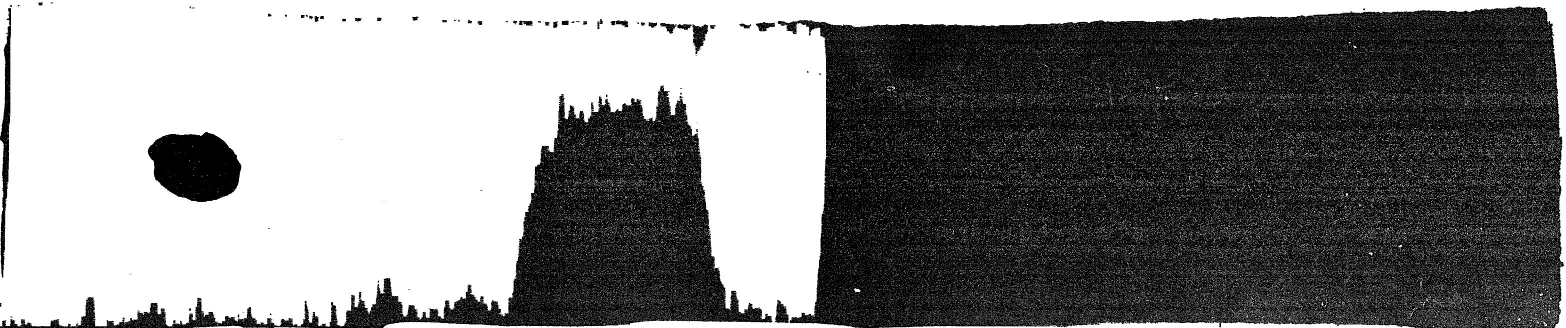
[12] The proper context is *bhûtô* &c., in line 14, down to *Krishṇava*, in line 23.

[13] The passage commencing here should probably come after *Krishṇava*, in line 23.

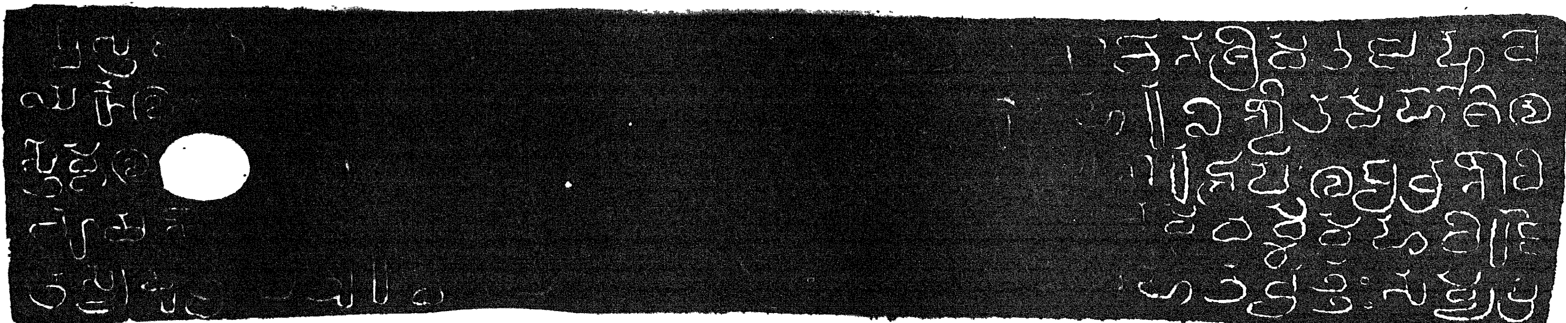
[14] Read *mahâdhirâjô=Vinîta-nâmâ*.

[15] Read *śrîmat-Koṅgaṇivṛiddharâjaḥ*.

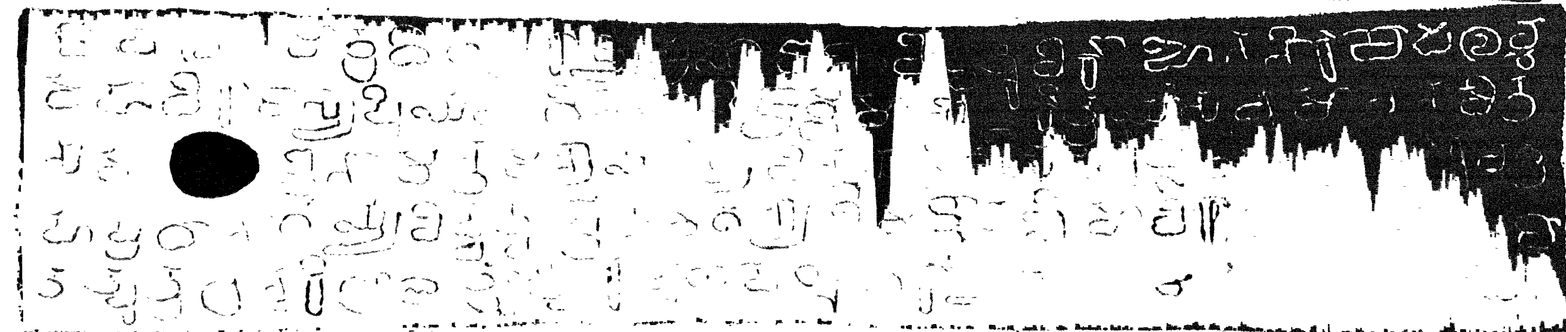
I a.



I b.



II a.



W. Griggs, Photo-lith. London.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KOṄGU DYNASTY.

II b.

III a.

III b.

I a.

IV b.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KOṄGU DYNASTY.

V a.

V b.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KOṄGU DYNASTY.

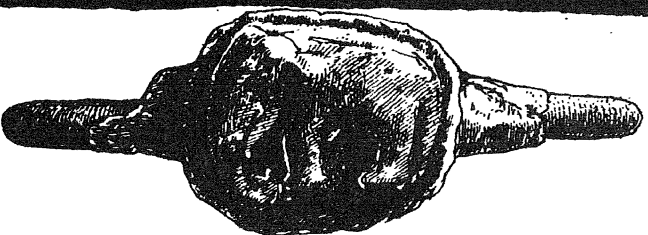
I a.

VI b.

COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KOṄGU DYNASTY.

VII a.

VII b.



SEAL

[13] dha-viśva-nâ(na)râdhipa-môlî[16]-m[â*]lâ-makaranda-pujaḥ[17]-piñjarîkr[i*]yam[â*]ṇa-va(cha)-raṇa-

[14] yugaḷa-naḷina[ḥ*] śrîmat Kogaṁṇivṛiddha[18]-râjô Mokkara-dvitîya-n[â*]ma[19] bhûtô[20] nîti-

[15] śâstrasya vaktṛi-prayôktṛi-kuśalô dattaka-sûtra-vṛitti(ttê)ḥ praṇêtu(tâ) śrîman-Mâha-dhava-

Third plate; first side.

[16] mâhadhirâjaḥ[21] [||*] Tat-putra[ḥ*] pitṛi-pai(pi)tâmaha-guṇa-yuktô anêka-chaturddan-ta-yuddh-[â*]vâ-

[17] hta(pta)-chaturudadhi-salil-âsvâdita-yaś[âḥ*] śrîmat Harivarmma-mâhâdhirâjaḥ[22] [||*] Tat-pu-

[18] tra[ḥ*] dv[i*]ja-guru-dêvatâ-pûjana-parô N[â*]râyâ(ya)ṇa-charaṇ-â[nu*]dhyâta[ḥ*] śrîmat

[19] Vishṇugôpa[23]-mah[â*]dhirâjaḥ [||*] Tat-putra[ḥ*] T[r*]yambaka-charaṇ-âmbôrha[24]-rajaḥ-pavitrîkṛit-ô-

[20] ttamâ[ṁ*]ga[ḥ*] sva-bhuja-vavala[25]-parâkrama-krayê(yî)kṛita-râjan[26] kshut kshamô[27]=shṭ-piśit[28]-âśa-

Third plate; second side.

[21] na-pri(prî)tikar[ô*]=tiśita-dhâr-âsi[ḥ*] Kali-yuga-bala-parâkram-anma[29]-dha[r*]mma-vri(vṛi)sh-ôddharaṇa-nitya-

[22] sannaddah[ḥ*] śrîmat(n)-Mâdhava-mahâdhirâjaḥ [||*] Tat-putra[ḥ*] śrîmat-Kadamba-kula-gagana-bhamastimâ-

[23] lanâ[30] Kri(kṛi)shṇava[31] dhêy[ô*][32] naya-vinît-â[ṁ*]ka[ḥ*] sarvva-vidy[â*]-parâ-yaṇ[ô*] nîti-śâstra-nipu-

[24] ṇatara-mati[ḥ*] [||*] Tad-âtmaja udit-ôdita-salâgantara-pradhi(thi)ta-Sindhurâja-duhi-tṛi-ja-

[25] nanîka[ḥ*] śrî-Vikrama-pradhi(thi)ta-nâmadhêyaḥ śrîmat-Kogaṁṇivṛiddhi-râjôś[33]=chaturddastaśa-

Fourth plate; first side.

[26] vijyastan-âdhiśata[34]-vipula-mati[ḥ*] viśêshatô nava-śêshasya[35] nîti-śâstrasya va-

[27] ktṛi-prayôttṛi(ktṛi)-kuśalô ripu-timira-nir[â*]karaṇ-ôdaya-bhâskaraḥ pravara-vidagdha-mugdha-

[28] lalan[â*]-jan-aika-rati-pañchaḥ[36] [||*] Tasya putraḥ anêka-samara-sampâti-vi-

[29] jṛimbhita-dv[i*]rada-radana-kuliś-âbhigh[â*]ta-vraṇa-saruha[37]-bhâsvad-vijaya-la-

[30] kshaṇa-lakshmi(kshî)kṛita-viśâla-vaksha[ḥ*]sthalaḥ śaktṛi(kti)-traya-samanvitaḥ samâ-(ma)dhi-

Fourth plate; second side.

[31] gata-sakala-śâstr-[â*]rttha-tatva[ḥ*] sam[â*]râdhita-trivargg[ô*] niravadya-charita[ḥ*] pratidina-

[32] m=abhivarddham[â*]na-prabhâ[vaḥ*] śrîmat-Koṅgaṇi-mah[â*]dhirâjaḥ avani-bhâskarô Bhûvikra-

[33] ma-dvitîya-nâmadhêya-bhâraḥ[38] [||*] Nânâ[39]-hêti-prah[â*]ra-pravighaṭhi(ṭi)ta-bhaṭh(ṭ)-ô-

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16 Read *mauli*. 17 Read *puṁja*.

18 Read *śrîmat-Koṅgaṇivṛiddha*.

19 The proper context is *dhêyô naya* &c., in line 23.

20 The passage commencing here, down to *Kṛishnava*, in line 23, should properly come after *nikashôpala*, in line 6.

21 Read *Mâdhava-mahâdhirâjaḥ*.

22 Read *śrîmad-Dharivarmma-mahâdhirâjaḥ*.

23 Read *śrîmad-Vishṇugôpa*. 24 Read *âmbhôruha*.

25 Read *bala*. 26 Read *râjyaḥ*.

27 Read *kshut-kshamô*. 28 Read *pishṭ*.

29 Read *âvasanna*. 30 Read *gabhastimôlinaḥ*.

31 The proper context goes back to *rmma-mahâdhi-râjasya*, in line 6.

32 The passage commencing here should properly come after *nâma*, in line 14.

33 Read *Koṁgaṇivṛiddharâjaś*.

34 Read *chaturddaśa-vidyâsthân-âdhigata*.

35 Read *kôshasya*. 36 Read *puñjaḥ*.

37 Read *saṁrûḍha*. 38 Read *dharaḥ*.

39 Metre, Sragdharâ.

[34] raḥ-kav[â*]ṭ-ôtthit-âsṛig-dh[â*]r-âsv[â*]da-pramatta-dvipa-gata-charaṇ-âkshôda-sammardda-bhîmê sa-

[35] ṅgrâmê Pallabh(v)-êndran=narapatim=ajayayad[40]=yô Viḷandh-âvi(bhi)dhânê râ[jâ*] Śrîvallabh-âkhya-

Fifth plate; first side.

[36] s=samara-śata-jay-âvâpta-lakshmî-vilâsaḥ [||*] Kṛitvâ[41] Pallavam=âśu pallava-da-

[37] la-prachchhâya-durgg-[â*]spâ(spa)dan=tasy=[â*]nta[ḥ*]pura-sundarî[r=a*]pi balâd=âhṛi-dya(tya) sadyô=ma(bha)vat

[38] atmin kṛitya[42] cha tasya chakṛi(kra)m=akhila[ṁ*] ya[ḥ] kaṇṭakâny=agrahîn(t) śrîmân=gu(bhû)pa-

[39] śikhâmaṇir=Mmanasijaḥ śrî-śl[â*]ghanîya-dyutiḥ [||*] Tasy[43]=[â*]nujô nata-narêndra-kirîṭa-

[40] kôṭi-ratn-ârkka-dîdhi[ti*]-virâjita-pâdapatmaṁ[44] Lakshmî-svaya[ṁ*]vṛita-pati[r*]=Nnâ(nna)vakâma-nâ-

Fifth plate; second side.

[41] m[â*] śishṭa-priyô=ri-gaṇa-vidâraṇa[45]-gîta-kîtti[ḥ*] [||*] Lakshmî[ṁ*][46] vaksha[ḥ*]-sthal[ê*] [yô*] hari(ra)ti Mura-ripô[ḥ*] kî-

[42] rttimar krashṭhum[47]=îshṭhê(shṭê) guddha[48] Râmasya vṛitti[ṁ*] budha-jana-ṛi(ma)hitâm=mânabhî kiṁ[49] karôti nirvvâmy=[â*]-

[43] lôka-dhûrtt[â*]n para-yuvati-harô Dêvarâjô=pi ndyâ[50] vitaṁ[51] kiṁ mv(v)=âtra chitraṁ parama-pa-

[44] ra-mata[ḥ*] kichchu śishṭha-priyatvêḥ[52] [||*] Mêrô(rau)[53] kâñchana-mêkhal-ânta-vilasaḥ sant-âvalî-[54]

[45] pushpitê Kailâś(s)-ârddha-taṭê cha śailanayanâ-sâdâravind-âkita[55] Rêvâ-mâru-

Sixth plate; first side.

[46] ta-manda-kampita-van-âbhôgê cha Vindhy-âva(cha)lê gâyandhy(nty)=â[r*]dra-mṛiṇê-(ṇâ)la-chiṇḍa[56]-dhavaḷa[ṁ*]

[47] yach-chêshṭitaṁ k[i*]nnarâḥ [||*] Yasya[57] dv[i*]shan-nṛipati-vâsa-gṛih-ôdar[ê*]shu sadyô hata-dv[i*]raḷa(da)-dâ-

[48] na-kṛit-â[ṁ*]garâgâ[ḥ*] a(â)lôki(ka)yanti muditâs=surat-âvasânê chh[â*]yâ[ṁ*] kiṁta a[58] vani-

[49] tâ maṇi-vêdikâsuḥ(su) ||* Eṟegaṅga-nâmavê(dhê)yaḥ Toṟenâḍu-ayi-nû-

[50] ṟu[ṁ*] Koṅgaḷnâḍ-ichhchâ(chchhâ)siramu[ṁ*] Male-sâsiramum=âḷe Eṟegaṅgar=kodda-du vramma[59]-

Sixth plate; second side.

[51] dêyaṁ Kâsa(śya)pa-gôtrakk[e*] Panekôḍupâdi dêvâḷchana oḍeyorvvi-nadiyu ke-

[52] sadiyuṁ padettadu sarvra(rvva)-pariyâ(hâ)raṁ sivamârar prituvîkâraṇiga-

[53] gaṇappan ||* Mâguṁḷûr[60]-Mâradivârada pâppar Mâdadîvi-nadî Mâmaṇḍi-[na*]dî

[54] dêya tâttadî Panekôḍupâdi mûṟu bhâgak[k*]=e(a)ydu ondu bhâga mata-mmuni mṟiru

[55] kodda(ṭṭu)du kesadiyuvinadiyu tammânaṇḍorka kodda(ṭṭu)du muṟiddu(ṭṭu) ondu bhâga [||*]

Seventh plate; first side.

[56] Nâlvar=kkukandak-ell-âḷvor Kalivallava(bha)r Pervvâṇadiy-arasar Parakamasattigaḷ Ku-

[57] ppe odeyakosigakottadikâvala enâdiperur âdaru samaṇaru Marudûra

[58] mâraṇḍeyar vediṅga(?)dar Kittûra vaysaru kâdandeyar Pervvayala kavvichcharu ke-

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[40] Read *ajayad.*

[41] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[42] Read *âtmîkṛitya.*

[43] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[44] Read *padmaḥ.*

[45] Read *dârana.*

[46] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[47] Read *kîrttim=âkrashṭum.*

[48] Read *śuddhâṁ*, or *yuddhê.*

[49] Read *mânav-âṁkâṁ* (?).

[50] Read *Dêvarâj-êti-vandyaḥ* (?).

[51] Read *chittaṁ.*

[52] Read *kiṁcha śishṭa-priyatvaḥ* (?).

[53] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[54] Read *vilasat-sûnv-âvalî.*

[55] Read *śailatanayâ-pâdâravind-âṁkitê.*

[56] Read *vṛinda.*

[57] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[58] Read *kathaṁ cha* (?).

[59] Read *kottudu brahma*

[60] Read *Mâṁguḷûr.*

[59] daḷeyaru kura[ba*]ru gaṇigaru pemmadavaru ânandaru ||* enettaru sâkshi [||*] Dôṇe-

[60] ya Aḷe Âlukurakeṟe Kusugakeṟeya Puḷuṁ[61]se Aḷari Attinelvâgilkeṟeyu

Seventh plate ; second side.

[61] Kavya(?)ṟepuḷiyu Ane(?)trama(?)diḷagu Panekoḍupâdi maṇṇu ||* Sâ(śâ)sana keyda mârakki(?)

[62] kodda(ṭṭu)du sikaṇḍuga vede maṇṇu ||* Sva-datt[â*]ṁ para-datt[â*]m=bâ(vâ) yô harêta vasunda(ndha)râ[ṁ*] shashṭhi(shṭi)-va-

[63] rsha-sahasrâṇi pṛi(vi)shṭhây[âṁ*] jâyati(tê) krimi[ḥ*] ||* Vâraṇasiya sâsirvva[r*]=pârvvarâ(ruṁ) sâsira

[64] kaviley[uṁ] konda kôle[62] eydug[uṁ*] [||*] Panekôḍupâdiyan vramma[63]-dêyamâ[n*] aḷitto(do)n=pa-

[65] ñcha-mahâp[â*]taga(ka)[n*] ak[kuṁ*] || Nâḷiyuḷ mûvattu gaṇḍuga bhatta padeya teṟuvodu ||*

A JAINA-VAISHNAVA COMPACT.

BY LEWIS RICE, C.I.E., M.R.A.S.

Among the inscriptions at the Jaina town of Śravaṇa-Beḷgoḷa is one known as Râmânujâchâri's *śâsana*, engraved on a stone standing to the east of the entrance to the Bhaṇḍâra *basti*. According to general belief its object was to declare that no difference existed between the Jainas and the Vaishṇavas, meaning thereby no difference on doctrinal points. The following transcript and translation will show that although there are certain terms used, which, if taken by themselves, might bear out the statement, yet that, when read with the context, it is clear they were not intended to convey any such meaning. The expression referred to is the declaration, in the emphatic form, *Vaishṇava-darśanakke yî Jaina-darśanakke yênû bhêdav-ill=endu*,—"there is no difference whatever between the Vaishṇava *darśana* and this Jaina *darśana*." Now it is true that *darśana* has the meaning of doctrine or religious system ; but that in this inscription it is not so used, is evident from what follows, whereby it is declared that the use of the five big drums and the *kalaśa* forms part of the Jaina *darśana*. From this, and from the whole tenor of the inscription, it is clear that the matter in dispute was not *darśana* in the sense of 'doctrine,' but *darśana* referring to religious processions for the purpose of visiting the god. This to the present day is a fruitful cause of street fights among religious sects, and so it was five hundred years ago in the days of Bukka Râya of Vijayanagar.

The inscription is in Haḷe-Kannaḍa characters and in the Kannaḍa language. At the top appears the Vaishṇava symbol of the *trinnâma*, with the *śankha* on one side and the *chakra* on the other. It is dated in the Śaka year 1290 (A.D. 1368) ; and Râmânujâchâri could not therefore have had anything to do with it, as he lived more than two centuries before. But his followers, the *bhaktas*, or faithful, had been hindering the religious processions of the saints (*bhavya-janaṅgaḷu*) or Jains, and objecting to their using the five big drums, &c.,—the music (!) which is always mixed up as such an important element in these disputes. Bukka Râya seems to have been successful in effecting a reconciliation between the parties, and proceeded to ratify it in a very interesting and significant manner.

Some of the Śrîvaishṇava terms, I have not been able to get altogether satisfactory information about. If not rightly interpreted, it is hoped that contributors who understand them will come forward to explain them better.

TEXT.

Svasti samasta-praśasti-sahitaṁ || pâshaṇḍa-sâgara-mahâ-baḍavâ-mukh-âgniḥ | Śrîraṅga-râja-charaṇâmbuja-mûla-dâsaḥ | Śrî-Vishṇu-lôka-maṇi-maṇṭapa-mârgga-dâyî | Râmânujô vijayatê yati-râja-râjaḥ || Śaka-varsha 1290-

[61] The *anusvâra* over this *lu* is distinct in the original, though it does not appear in the lithograph.

[62] Read *lôkakke*.

[63] Read *brahma*.

neya Kîlaka-samvatsarada Bhâdrapada śuddha 1 Bṛihaspativâra Svasti śrîman-mahâmaṇḍalêśvaraṁ | ari-râyara-vibhâḍa | bhâshege-tappuva-râyara-gaṇḍa | śrî-Vîra-Bukka-Râyanu pṛithvî-râjyava mâḍuva kâladalli Jamarigu bhaktarigu samvâjiv-âdalli Ânegondi Hosapaṭṭaṇa Penagoṇḍe Kallehada-paṭṭaṇa vaḷagâda samasta-nâḍa-bhavya-janaṅgaḷu || â Bukka-Râyaṅge bhaktaru mâḍuva anyâyaṅgaḷannu binnahaṁ mâḍalâgi Kôvil Tirumale Perumâḷ-kôvil Tirunârâyaṇapuraṁ mukhyavâda sakal-âchâryaru sakala-samayagaḷu sakala-sâtvikaru môshṭikaru tirumaṇi-tiruviḍi-taṇṇîravaru nâl-vôrr-eṇṭu-tâtaiṅgaḷu sanmata-bôvakkaḷu Tirukula-Jâmbavakula-valagâḍa hadineṇṭu-nâḍa Śrîvaishṇavara kaiyyallu Mahârâyanu Vaishṇava-darśanakke yî Jaina-darśanakke yênû bhêdav=ill=endu Râyanu Vaishṇavara kaiyyallu Jainara kai viḍidu koṭṭu yî Jaina-darśanakke pûrvvamaryyâdeyallu pañcha-mahâ-vâdyaṅgaḷu kalaśavu salluvudu | Jaina-darśanakke bhaktaradeśeyindâ hâni vṛiddhiyâdaru Vaishṇava-hâni vṛiddhiyâgi pâlisuvadu | yî maryyâdeyallu yellâ râjyadoḷag uḷḷaha bastigaḷige Śrîvaishṇavaru śâsanava-neṭṭu pâlisuvaru | chandrârkkasthâyiyâgi Vaishṇava-samayavu Jaina-darśanava rakshisikoṇḍu bahavudu | Vaishṇavaru Jainara vandu bhêdavâgi kâṇalâgadu || Śrî-Tirumaleya-tâtaiṅgaḷu samasta-râjyada bhavya-janaṅgaḷa anumatadinda Beḷuguḷa-tîrthadalli dêvara aṅga-rakshaṇeg-ôskara samasta-râjyadoḷag uḷḷantaha Jâinaru bâgilu-daṭṭaṇeyâgi mane-manege varshakke 1 vandu haṇa koṭṭu â yattida honniṅge dêvara aṅga-raksheke yippattâḷa mâsanta viṭṭu mikka-honniṅge jîrṇṇa-Jinâlayaṅgaḷige śôdhey-aṇṭikoṇḍu yî maryyâdeyallu chandrârkkar uḷḷannaṁ tappalîyade varshavarshakke koṭṭu kîrttiyannu puṇṇyavann upârjjisikombudu || yî mâḍida kaṭṭaḷeyannu âvan obbanu mîridavanu râja-drôhi saṅgha-samudâyakke drôhi | tapasviyâgali grâmaṇiyâgali yî dharmmava keḍisidâdaḍe Gaṅgeya taḍiyalli kavileyannu Brâhmaṇanannu konda pâpadalli hôharu || Svadattâm paradattâm vâ yô harêti vasundharâṁ | shashṭir varsha sahasrâṇi vishṭâyâm jâyatê krimiḥ ||

TRANSLATION.

Be it well!—Possessed of every honour, the great fire of the mare-faced to the ocean of heretics, the original slave at the lotus-feet of the king of Śrîraṅga,[1] donor of a path to the jewelled temple of the world of holy Vishṇu, Râmânuja triumphs, the king of royal *yatis.*—In the Śaka year 1290, the year Kîlaka, the 1st of the bright fortnight of Bhâdrapada, Thursday, at the time when—Be it well!—the auspicious *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvara*, the victor over hostile kings, the punisher of kings who break their word, the auspicious Vîra-Bukka-Râya was conducting the government of the world, mutual strife having arisen between the Jains and the faithful[2] (*i.e.* the Vaishṇavas), the blessed people[3] (*i.e.* the Jains) of all the districts included within Ânegondi, Hosapaṭṭaṇa, Penagoṇḍe, and Kallehadapaṭṭana,[4] having made petition to that Bukka-Râya of the injustice done by the faithful, the *Mahârâya*, under the hand[5] of the Śrî-Vaishṇavas of the eighteen districts,[6] especially of Kôvil, Tirumale, Perumâl-Kôvil, and Tirunârâyaṇapuram,[7] including all the *âchâris*, all the *samayas*,[8] all the respectable men, those living on alms,[9] the (*temple*) servants

[1] Seringam near Trichinopoly. The king is the idol Śrî Raṅganâtha in the great temple there.

[2] *Bhaktaru*—a term used throughout the inscription to represent the Vaishṇavas.

[3] *Bhavya-janangalu*—similarly used throughout the inscription to represent the Jains.

[4] Ânegondi, more commonly Ânegundi, is on the Tuṅgabhadrâ, on the opposite side of the river to the former city of Vijayanagar: Penagoṇde, more commonly Penugoṇḍa, a well-known hill the south-east of Bellary district, and a royal city after the fall of Vijayanagar: the other two places I do not know.

[5] *Kaiyyallu*; from this it would appear that a written agreement was taken from them.

[6] A term used in other inscriptions with reference to the Śrîvaishṇavas.

[7] Kôvil is Śrîraṅga or Seringam: Tirumale is Tripati in Kaḍapa district: Perumâl-kôvil is Kâñchi or Conjeveram: Tirunârâyaṇapuram is Mêlukôṭe in Mysore.

[8] The *samaya* were *dâsaris* or Vaishṇava religious mendicants, invested with authority as censors of morals. No religious ceremony or marriage could be undertaken without gaining their consent by payment of fees, &c. Under the former native Râjas the office was farmed out in all the large towns and credited in the public accounts as *samayâchâra*. An important part of the profits arose either from the sale of females accused of incontinency, or from fines imposed on them for the same reason. The unfortunate women thus put up for sale were popularly known as Sarkâr wives. "The rules of the system," says Wilks, "varied according to the caste of the accused. Among Brâhmaṇs and Kômṭis females were not sold but expelled from their caste and branded on the arm as prostitutes; they then paid to the *ijârdâr* (or contractor) an annual sum as long as they lived, and when they died all their property became his. Females of other Hindu castes were sold without any compunction by the *ijârdâr*, unless some relative stepped forward to satisfy his demand. These sales were not, as might be supposed, conducted by stealth, nor confined to places remote from general observation; for in the large town of Bangalore itself, under the very eyes of the European inhabitants, a large building was appropriated to the accommodation of these unfortunate women; and so late as the month of July 1833 a distinct proclamation of the Commissioners was necessary to enforce the abolition of this detestable traffic."

[9] *Môshṭikaru*—Taken as meaning those who subsist on *mushṭi*, a handful of grain given as alms.

of the holy trident-mark,[10] of the holy feet[11] and the drawers of water, the four (*thrones*)[12] and the eight *tátas*,[13] the instructors of the true faith,[14] the Tirukula and Jâmbavakula[15]—declaring that between the Vaishṇava *darśana*[16] and this Jaina *darśana*[16] there was no difference whatever, the king, taking the hand of the Jains and placing it in the hand of the Vaishṇavas (*decreed as follows*):—In this Jaina *darśana*,[16] according to former custom, the five big drums[17] and the *kalaśa*[18] (or vase) will (*continue to*) be used. If to the Jaina *darśana* injury on the part of the faithful should arise, it will be protected (*in the same manner*) as if injury to the Vaishṇavas had arisen. In (*the matter of*) this custom, the Śrîvaishṇavas will set up the decree in all the *bastis*[19] throughout the kingdom. As long as sun and moon endure, the Vaishṇava *samaya* will continue to protect the Jaina *darśana*.[16] The Vaishṇavas cannot (*be allowed to*) look upon the Jainas as in a single respect different. The *tátas*[13] of holy Tirumale, by consent of the blessed people of the whole kingdom,—the Jainas throughout the whole kingdom having given according to their doors house by house one *fanam* a year (*to provide*) for the personal protection of the god[20] at the *tîrtha* of Beḷuguḷa—will with the gold so raised appoint month by month twenty servants for the personal protection of the god,[20] and with the remainder of the gold will cleanse and purify the ruined Jinâlayas[19]: and as long as sun and moon endure, allowing no failure in this custom, and giving (*the money*) year by year, will acquire fame and merit.

This rule now made whoso transgresses is a traitor to the king, a traitor to the assembly and the congregation.[21] Be he devotee, or be he village headman, that destroys this work of merit, they incur the guilt of killing a cow or a Brâhmaṇ on the bank of Ganges. Whoso takes away land given by himself or by another is born a worm in ordure for sixty thousand years.[22]

MISCELLANEA.

ANOTHER BHAUMAYANTRA.[1]

With reference to the Bhaumayantra obtained in Mâlwâ, and published by Dr. Hultzsch in this Journal, *ante* Vol. XIII. p. 138f., I give here an account of another,—obtained by my father, about forty years ago, from a gentleman who got it in Benares,—which has recently come into my possession. The plate is nearly 7½ inches square, inscribed with an equilateral triangle, which, again, is subdivided into twenty-one equilateral triangles, each containing, in good Nâgarî characters, the mystic syllable *Ôṁ*, a name of the planet Mars in the dative singular, the noun *namaḥ* "adoration," and, lastly, a numeral. At the edges of the plate are the words for eight weapons in the accusative singular. The contents of the twenty-one triangles are as follows:—

Ôṁ Maṅgalâya namaḥ 1.
Ôṁ Bhûmiputrâya namaḥ 2.
Ôṁ Ṛiṇahartrê namaḥ 3.
Ôṁ Dhanapradâya namaḥ 4.
Ôṁ Sthirâdanâya[2] namaḥ 5.
Ôṁ Mahâkâyâya namaḥ 6.
Ôṁ Sarvakarmâvarôdhakâya namaḥ 7.
Ôṁ Lôhitâya namaḥ 8.
Ôṁ Lôhitâkshâya namaḥ 9.
Ôṁ Samagânâ . . pâkarâya namaḥ 10 (*two letters illegible in the middle*).

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[10] The *nâma* or *tirunâma*, the symbol of the Vaishṇavas.

[11] *Tiruviḍi* for *tiruvaḍi*.

[12] The word following *nâl* or 'four' is not very clear, but it seems to refer to the occupants of four thrones or *saṁsthân-âdhipatis* appointed by Râmânujâchâri, namely, Tirumale, Kandâḍi, Bhaṭrâchâr and Nallânchakravarti.

[13] *Tâta*, literally grandfather. Certain Vaishṇava teachers of the priestly order are called *tâtâchâri*, and are representatives of eight principal ones appointed by Râmânujâchâri who were called the *ashṭa-dig-gaja*.

[14] This term is not clear, and one copy makes it *sâmantajôvakkalu* (?). It probably refers to an inferior class of religious teachers under the *tâtaiṅgalu*.

[15] The Tiru-kula and Jâmbava-kula are two tribes of Holeyas or outcastes, still so called. They are credited with having assisted Râmânujâchâri in recovering the image of Kṛishṇa, called Shelva-pulle Râya, at Melukôte, from Dehli (!) whither it had been carried off by the Muhammadans. Hence they have the privilege of entering the temple once a year to pay their devotions. See the story from Buchanan in my *Mysore and Coorg*, Vol. II. p. 239.

[16] On this term I have remarked in the introduction.

[17] The *pañcha-mahâśabda* commonly included among attributes of great chieftains.

[18] A vessel in the form of a vase or urn containing water, which plays an important part in religious ceremonies.

[19] Jaina temples.

[20] This must be the colossal Jain statue of Gomaṭêśvara, 60 feet high, on the summit of the Indra-giri at Śravaṇa Belgoḷa. There is a story generally current that Râmânujâchâri had the Vaishṇava symbol of the trident cut into the middle of its back. But I have been up myself to see, and also taken Śrîvaishṇavas up to satisfy themselves that nothing of the kind was ever done.

[21] *Saṅgha* and *samudâya*; both terms of the same signification; they seem to refer, the former to the Jains and the latter to the Vaishṇavas.

[22] This last verse is not very *à propos*.

[1] From the *Academy*, April 4, 1885, p. 245.

[2] [The reading given by Dr. Hultzsch is *Sthirâsanâya*.—Ed.]

Ôṁ Dharâtmajâya namâḥ 11.
Ôṁ Kujâya namaḥ 12.
Ôṁ Bhaumâya namaḥ 13.
Ôṁ Bhûtidâya namaḥ 14.
Ôṁ Bhûminandanâya namaḥ 15.
Ôṁ A(ṅ)gârakâya namaḥ 16.
Ôṁ Yamâya namaḥ 17.
Ôṁ Sarvarôgâpahârakâya namaḥ 18.
Ôṁ Vṛishṭikartrê namaḥ 19.
Ôṁ Vṛishṭyapahartrê namaḥ 20.
Ôṁ Sarvakâmaphalapradâya namaḥ 21.

The eight weapon-names on the margins are *gharâṁ*, *śaktiṁ* (spear), *śûlaṁ* (pike), *dhanuḥ* (bow), *śaraṁ* (arrow), *gadâṁ* (club), *varadaṁ*, and a word ending in *-anaṁ* or *-ânaṁ*. These names do not occur on the Mâlwâ plate; and in No. 10 Dr. Hultzsch gives *Sâmagânaya(dri)pâ(ka)râya*, adding that he is unable to explain this word. In No. 20 he has *Vṛishṭihartrê*.

In No. 1 Maṅgala (propitious) is an euphemistic name for Mars. The names in Nos. 2, 11, 12, 13, and 15 mean son of the earth; Ṛinahartṛi (No. 3) means debt-destroyer; as Vṛishṭyapahartṛi (No. 20) means rain-destroyer. Yama (No. 17) is elsewhere used as a name of Saturn. As to the weapon-names, I shall be grateful if any Sanskṛitist will explain *gharâ* and *varada*.

WHITLEY STOKES.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

ANOTHER MACARONIC VERSE OF GUMANI KAVI.

प्रज्ञावन्तो धैर्यवन्तो वनेषु
चेरुः पार्था दुःखिता दीर्घकालं ।
चक्रे राज्यं धार्तराष्ट्रः कुबुद्धिर
जग में सारी बात है बन पड़े की ॥

The wise courageous Pâṇḍavas wandered distressed in the forest for many days, while the evil-minded Duryôdhana reigned as a king. Of a truth—"Everything depends on seizing the opportunity (*and not on individual merit*)."

G. A. GRIERSON.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI EBN ABI TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S., Principal Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 206.

260. A wise youth is better than an old fool.

261. It is better to boast of virtue than of pedigree.

262. The speech of a man plainly shows what is in his heart.

263. A generous infidel may hope for Paradise more than an avaricious Muhammadan.

264. To be ungrateful to a benefactor destroys the benefit.

265. Gentleness of speech is the bond of hearts.

266. There is no rest for the envious.

267. If a man could see the end of his life and how quickly it is reached, he would hate riches and worldly goods.

268. Great are the anxieties of a man who plans great things.

269. He who is silent does not repent.

270. It is better to be alone than to converse with a bad man.

271. He is your friend who does not oppose you.

272. A future life harasses the fortunate man, but this world in which he lives, worries the miserable.

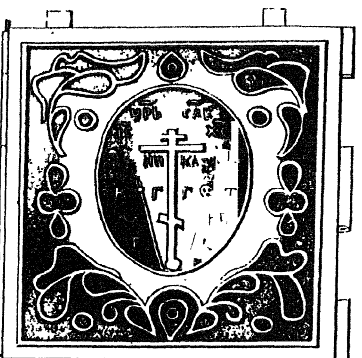
BOOK NOTICE.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE CLAIMS OF ISHMAEL AS VIEWED BY THE MUHAMMADANS, by J. D. BATE. Lazarus & Co., Banaras. Allen & Co., London.

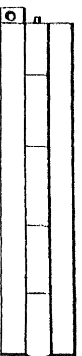
This is in several ways a remarkable book. It professes to be the first chapter of the first section of an immense work that the author has on hand, entitled *Studies in Islam*. This first chapter is in itself a book of pp. 352 and xix, including index, of long primer type, 8vo. The fact of its being treated as only a chapter of a larger work has forced the author into its chief defect, as it has obliged him to carry on a long-sustained argument consisting of many parts without a break. The result is that it is difficult to find one's way about it. As the work of a Baptist Missionary it is naturally controversial, and is in fact an attack on the cardinal Muhammadan doctrine that Ishmael and not Isaac was the "Child of Promise." It is therefore a fitting commencement of a general attack along the whole line of Muhammadan dogma. It is not our intention here to enter into the merits of this old controversy, but we gladly point to this learned work as containing the gist of all that has been said up to date on both sides; and as the arguments of necessity embrace important points in the history, ethnology and etymology, as well as in the religion of the Arabs, and as the author gives chapter and verse for every statement, the work is a mine of accurate information on most matters which Orientalists hold to be of value. It is to be hoped that the author will be encouraged by its reception to rapidly proceed with the remainder of his "Studies." He is, of course, well known for his *Hindî Dictionary*, and now we find him equally familiar with Arabic and the Muhammadan side of an Indian Missionary's labours.

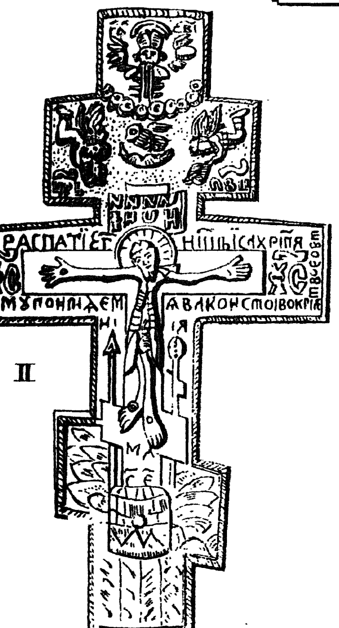
RUSSIAN ICONS.

Drawn by E. Rehatsek.



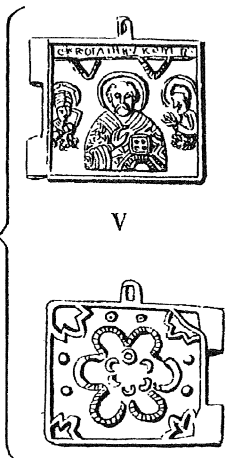














RUSSIAN ICONS.

By E. REHATSEK.

WHETHER these old brass images found their way to Bombay by water or by land is not known, and their possessor, who kindly allowed me to make copies of them, could only inform me that he had purchased them from various persons, strangers in Bombay, such as Armenians, &c. I have represented the actual size of these icons, because a reduction to a smaller scale would have considerably interfered with the distinctness of the figures, religious symbols, and inscriptions represented by them. The ground of two pieces, No. I. and No. III., is enamelled in blue as shown in the drawings, all the rest retain the natural yellow of the brass. Some of the pieces have been used as amulets, and were, no doubt, worn suspended from the neck, as appears from the hinges and loops through which strings for that purpose were passed.

I.

This piece opens like a book, and to give a clear idea of it I have represented it in three figures; namely the outside, then opened, and lastly the thickness.

The outside contains an oval surrounded by ornaments. The cross in the oval is flanked by a spear and a reed, the one with which the side of Jesus was pierced, and the other showing the sponge in which vinegar was given him to drink (Matt. xxvii. 48). The separate letters scattered over the ground are initials, and also the words, such as Jesus Christ, Son of God (*Yisus Christos, seen Bojyih*[1]), are given in an abridged form as indicated by the curved lines above them; thus the monograms IC̑ and XC̑ which stand for *Yisus* and *Christos* occur also on other pieces.

The left side of the opened piece displays the interior of a building with three arches; the central one, which is also the largest, surmounted by a head with wings attached, being occupied by the Madonna with her infant, and the lateral ones by the heads of persons entering the edifice. Under the Madonna, who is flanked by winged guardian angels holding wands, there is a corpse in a horizontal position, but with the head slightly raised. At each side of the Madonna, and just under the angels there are two bearded men, in the act of reading from a book which each holds with his two hands. Just under the right hand of the Madonna there is a globe surmounted by a cross (the symbol of dominion) held out on a rod to the corpse by a bearded man, near whom also others are standing, but the full stature of the foremost only is shown. Near the head of the corpse a man is standing with a censer suspended by chains, for the purpose of being swung about in ceremonies of fumigation; the person in his rear is a woman, apparently weeping. The two small figures under the bier represent an angel and a demon, the former attacking the latter with an uplifted sword in his right hand, whilst that in his left is held downwards. The demon, apparently desiring to ward off the attack, touches the coffin whilst doing so, but is unarmed. It will be observed that each of the prominent persons has a halo of sanctity round the head, except the demon in the foreground.

The right side of the opened piece has in the centre an oval occupied by the full stature of the Saviour, emitting rays of light in all directions. On the top of the oval are the monograms IC̑ and XC̑ in a small quadrangle. In the foreground on the left side a man in a kneeling position appears, whose hand is grasped by Jesus; on the right there are two women, likewise kneeling, and above them two persons, one of whom appears to be a king and the other a warrior, with a spiked helmet. A sea of the tops of human heads above, closes the picture, as in the preceding piece. On the frame above, the inscription has now the following form BOCKPCCCIIIC XTBO which must be read *Voskresenie Christovo*, meaning "Resurrection of Christ."

Of the thickness no other description is necessary except to mention that the drawing shows how the two tablets, of which the piece is composed, are held together by the hinges. One of the holes on the top through which a string for suspension may be passed is also shown, as well as a piece of iron-wire which

[1] The *j* in the last word is pronounced like *s* in *pleasure*.

passes through the hinges and holds them together, but sticks out above.

II.

Those who are familiar with the symbolism of the Eastern and Roman Catholic Churches, will easily understand what the small head of the old bearded man represents and the dove beneath it, flanked by two angels with their heads down and feet upwards. The body on the crucifix appears to be dressed in a coat, but the arms and legs are left bare. Near it are the spear and the reed, as seen also on the outside view of No. I. Of the inscription round the cross I was able to make out with certainty only the word *Raspyatié*, which means "Crucifixion." On the back of this piece vestiges of several lines of writing occur, which, not having been engraved deep enough, furbishing has nearly effaced.

III.

On the top of this piece, which is a little damaged, a person in a standing position with covered head appears to be reading from a book on the pulpit in front; both the lower compartments however contain Christ as the central figure. In the upper one he is represented as taking a person by the hand in the same way as in the position of No. I, superscribed *Resurrection*; this person, as well as the one on the right side, is a female. Christ stands under an arch surmounted by a small ring. In the lower compartment he is represented in the act of addressing the surrounding people with both his hands stretched out, and above his head is a small oval containing the bust of a man with an angel on each side. The few words occurring over each of these two scenes I was unable to make out satisfactorily.

IV.

The small quadrangle above, contains a head with rich locks, probably intended to represent hair on both sides of the beard; the two usual monograms IC and XC occur on the frame above, and also a halo of sanctity around the head. On the back there is a small ring—not seen in the drawing—for suspending this icon from the neck. The big figure below bears on the frame the superscription *Svyati Nikolas* meaning "St. Nicholas." Having been a bishop he is represented with the two forefingers of the right hand prominent, which are thus separated from the others, and gently striking the cheek of a person receiving the Sacrament of Confirmation; and in the left he holds a short Byzantine cross. His robe of gold brocade is richly adorned with flowery devices, and over it he wears two stoles, with crosses embroidered upon them. Above the heads of the two small figures, supported by clouds, at the sides the monograms IC XC and MP which stand for *Yisus Christos* and *Maria*, may be observed. A small hole is broken out of this icon on the right side above.

V.

This icon, the smallest of the set, likewise represents St. Nicholas, flanked by two little busts resting on clouds. To judge from the two hinges, this may have been the door of a book-like piece similar to No. I, but inferior in size and execution. The ring above indicates that it may also have been worn as an amulet suspended from the neck.

This is the only piece the reverse of which is ornamented; accordingly two views of it are given, namely the front and the rear, the ornaments of which also display but poor workmanship.

VI.

This figure is apparently the oldest, and seems neither to be of Russian design nor of sacred import, unless we indulge by a stretch of imagination in the supposition that this young lady with almond eyes had attained sanctity by subduing the two besetting sins of her sex, loquacity and vanity, keeping them firmly under control as she grasps in her fists their symbols, the parrot and the peacock. Her only unintelligible ornament is on the centre of her bust; the necklace and bracelets are distinct enough. The head-dress appears not to be a cap, but the Arab kerchief, over which a fillet of camel hair is thrown, according to the fashion of the country. Just over the fillet there is a ring in the centre. It would be natural to expect an inscription under this bust, but even a magnifying glass could reveal nothing more than the few paltry curves of foliage or of serpents shown in the drawing.

THE PRINCE THAT WAS THREE TIMES SHIPWRECKED.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES. F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., ETC., (C. M. S., SRINAGAR, KASHMIR.)

A KASMIRI TALE.[1]

There was a very wise and clever king, who had four sons, and each of these sons was equally as wise and clever as his father.[2] One day the king, wishing to test the wisdom and talents of these sons, called them all to him, and among other questions asked them each one, singly and privately, by whose good fortune it was that he possessed such a large and powerful kingdom, and was enabled to govern it so wisely and so well. Said he, "Is it through my own good fortune, or your mother's, or yours, or your brothers'?" The eldest son replied: "It is by your own good fortune, O king, our father, that you have this kingdom and this power." Likewise replied the second and the third sons. But when the fourth and youngest son was thus inquired of, he answered, that all this might and power and glory were obtained through his own good fortune and not another's.[3]

The king was as much enraged at the bold and decided reply of his youngest son as he had been pleased with the fawning and truckling answers of the other three sons. In a wrathful tone, he said, "Was not I a wise and powerful king before thou wast conceived in the womb? This kingdom and power did not come with thy birth, O proud and stupid boy! Away! away!" and then calling the doorkeeper he bade him remove the lad far from his presence.

The boy, however, did not require any pressing to go. Being of a most determined and independent disposition he hastened away, packed up a few necessaries, and left the palace. Soon afterwards, the king's anger having in the meantime relented, when it was known throughout the royal city that the youngest prince had really departed, messengers from the throne were despatched in all directions to find him and bring him back. He was overtaken on a certain way, but it was in vain that the messengers recounted to him the king's anguish and how his Majesty would load him with honours and presents if he would only return. The young prince persisted in going on.

Great was the sorrow in the Court that day. A veil of mourning and lamentation shrouded the city and people. But none could tell the anguish of the exiled prince's wife, and none could comfort her. She tore her beautiful hair, she beat her milk-white breasts, she cast aside her jewels and ornaments, and was as one mad and about to die. Finally, she decided to follow her beloved, and resisting her mother-in-law's and other relations' entreaties, she dressed herself like a female *faqîr* and went forth penniless and unattended in search of her husband.

It was not long before she succeeded in reaching him, for love had made her feet swift, and her search keen. The prince was overjoyed at seeing her, and lavished upon her all the affection which she deserved. With her he felt rich and happy, and cared not to occupy himself again with the business and excitement of the court. "What is thy thought, O my beloved, the light of my eyes?" said he. "Shall we not abide here in the woods, and live upon what this bow and sling shall bring us?" She consented, and for some time the days and weeks passed pleasantly, until one day the bow and the sling lost their charm, and no prey came to hand. This state of affairs continued, so that at last, feeling very hungry, they were obliged to leave their jungle-home and beg by the wayside, and in the far-scattered villages around. In the course of their wanderings they reached the sea. Great was their surprise on seeing the boundless expanse of waters; and as they watched the tide, now rushing forward and then receding, they thought that they were living waters, and that they were trying to swallow them up and all the country behind them. Nevertheless they did not dread the sea, but the rather wished to live upon it, and tried hard to get the sailors of some of the ships which now and again touched at the port of that place to let them sail with them. But the sailors

[1] Told by a Brâhman named Mukund Bâyû, who resides at Suthû, Srinagar. He heard it from a Musalmân, hence the constant occurrence of the word 'God' in the story.

[2] Literally, "who were one cleverer than the other." *Yim ôsi ak aki sindih khutah gâtuli.*

[3] The story of "The Fan Prince" in *Indian Fairy Tales* begins something like this; *cf.* p. 193.

always refused, because the prince and his wife were so poor and had nothing to give them. At length, however, one day, a trader, kind and wealthy, heard of their desire, and perceiving that they were gentle-mannered people and of a good countenance, he had compassion upon them, and engaged for them a berth on board one of the vessels then about to start on some distant voyage. Before they left the trader inquired who they were, and whence they came, and what was their intention. "For surely," he said, "Ye both are of a princely mien and countenance, and by some foul trickery have become thus poor and helpless." "True, true," replied the young prince weeping; and he related to him all his history.

"I am a prince," said he,
"Of splendid destiny.
Through me alone the king doth rule and power obtain.
"But on an evil day
Did my fond father say,
'Whose fortune is it—mine or thine, by which I rule?'
"I told him, 'Mine, O King,'
Said he, 'What, thine! What thing
Is this? Away, O proud and foolish child, far hence!'
"And so my home I left,
Of father's love bereft,
And wandered far and lone into the desert wilds.
"Then came my wife to me,
And we lived happily,
Till bow and string refused me help to strike my prey.
"Next hunger drove us forth
East, West, and South, and North,
To seek for bread and shelter with a beggar's cry.
"And then God brought us here
To give us such good cheer
As thy kind sympathy and help provideth us.
"O friend, to thee long life
And happiness without strife,
And after death to dwell in richest joys above."

The trader was so much moved by the prince's touching tale that he could scarcely keep from weeping. "I know that what you have said is correct," he said, "because as soon as you left your father's kingdom, my agent, who lives there, sent me word that a foreign force had entered the city, slain many of the inhabitants, and taken the king and his brothers, together with their wives and families, prisoners." When the prince heard this he wept bitterly, and mourned his poverty and helplessness to afford succour to his father and brethren and people, whom he so loved. It was useless for his wife and the trader to try and cheer him by saying how thankful he should be to have left the city before these sad events occurred. The prince was of far too noble a character to attend to such words—nay, he rather reproached himself the more, knowing that if he had but tarried at home, these things would not have happened.

After a long time had elapsed they were sailing with a boisterous wind not far from the country where they hoped to disembark; but the wind became fiercer and the waves rolled mountains high, threatening every moment to overwhelm the ship. All hands were at work and everything was done that could be done for the safety of the crew. For hours and hours they thus lingered between life and death, until at last one great wave, swifter and larger than the rest, broke upon the ship, so that it divided into two pieces and everyone and everything were swept into the waters. Only two were saved, and these two were the prince and his wife, who had caught hold of a spar and a plank from the wreck and were thus carried to the shore. The prince, however, was carried to one part of the country, whilst the princess floated to another part, perhaps, of another country far distant. The place where the princess landed was near a large garden, which had evidently been laid out with great care, but was flowerless and leafless. As soon, however, as the princess approached its walls the trees and shrubs began to freshen and here and there a tiny bud appeared. Great was the surprise of the head-gardener when, on going his customary round of inspection the following morning, he noticed these things. He had come as usual to give orders concerning the withered trees, that they might be uprooted and taken away for fuel or other purposes, but lo! there was life

in them, and he told the under-gardeners to go for that day, as there was no work for them. The gardener then hastened to inform his master, who was the king of that country, concerning the good news. The king was exceedingly glad to hear it, and thought that at last God would cause the trees to bring forth fruit and the flowers to blossom in the garden, over which he had expended so large a sum of money. Then the gardener returned once more to feast his eyes upon the new sight and saw a woman squatting by the gate. He inquired who she was, whence she came, and what she had come for; but never a word escaped the princess's lips; and so he left her.

The place where the prince arrived, turned out to be close to the walls of a large and magnificent city. In the course of his peregrinations through this city he came upon a most beautiful garden, one blaze of colours, and redolent with perfumes. He looked within the entrance gate, but dared not venture right in, as seeing no person there, he thought that people were prohibited from entering and therefore stopped. He was still there, looking at this wonderful sight, when the royal gardener came. Seeing a man at the gate gazing with such longing eyes upon the flowers he suspected that he had trespassed inside the garden and stolen some of them, and for the moment he was filled with fear and trembling, not knowing what the king would do to him if such were the case. But when he discovered that no harm had been done he felt rather pleased with the stranger, and perceiving that he was clever and gentle, he asked who he was and what business he had there. "I am a beggar come from a far country," was the reply. "Then follow me," said the gardener. "I will make some arrangement for your food and clothes." Of course the beggar-prince was only too delighted, and followed the gardener to his house. There it was told how that he was a poor man wandering upon the face of the earth for a bit of bread; and food was set before him, and clothes provided, and he was invited to draw near to the fire and warm his shivering limbs. During conversation the stranger-guest asked why the gardener had plucked the flowers. The gardener replied that it was the order of the king that fresh flowers should be provided every day for the pleasure of the royal household. Hence his extreme care over the garden that no flowers be stolen, lest there should not be sufficient daily for the palace. "I wish," said the prince, "that you would allow me to arrange these flowers into bouquets. They would look so much more beautiful, and his Majesty the king would be so much better pleased with them." The gardener consented, and presently there were several bouquets of flowers tastefully arranged, ready to be taken to the palace.

The king and all the royal family, when they saw the beautiful bouquets, were greatly pleased, and giving many presents to the gardener ordered him thus to prepare the flowers every day.* The gardener made his obeisance and departed.

On reaching his house he told his wife of the pleasure of the king, and of the many presents which had been given to him; and then went and honestly told the prince that all this honour was through his skill, and that he must abide in their house and arrange the flowers every day, because if he now left them the king would not have his wish, and perhaps would imprison him (the gardener) or take away his life. The prince thinking that nothing better would offer itself, at all events for a long time, readily complied. And so matters continued. Every day the king and the royal household were delighted with the most delicious bouquets of flowers, and every day the gardener returned with rich rewards.

Becoming more and more wealthy, and loving money the more as it increased to him, the gardener and his wife were sometimes filled with terrible fears lest their guest, the prince, should suddenly depart and leave them as they were before. Accordingly they hit upon a plan to marry him to their only daughter, that he might be certain not to leave them; for said they, "though he came to us in great distress, yet how do we know that he is not some great man reduced by trickery and falsehood to this state. At all events he is wise and skilful, and of a noble countenance, and by his means we have attained to this great wealth." And so it was arranged to ask the prince to marry the gardener's daughter. The prince at first demurred, but

* Cf. *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 150, 151.

afterwards consented, on condition that he should be allowed to depart when and whither he wished. The gardener readily complied, making sure in his own mind that if the stranger were once settled and comfortable in his own house, he would not care to leave it.[5]

The marriage took place, and there was much money spent and great rejoicings. All things went smoothly for a while and everybody seemed as happy as could be, until one day the gardener could not go to the palace, and so was obliged to ask his son-in-law to go instead of him and take the bouquets of flowers. He did so, but on returning the king's daughter met him, and seeing that he was clever, gentle, and handsome, she at once fell in love with him, and ordered one of her female attendants to follow him and see where he lived. She saw him enter the gardener's house, and came and told her mistress so. On the following morning the princess sent to the gardener, telling him on no account to let this young man go, but to give him food, and supply him with everything that he might require. The gardener was astonished at this strange order, and went immediately to tell his wife and son-in-law. "What is it that thou hast done?" he said to the latter, "to provoke this request? Hast thou seen the princess, spoken to her, or looked upon her with eyes of love? Tell me the reason of this strange order." The prince acknowledged that he had seen the king's daughter, when returning from the palace; but that he had scarcely noticed her—much less spoken to her. Great was the suspense until the reason was known.

Meanwhile the princess lost her appetite and became very pale and weak. When her mother noticed that she was getting thin and sickly she begged her daughter to tell her if there was any pain or sorrow, and if so she should tell her that it might be remedied. Or, perhaps, she wanted something; if so let her make these wants known, and the king would satisfy them. Anything and everything rather than she should pine away like this and die. "O mother, dear mother!" replied the princess, "it is not that I am in pain, or that any one has grieved me; but God has guided hither the man whom I love, and whom I wish to marry."

"Tell me," said the queen, "who he is, and where he dwells, and I will inform the king that a message may be sent for him."

"It is the young man," answered the princess, "who resides with our chief gardener, that wise and handsome man, who brought the flowers here the other day for the gardener."

The queen was astounded at her daughter's request, and begged her to consider what she was asking for. "A gardener's lackey!" said she. "With such would a princess fain unite herself? The idea is preposterous. Surely, my daughter must be mad!"

"I am not mad, dear mother," answered the princess. "This man is not of mean birth, as you suppose. He is of a noble type of countenance and of educated manners, which bespeak high blood and gentle training. Send and inquire, I pray thee, and see if this is not so."

The queen promised to do so. When the king heard the reason of his daughter's indisposition, he, too, was very much astonished, but thinking that there might be some truth in the princess's surmisings, he deferred speaking to her, until he had sent and ascertained who and whence this young man was.

The gardener told the king's messengers all that he knew about his son-in-law:—

"It was a beggar that I saw—
But now my handsome son-in-law—
A-gazing at the garden gate
In wretched guise and piteous state.

"I thought at first he had been within
The closely-guarded garden green,
But finding every flower entire
I quickly stayed my ill-roused ire,

"And tempted by his pleasant face
I asked him—did he want a place?
If so, then he could follow me
And kind of under-gardener be.

"And he consenting came to us
And stayed—as you may well suppose—
For such a clever gardener he,—
Without his aid I could not be.

[5] Gardeners and their families occupy a prominent place in European and Indian tales. While glancing rapidly through the first half of *Old Deccan Days* I found some nine or ten instances of this. *Cf. Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 277, n. 2.

"The king's delight, those bouquets rare
Did his own skilful hands prepare;
And then in sweet unselfish wise
He bade me gladden the royal eyes.

"Thus through his skill we honours gained
And countless riches we obtained,
Until we feared he would depart
And leave us ignorant of his art.

"Hence was he married to our blood,
With gifts of coin and clothes and food:
We thought he now would surely rest,
Choosing such fortune as the best.

"And now to you I have frankly shown
All that of this strange man is known:
Go tell the king and beg that he
Will of his mercy pardon me.

"But who he is, or whence he came,
Or even of the stranger's name
I cannot tell, for never he
Hath told his fortune unto me."

On hearing this strange tale from the messenger, the king, desiring to know more concerning this underling, summoned the head-gardener. With much fear and trembling the head-gardener entered the royal presence.

"Now tell me," said his Majesty, "Who is this man? Whence came he? What is his business here? How didst thou find him? What does he in thy house? And tell me, too, of his behaviour and attainments. What is thy own opinion of this man?"

The gardener then again told all he knew about his son-in-law—how he met with him, had pity upon him, and married him to his only daughter because he made bouquets which delighted the king; how wise and skilful he was in all manner of conversation and work; and how gentle, good, and kind he was. Not one thing did the head-gardener keep back of all that he knew about his son-in-law. Then the king dismissed him, bidding him not to fear, as no harm, but rather good, would happen to him as the result of these inquiries.

As soon as the head-gardener had departed the king sent a special servant to see really how this under-gardener behaved himself, and to bring him word again. He bade him be very careful in his observations, as it was his (the king's) intention, if possible, to marry this man to his own daughter. The servant left and thoroughly inquired into all matters.

"It was quite true," he said to the king, "what the gardener told you. But may it please your Majesty to call for the man and see him."

The king was pleased to do so, and soon the under-gardener stood before him. A little conversation and observation served to convince the king that this man was no ordinary personage; and so he informed him of his daughter's wish, and added that he, too, was of similar mind. "Will you agree and become the king's son-in-law?"

"I will," he replied, "but only on the condition that you allow me to leave the country whenever I wish."

The king promised, and at once gave orders for a certain house adjoining the palace to be prepared for him and for clothes and jewels and the richest food to be provided for him, so that in every way he might be as the king's son-in-law, and every cause for reproach removed. It was so; and soon all the people, even the *wazírs*, began to acknowledge him as one great and wise in the land, and the accepted son-in-law of their king.

In course of time the marriage took place. There were great rejoicings, such as had never been known in the city before. The air was filled with gladness, and everybody was arrayed in his gayest and his best—the poor, also, were well-clothed, well-fed, and loaded with presents. The praises of the king and the queen and the bride and bridegroom were in the mouths of everyone; and never did there appear such a glad and happy city.

And so matters continued. The king had no reason to regret the union, for his son-in-law increased in knowledge, wisdom, and popularity. He knew all languages, could solve the most difficult questions, and was most holy and good, giving alms to the people and attending to the cries of the sick and the distressed. Only one thing seemed against him, and that was his refusal to attend the *darbár* (or hall of audience).

One day his wife asked him the reason of his not doing so. "It is not meet," she added, "that you, the king's son-in-law, should always be absent from the great assembly. You should certainly go sometimes, and manifest, at all events, a little interest in the government of the country, whose king is your wife's

father." The prince, for he was now a recognised prince, then told her that he was a prince by birth, and that his father was ruler over a larger and more powerful country than that in which he was now living. He told her also how he had arrived in her father's country, and all that had happened to him, and added, that his heart longed to visit once more his home and fatherland. However, he saw the wisdom of what she advised, and promised henceforth to attend the king's court. Accordingly the prince was present in the *darbâr* on the following morning, arrayed in his best and looking most noble and handsome. The king was exceedingly pleased to see his son-in-law, and gave him the seat of honour, and especially consulted him concerning the present pressing difficulties of the country. Thus matters continued. The prince went regularly to the court and in all affairs behaved himself so wisely and so well, that the king loved him more than any of his other sons, and especially so, when he heard from his daughter that her husband was a great prince in his own right, but that he had been obliged by unkindness to leave his country and beg for bread in a foreign land. The king's love and attention knew no bounds, when he had ascertained for certain that his favourite son-in-law was of noble birth also. He told him all his private affairs and all the secret state difficulties; in all matters he sought his counsel, and at all times he wanted his society.

"Thou hast become an absolute necessity to me, O my son-in-law," he said to him one day. "Think not, I pray thee, of ever leaving me. Ask what thou wilt and thou shalt obtain it here."

Now when the other sons-in-law and sons of the king perceived the great affection of his Majesty for the new prince, and how that he seemed to be unable to move or stir without him, they were filled with jealousy, and plotted together how they might estrange him from the royal favour. They did not know that he was a born prince, and therefore a skilful archer, but supposed that he was only the gardener's son, and consequently would be altogether ignorant of the use of the bow, and the habits of wild animals; and so they suggested to the king that they should go on a shooting expedition and that this prince should accompany them. The king consented, and expressed a wish to his favourite son-in-law that he also should go a-hunting. The prince said that he would obey his royal pleasure; but on leaving his father-in-law's presence he appeared to be going to his own house. This furnished rather a good joke to the other princes, who immediately sent each other word, saying, "There goes that gardener's son to his house. Of course *he* cannot shoot or ride. Aha! Aha! Whom have we for a relation, and confidant of the king? And so they mocked him, and afterwards went to the king, and said, "He whom thou orderest to go with us, thy favourite son-in-law in whom thou trustest, must surely be of low degree, for he shirks this expedition; and rightly so, perhaps, knowing that he cannot well take part in it." Thus did they endeavour to turn the king's mind against his favourite son-in-law.

But besides the thought that their brother-in-law would not be successful in the sport, they had an idea also that he could not ride, and therefore had previously given full instructions to the grooms that if this prince went shooting with them, he was to be mounted on a certain mad mare which was kept separate in the royal stables, and which no man had yet been able to ride. However, their envied brother-in-law was a magnificent horseman as well. In short there was nothing he had not thoroughly mastered, and so when he had gone home and acquainted his wife with his intentions, and fully armed himself, he went to the royal stables, and on asking for a horse, was told that the mad mare was the only beast available. All the other animals belonged to different members of the royal family and would be presently required, as everybody was going with this expedition. However, the prince did not care what beast he rode as long as it was strong of limb and swift of foot, and so he mounted the mad mare without any hesitation. As will be imagined the mare only became more mad at the presumption of the prince. Never had she been mounted before, and she cared not to carry any person now. So she plunged and then rose up on her haunches, then backed, then shied, and finally, after other tricks, all of which were well known to the prince, she started off in the direction of the jungle at

such a pace that her feet seemed scarcely to touch the ground. Firm as a rock the prince retained his seat, and quickly reached that part of the jungle whither the wild beasts were said to resort. A keen sportsman, he soon discovered their favourite haunts, and shot a jackal, a bear, and a leopard. Not being able to take them away with him for want of help he cut off the jackal's tail, the bear's nose, and the leopard's ear and left the jungle.

Now the other princes, thinking that the favourite prince had gone to his house, did not start so early, and when they did go, they went by another road to the hunting ground. On reaching it they discovered the corpses of the three animals which the other prince had killed and left, and having been unsuccessful in shooting any animal themselves, they gave orders that these three dead beasts should be taken to the king and presented as having been shot by them.[6]

On reaching home the favourite prince's wife asked him why he had returned so quickly. "Perhaps," she remarked, "thou hast not been shooting." But he drew from his pocket the tail of the jackal, the nose of the bear, and the ear of the leopard, and shewed them to her, saying that he had left the bodies of these three animals in the jungle, as he had nobody to bring them away for him.

Late in the evening the rest of the royal party returned, carrying with them the corpses of the jackal, the bear, and the leopard. On the following morning, just before the business of the *darbâr* commenced, the king inquired what sport they had on the previous day. The jealous princes quickly answered, "We shot a jackal, a bear, and a leopard, whose carcasses are outside in the yard, waiting your Majesty's inspection. More than these we do not think are in the jungle just now."

But the king had observed that his favourite son-in-law had not spoken, and in consequence of his brothers' maligning him the day before, he was especially anxious to know whether he had been shooting or not; and if so what success he had. So he turned to him, and said, "What news of thy sport?"

"Oh!" replied one of the other sons-in-law, "Ask him not, O king, as being unaccustomed to the sport, he went home. Increase not his shame by advertising the whole matter."

Now the favourite son-in-law's dignity was offended and his anger justly aroused by these lying words. However, he waited until the others had said their say and then looking at them with scornful eye, he said, "I also went to the sport, O king, but alone; and three animals came to my hand, a jackal, a bear, and a leopard." The other sons-in-law, when they heard this, were greatly surprised, and especially so as the three carcasses, which they had brought back with them and displayed before the king as the result of their shooting, were of these three animals. What were they to do now? How could they convince the king of the truth of their words? Only by telling more lies, and therefore they waxed vehement and swore that the prince had spoken falsely, because they had seen him enter his house directly after yesterday's Court, and knew from many and various proofs that he had not stirred forth therefrom until this morning.

Calmly the prince waited again till they had finished their answer, when he begged his Majesty to allow him to send one of his servants to his house and bring thence a little parcel, the contents of which would prove the truth of his speech. As will be imagined there was greater surprise than ever at these words. A little parcel to be brought forward as a witness to this matter! The king himself now began to doubt the sanity of his favourite son-in-law. Much learning, thought he, has turned his brain. However, beyond general conversation, everyone forebore passing any remarks until the servant had returned, which he did presently; for the prince's house was very near the royal Court. Within the little parcel were the tail of the jackal, the nose of the bear, and the ear of the leopard; and when the king opened these out to view, the prince said, "Behold, O king, and my brethren, the tail of the jackal, the nose of the bear, and the ear of the leopard which I shot yesterday in the royal preserve, but the carcasses of which I left in the jungle,

[6] There are many incidents in the story of "The boy with a moon and star" related in *Indian Fairy Tales*, which much resemble several parts of this story, *e.g.* there the king's daughter chooses for her husband "a poor common man"; the marriage is rather a joke at court; the princess rebukes him for staying at home instead of going out a-hunting with the other princes; at last he goes out alone; rides a horse called Katar, who is very wicked and untameable; kills all the game, leaving nothing for his brothers-in-law, &c. &c.

because I was alone and could not bring them for your Majesty's and your Honours' inspection. And see ye further that these things before you are none other than those belonging to the three carcasses which my brethren brought back with them yesterday evening, and which they are thought to have killed. Thou seest it is not so, O king, but that out of the envy and malice of their hearts have they done this thing, that my name might be degraded, and that the king's favour might pass from me. If your Majesty will but step forth into the court-yard and look at the three dead beasts lying there, your Majesty will find that my testimony is true, and that of my brethren false."

The king immediately rose and went into the court-yard as advised; and lo! the jackal was there but wanting a tail, the bear was there but without a nose, and the leopard was there, but having only one ear. Here, then, was undoubted proof of the veracity of the prince's words, and the king was so glad to find that he had not reposed his confidence in vain, that he almost forgot to reprove the other princes and members of the *darbâr* for their mean and false behaviour.

Henceforth the king's special affection was more than ever marked, and eventually it was settled that the favourite prince should succeed to the throne, while the other princes were promised only minor estates and offices. Not long after this final settlement of the succession the prince was filled with an intense longing to visit his father and country, and told the king so, promising that after he had fulfilled this wish he would return. The king was much grieved to hear this, and entreated the prince not to go, but to send messengers and inquire about his father and people, and the affairs of the kingdom. The prince, however, so urged his request, that at length the royal consent was given. On reaching home he told his wife of the proposed journey and bade her not to grieve or fear, as he should soon return; but she would not hear him or the entreaties of the king and queen—so great was her love.

"Whither thou goest I too will go," she cried, "I will never leave thee. Come trial or pleasure, I will be with thee. I live only because thou livest!"

And so it was arranged that this loving pair should both go.

Now the prince's country was far distant, and could not be reached except by crossing the sea. However, the royal couple did not hesitate on this account, though the prince had once been nearly drowned and lost his first wife in the shipwreck, and the princess had a horror of the sea. Passages were quickly engaged in a vessel soon to sail for the desired country, and they embarked full of plans and expectations.

It is not necessary to give another account of a shipwreck; for alas! the vessel had not proceeded far upon her journey, when the cruel waves engulphed her, and the prince and princess and all the rest of the passengers and crew were precipitated into the waters. It was a terrible time, though nothing was seen and not a sound was heard, because of the darkness of the night and the roar of the waves. Each one seemed to die, singly and unmourned. Afterwards, however, it was discovered that two out of all those on board had been saved, and these two were the prince and his beautiful wife. As was the case with the prince and his first wife, so now, they had each clung to different pieces of wood, parts of the wreck, and had drifted to different and far distant places.

The princess was carried by the waters to that place where her husband's first wife had been carried before her. She, too, entered the unfruitful and flowerless garden, and there sat down and wept bitterly. And lo! as soon as she entered the garden the flower-buds grew larger and increased in number, and the trees began to shoot out their branches. When the head-gardener visited the garden on the following morning to make his usual inspection he was surprised to find so many more buds, and the trees, too, giving some promise of eventually bearing fruit and affording shade. He gave the under-gardeners a holiday for that day, and went at once to inform the king of this glad matter. The king was delighted with this further sign of God's blessing upon the garden and richly rewarded the gardener. For very joy the gardener went back to the garden to assure himself that his eyes had not deceived him; and on reaching it he saw another woman sitting in the garden, and

weeping and silent, in spite of kind and reiterated questionings. This is strange, he thought within himself. When the first woman came here the trees and the bushes budded; and now on the arrival of this second woman, the buds become larger and many, and the trees give out branches and increase in height and thickness. Perhaps these women are very holy women, and therefore blessing rests upon the garden. On this account also they will not speak with me.[7] He visited the king a second time that day to tell him so. The king was pleased to hear this, and immediately ordered a holy person to go and commune with these women, if possible, and get to know all their circumstances. But this holy person could not make anything of them, and told the king that probably the gardener's surmisings were correct, and therefore he advised that suitable food should be daily provided for them, lest God should be angry and cause the garden to wither as before Accordingly food was sent every day from the palace, and in other ways special attention was manifested to these strange persons.

As has been mentioned the prince, their husband, reached some other place, which chanced to be a great and magnificent city. While walking in the *bâzâr* of this city, he observed a learned *paṇḍit* reading aloud from the *Śâstras* in the shop of a certain merchant, and many people were assembled there to listen to the sacred words and wise interpretation of the same. He, too, joined the company and when the reading was over and people had dispersed, he remained behind by the merchant's shop. On closing up the place for the night the merchant, seeing the stranger still there, spoke to him and inquired who he was. He replied:—

"A cruel fate forced me from home
Far in a foreign land to roam;
There I became most wise and great
And raised to second in the state.

"In time my heart began to yearn
Unto my kindred to return;
To see again my home and there
To tell them of my fortune fair.

"I bade my wife behind to stay
With patient heart, until the day
We met again, to part no more
Till one should enter at death's door.

"She hearkened not these words of mine,
But said, 'O love, my fate is thine!
Whither thou goest, there go I,
With thee I live; with thee I die.'

"Thus, though the king our absence wailed,
The mighty bond of love prevailed;
And kept us happy by the way.
In loving longing for the day,

"When all the weary journey o'er,
We'd see the dear old home once more,—
The welcome bright of loved ones dear,—
The smile of love and best of cheer.

"The ways of God God only knows:
A mighty wind and waves arose,
And ship and all have passed away
Except this waif that pleads to-day."

And then he added in a most earnest tone:—

"And must I plead, kind friend, in vain
For aid in this my life of pain?
Give me thy help and thou shalt see,
How helpful I shall prove to thee."

The merchant was much moved by this story, and gave him permission to sleep in the shop, saying that he would send him some food presently from his private house. Accordingly the prince arranged a little place in the shop for himself, and the merchant departed to his house and ordered his servants to prepare and take some food for the man in his shop. The next morning the prince was accepted as a servant by the merchant, and verified his promise in a most grateful and respectful demeanour and ready and efficient help. By-and-by the merchant discovered that his servant's services were indispensable, and told him so, adding, that such being the case, he had better make his abode there and marry into the family—would he care to marry the merchant's daughter? The merchant for some

[7] Natives, but especially *faqîrs*, of both sects and sexes, sometimes give themselves up to such absolute contemplation of the Deity that they will not hold converse with any person for weeks and months and years in succession; and some, when they do speak, will only speak with those whom they recognise as holy as themselves. There is a *paṇḍitânî* at Bârâmûlâ who constantly sits for days without uttering a syllable. There is a famous *faqîr* residing at Lâr, who says nothing for weeks together. And at Srînagar, two years ago there died a Brâhman, named Îshar Sâhib, who is reported to have kept perfectly silent for over thirty years before his death. Chana Sâhib living at Renawârî, Srînagar, and Rajab Shâh who resides at Kâriyâr, an adjoining district, with many others, are also quoted as famous silent *faqîrs*.

time had had long and difficult conversations with his wife touching this subject, for with a keen business-like foresight he had long seen the inevitable conclusion of matters. "In spite of his apparent destitution," said he, "I feel that the man's story is true, because he has such knowledge, understanding, and skill; and is of such gentle behaviour."

At length the wife agreed; hence the communication of the matter to the prince. But the latter did not at all consent. "It was not meet," he replied, "that such as the merchant's daughter should be allied to one of his present low estate, and who existed only through her father's kindness."

However, after much urging he agreed, but only on the condition that the merchant would not hinder his leaving the country whenever he wished. The merchant was satisfied, feeling sure that if this man was once settled in a comfortable home and with a beautiful wife and plenty of honour and money, he would not care to leave—not even for his home, and especially if a voyage intervened on the way thither. The marriage took place, and was celebrated with such great show that all the city was stirred at the sight. Fabulous sums were quoted as having been spent over it.

In a few years, in consequence of his son-in-law's great skill and wisdom, the merchant's business increased to such an extent, and he became so wealthy, that both his business and his wealth became a proverb in the country, and people said, "As rich and prosperous as So-and-So the merchant."

But alas! the merchant's son-in-law was not satisfied. He wished still to see his people and his fatherland, and told his father-in-law of this wish. The merchant was intensely grieved to hear it, and entreated him even with tears to relinquish his desire and stay with him. It was all in vain, however; his son-in-law would not listen. He then informed his wife of his intentions, and begged her to remain, promising to return soon; and then they would always live happily. His wife altogether refused, saying that she would never be parted from her husband. And so passages were engaged for both in a vessel about to leave for the prince's country, and they started. By God's will this vessel was also wrecked and all the passengers and crew perished in the waters except the prince and his wife who escaped, as the prince and his other wives had done, on pieces of the wreck. The wind and waves carried the prince in one direction, and his wife in another direction.

Marvellous to relate, the woman was borne by a piece of timber to which she clung, to the very spot where the other two wives of her husband had been carried, and were now sitting silent and sad, mourning their bereavement. The third wife, too, went within the garden enclosure and sat down by them; and lo! as soon as she entered, the buds bloomed and the branches of the trees put forth their leaves, changing the whole appearance of the garden, so that it now was pleasant to the sight and to the smell, and afforded a welcome shade. When the head-gardener visited the garden on the following morning he could scarcely believe his eyes. It seemed too good to be true, that God should thus bless this garden after such a long delay. Dismissing the under-gardeners and *qulîs* (or day labourers) saying that they might have leave for the rest of that day, he went at once to tell the king the good news. His Majesty was delighted, and again gave the head-gardener some valuable presents. As before, the head-gardener returned to look once more upon the beautiful sight, when behold! he saw another woman sitting and weeping with the other two women. Hence, thought he within himself, the reason of this greater blessing. It is another of these holy women who has come, and whose goodness has attracted the especial notice of the Deity. So he went and informed the king, but the king ordered him not to trouble them with questions, but to give them food and raiment and all things necessary.

The prince, their husband, had landed on some island weird and uninhabited. After some rest and sleep he set forth to reconnoitre the place, and in a little while entered a large and intricate jungle, where he again rested mourning and lamenting his lot. "For what reason," cried he, "does God thus thwart me? Why does he thus make my life miserable and my heart to long for death? Is it that I have sinned in marrying, or how?"

Now in this jungle appeared not a living creature, neither man nor beast; and after a while life became intolerable. Indeed the

prince often laid himself down to die. But one day while wandering in the upper part of it he reached a cave, and by this cave he saw a woman sitting. This was passing strange. Surely, thought he, this can be no ordinary person, for such cannot exist here. This must be a goddess, or some especially holy woman.[8] He went still nearer and when the woman saw him she began to weep, whereupon the prince asked her why she wept on seeing him. "I have come to comfort and not to trouble thee," he added, "and great and many have been the trials and dangers through which I have passed before I reached hither."

On hearing this the woman brushed away her tears, and smiling called him to sit beside her, and gave him rich food to eat, and pleasant drinks to assuage his thirst. And then she asked him how he had arrived there; for it was the chief residence of an ogre,[9] who ate men and women as easily as the prince was eating the dinner before him; hence the reason of his not meeting with any living creature, man or beast, before coming to the cave. Alas! Alas! all had been slain and devoured by this ogre. "As for me," continued the woman, "I am the daughter of a king, and was brought hither by the ogre, who at first determined to eat me, but changed his mind when he saw that I should make a pleasant companion; and appointed me his mistress. It would have been better had he slain me. Now he is on some marauding expedition and doubtless will return at evening. Ah me! Ah me!" whereon she fell to weeping bitterly and it was with great difficulty that the prince persuaded her to lift her lovely face and hope for the best.

"But tell me of thyself," she said, "who art thou? Whence camest thou? How camest thou hither?—And tell me quickly that I may know thy state and hide thee safely before the ogre's return; for did he but get a glimpse of thee his appetite would be rekindled and he would devour thee. Think not of escape by any other means. Hadst thou the strength of many men and couldst thou travel as a bird, yet thou couldst not fly from this powerful monster, who passes over the way of a year in one day."

So the prince hastily recounted all that had happened to him.

"A cruel fate forced me from home,
Far in a foreign land to roam:
There I became most wise and great,
And raised to second in the state.

"In time my heart began to yearn
Unto my kindred to return;
To see again my home and there
To tell them of my fortune fair.

"But God had other will than I:
Three times have I been like to die;
Three times I escaped to different soil;
Sick and alone to mourn and toil.

"Yet God is gracious still to me,
That He hath brought me unto thee;
Here let me tarry thee beside;
Here let me evermore abide."

The woman consented, and immediately told him to follow her into the cave where she would hide him. She put him in a strong box that was kept in one of the innermost recesses of the cave and locked it up, with a prayer that God would protect him.

Towards evening the ogre arrived and being tired he at once stretched out his massive limbs upon the ground, while the woman with a large pointed piece of iron picked his teeth, which were crammed full of bits of flesh and bone, shampooed[10] his arms and legs and in other ways coaxed and wheedled him. As luck would have it the ogre was in a good temper that night. Thanks, a thousand thanks, the woman said to herself, the prince will escape for this night. But alas! she had scarcely encouraged this hope before the ogre's keen

[8] The words used here were *atsa-ratsh* and *shánts*. *Atsa-ratsh* is the Kâśmîrî for the Sanskrit *apsaras*, (female divinities of surprising loveliness, who reside in Indra's heaven, &c.): it is also the ordinary *paṇḍits'* word for a very lovely woman, and *shánts* means a very abstemious, honest, devout person.

[9] The narrator's word here was *râkhus* = the Sanskrit *râkshasa*. As far as he remembered the Musalmân who told him the story mentioned the word *jinn*. Following Captain Temple's reasons I have translated both of these words ogre, because the *râkshasa* occupies in Indian stories an almost parallel position with that of the ogre in European tales; and the character ascribed to the *jinn* in genuine Indian Folktales, as in this story, has been borrowed from the *râkshasa*. *Cf.* notes to *Wide-Awake Stories: jinn*, p. 318, and *ogre*, p. 327.

[10] *Muth dyun*, to rub and percuss the whole surface of the body in order to mitigate pain or to restore tone and vigour. *Qulîs* in Kâśmîr after a long march throw themselves upon the ground and get their fellows to trample, etc., upon them. (The word for rubbing, polishing, and thrashing or trampling corn by the feet of oxen, is the same as in Persian, *mâlish*).

sense of smell detected that there was a man in the cave."[11] He said :—

"A man there is within this place,
Oh ! let me quickly see his face."

To which the woman answered :—

"In vain, my lord, these words to me,
For here a man could never be."

But the ogre was decided and continued :—

"Woman, my nose is never wrong,
So see that thou delay not long."

Nothing daunted, however, the princess replied :—

"What power have I to make a man ?
Find such yourself here if you can."

And added :—

"All the day long have I sat here
And seen no living creature near."

These answers made the ogre very angry ; so he now with a terrible and flushed countenance and awful rolling eyes looked at her, and said :—

"A man there is within this place !
Unless I see him face to face,
Within two minutes more thou diest,
As surely, wretch, as now thou liest."

Terrified by his frightful words and looks the poor woman pale and trembling asked him whether he had not met with sufficient prey, and therefore wanted a man for eating; whereupon the ogre answered that he was not hungry, but he was certain that there was a man within the cave, and rest he could not until this man was discovered. Then the princess, pale and trembling, so that she could scarcely speak, told him that perhaps it was true ; at all events since the ogre was so decided she would have a good search in every hole and corner.

Finally after much rummaging and turning out, during which the ogre impatiently waited, now belching and then coughing, so that the very cave even seemed to shake with the noise, a man was pulled forth from a box at the end of the cave. "Ha ! Ha ! Yes, humph ! I thought so," said the ogre, as the prince approached him. The prince was ordered to sit down and explain himself, which he did with such a fearless grace, that the ogre was quite pleased with him. Encouraged by the ogre's good temper the princess confessed the whole truth of the matter—how that the prince had been shipwrecked and wandered thither, and how she had been moved with compassion and told him to reside in the cave ; and then she begged the ogre to spare him and allow him to dwell there, as she felt so very sad and lonely at times ; and besides the man was skilful and clever and would serve the ogre faithfully and well. The ogre agreed, and said that neither of them need be afraid, as he should never be tempted to eat such a skeleton of a fellow as the prince seemed to be. Hearing this the prince sat a little nearer the ogre and joined the woman in rubbing and pressing the monster's hands and feet; and the ogre got more pleased with him. And so the prince lived in the cave and became ever more and more fond of the princess, even as the princess became more and more fond of him, and the days passed very happily. Every morning the ogre went forth for his prey and left the prince and princess alone, and every evening he returned to be pampered and served by them.

Generally he brought back with him some rare fruit or precious jewel, or anything that the prince and princess asked of him, or expressed a wish for. However, there was always a lingering fear lest in a moment of rage or indisposition the ogre should devour them, and so they were always thinking of some plan to rid themselves of him. They soon discovered that might would not overcome him, and that if they would take him they must trick him into telling them the secret of his life, and in what his great strength lay, and therefore they determined if possible to find out this thing. One evening when they were cleaning the ogre's teeth and shampooing his limbs, the princess sat down beside him and suddenly began to weep. "Why weepest thou, my darling ?" said the ogre. "Tell me thy distress and I will relieve it to the utmost of my power." Saying this he drew her to him in tender embrace.

"I cannot tell thee all my thoughts," she replied, "but sometimes I fear lest thou be slain, and we be left alone here in this solitary cave, without a comforter or friend—for then starve we must, because who could bring us food ? Moreover, thou hast been so good to us,

[11] The words used were *insânah sunz mushk âyî tamis*, *i. e.*, the smell of a man came to him. For a survey of the incidents concerning ogres in Indian folk-tales, *cf. Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 395-397.

filling our stores with the choicest provisions, and satisfying our every wish, that our hearts are one with thine. What could we do, and how could we live if thou wert slain and lost to us?"

The ogre laughed heartily on hearing these words, and replied that he should never die. No power could oppose him; no years could age him; he should remain ever strong and ever young, for the thing wherein his life dwelt was most difficult to obtain, even if it could be known. This was just the reply that the woman wanted, and so smiling most sweetly and affectionately she praised God for this assurance of the ogre's safety and then entreated him to inform her of this thing. The ogre, nothing suspecting, complied and said that there was a stool[12] in the cave, and a honeycomb upon the tree yonder. He mentioned the stool because if anybody would sit upon it and say whither he or she wished to go it would at once transport them thither. He mentioned the honeycomb, because if any person could climb the tree and catch the queen-bee within it, then he, the ogre, must die, for his life was in that bee. But the bees within that honey-comb were many and fierce, and it was only at the greatest risk that any person dare to attempt this thing.[13] "So you see," added the ogre, "thou weepest without cause. I shall never die."

Then the woman smiled with joy and told the ogre how thankful she was, and how henceforth she should abide in peace, happy by day, and happier at night, when he returned; and how glad she was that he had told her of the stool and the honeycomb, for although there was not the slightest cause for fear concerning their safety, yet she should have pleasure in especially guarding them—remembering that his dear life was holden in them. After some further conversation they all arranged themselves for sleep.[14]

On the following morning the ogre went out as usual. Before midday the prince and princess concluded their arrangements for bringing about his death. The prince was to do the deed. He clothed himself from head to foot most carefully. Every part was well covered except his eyes. For these a narrow horizontal aperture was cut in the cloth which was wrapped about his face. Thus prepared he sat on the stool, and soon was seen floating away in the air in the direction of the tree. It was an exciting moment when he lifted the stick to strike the honeycomb. It seemed as if thousands of bees came out and attacked him; but he was thoroughly protected, and so cared only for his eyes. His purpose was to catch the queen-bee and to crush her, and thereby crush out the life of the ogre. He succeeded and no sooner had he dropped the lifeless bee than the ogre fell down stone-dead upon the ground with such force that all the land around trembled with the shock. The prince then returned to the cave on the stool and was welcomed by the princess with much rejoicing and congratulation. Still there was fear lest the shock, which they felt, should only have been an earthquake, and the ogre having told them a lie should return. But the evening arrived, and then the night, yet no ogre turned up, and so they felt sure that they were rid of their enemy; and gathering together the special treasures which were in the cave, they both sat together on the stool and were quickly carried away miles distant to the spot where the ogre's carcass lay stiff and cold, stretched out to a tremendous length upon the ground. Reassured by this sight the prince bade the stool to carry them to the place where his three wives were, living or dead. The stool obeyed and they were quickly landed close by the king's garden. The prince at once rose from the stool and telling the princess that he would presently return, he asked her to remain. He had not gone far before some poisonous insect alighted on him and stung him so that he then and there got the

[12] *Pṭ̄h* was the word used. I do not know of any other story in which the *pṭ̄h* is quoted as a miraculous vehicle. In *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 156, mention is made of a bedstead, which carried whoever sat on it whithersoever he wished to go.

[13] This species of bee manifests such fury and determination on being annoyed as to make it a very formidable enemy. A large nest (honey-comb) was hanging from the roof of the Mission Hospital at Srinagar for a long time. No one would remove it. The natives everywhere are terribly afraid of them. Now and again cattle are stung to death by them. Wilson, in the *Abode of Snow*, p. 14, mentions the case of an Englishman who was so severely stung by these insects that he died from the effects. [Many such cases have from time to time been reported.—ED.]

[14] *Cf.* tale "Prince Lionheart and his three friends" in *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 58-60. Capt. R. C. Temple has some valuable notes on the "Life-Index" in his "Survey of incidents in modern Indian folk-tales," one of the appendices to *Wide-awake Stories*, pp. 404-405.

disease of leprosy.[15] What was he to do now? For very shame he could not return to the stool. The princess waited until her patience was exhausted, and then speaking to the stool, she was borne within the garden and descended right by the very place where the other three wives of the prince sat silent and sorrowful. She, too, did not say anything, but wept aloud. Directly she entered the garden the flowers bloomed magnificently and gave forth the most delicious perfumes, while the trees were so richly laden with fruit that they could scarcely hold up.

When the head-gardener came round as usual the next morning, lo! he saw such a sight as he had never expected. At last the flowers were in the fullest bloom and the trees were covered with the most splendid fruit; and as he was leaving the garden to go and tell the king of this good news, he beheld another woman sitting and weeping. He asked her who she was, and whence she came, but never a word came forth from her mouth. So he said to the king, "Behold, O king, a fourth woman has entered the royal garden, and now it is perfect. Your Majesty will, perhaps, come and see this great sight."

The king was exceedingly glad and rose up hastily to accompany the head-gardener to the garden. On reaching it he saw the four women and questioned all of them, but not one of them answered a word. Then the king, after inspecting the garden, returned to the palace and informed the queen of these strange visitors, and begged her to go and see them on the morrow,—perhaps they would converse with one of their own sex, and she the queen. On the morrow the queen went and spoke kindly to each of the women, but not one of them replied. The only notice they appeared to take of her Majesty's words was to weep the more. The queen was very disappointed, and knew not what to think of them. Undoubtedly they were very holy women, she said, or God would not have thus signally blessed their coming to the garden. Perhaps they had been betrayed by some foul monster or bereaved of one most dear. It could not be because of their sins that they thus wept. It might be, if the king sent a certain very holy man to them, that they perceiving in him a kindred spirit would hold conversation with him. The king agreed and this very holy man was sent. But he returned also, and said that he could not get them to speak. Then the king issued a proclamation that great rewards and honours would be bestowed on the person who should succeed in making these women to speak.

Now the prince, who was suffering terribly from leprosy, and loathsome to behold, heard of this royal proclamation and inquired from a man who chanced to pass by that way: "Is this true?" Said he, "I will cause these women to converse with me."

This matter was reported to the king, who at once, attended by a large number of courtiers and servants came and wondered at the presumption of the wretched leprous man. However, as he did not know the mind of God, he told the man to go and speak with the women. The leprous man went and sat down before the first woman and begged her to listen to his tale:—

"Once upon a time there was a certain great king who had four wise and clever sons. One day the king called these sons to him to ask them each separately by whose good fortune it was that he ruled and prospered. Three of the sons replied, 'By thy own good fortune, of a surety, O king, dost thou reign over so vast a kingdom and prosper in thy rule. But the fourth and youngest son gave answer, 'By my good fortune, O king, and not another's.' Exceedingly angry with this answer the king banished his youngest son, who with his wife and a few necessaries immediately left the palace. After some weeks' residence in the jungle and wandering by the way-side they arrived at the sea, and longing much to live upon the water, they told their affairs to a certain merchant, who had pity upon them and gave them free passage in one of his ships. Things went on most happily for a time, until one night the ship was wrecked and all were drowned, except the prince and princess. These were saved by clinging to the spars and rafters of the ship, but were carried in different direc-

[15] *Kyûm* was the word, but this is used generally for any and every insect and small reptile. I heard some time ago that natives, especially Hindûs, believe that if the urine of a bat falls upon any person, it at once gives leprosy. The word for leprosy in Kâśmîrî is *myund*.

tions, the prince to one country and the princess to another."

For the first time for many years this woman was seen to lift up her head; and when the leprous man inquired what reward she would give him if he brought the prince her husband there, she readily replied, "Ask what thou wilt and it shall be given to thee."

When the king and his company saw the woman speaking and looking quite happy, he was much surprised. At the same time, also, through God's mercy, the humour, which was escaping from the man's leprous wounds, stopped.

Then he went and sat down beside the second woman and asked her to listen to his tale:—

"In a certain country there lived a gardener—the royal gardener—in whose house a beggar prince from some distant country chanced to arrive. This prince became the gardener's servant, but making himself so thoroughly useful and being of a noble and gentle mien he soon became the gardener's son-in-law. One day the daughter of the king of that country saw the prince (though she knew not that he was a prince), and begged her mother to solicit the king to marry her to him. After full inquiries the king discovered that he was a great and clever man, and therefore assented to his daughter's request and made great preparation for the wedding. The wedding took place and there was great rejoicing, and the new prince prospered exceedingly and grew more and more popular both with the king and people. Only his brethren envied him. At last, tired of their envy and seized with an irrepressible longing to visit his home and country, he left with his wife in a ship then about to sail for the desired haven. Alas! the ship was wrecked, and only two persons were saved out of the whole ship's company, the prince and princess. These escaped on two pieces of board. One landed in one country and the other landed in another country."

For the first time for many years the second woman lifted her head, and when the man inquired what reward he should have if he could bring the prince before her she replied, "Ask what thou wilt and I will give it thee."

When the king and his company saw the woman's happy face and that her lips moved they were much surprised. At the same time, also, the man's leprous wounds closed up and looked as if they would soon heal.

Then the man went and sat by the third woman and begged her to hear his story:—

"In a far distant city there resided a certain rich merchant, who had pity upon a poor traveller, whom he had noticed standing one day by his shop, and made him his servant, but afterwards finding that he was so wise and good, and that the business prospered by his means, he made him his son-in-law. In course of time the son-in-law wished to visit his home and country and so left with his wife, promising to return soon. But alas! alas! the vessel went down with all hands except the prince and his wife, who escaped upon planks and timber from the wreck, one reaching one country and the other arriving at another country." When the woman heard these things she lifted her head, and when she further heard that the prince was alive and near the place, she entreated the man to show him to her and she would give him a great reward.

When the king and his company saw the third woman's happy face and ready speech they exceedingly wondered. At the same time also the wounds of the leprous man thoroughly dried-up and were like to altogether disappear.

Then the man went and sat down beside the fourth woman and asked her to listen to his story:—

"In a certain jungle resided a great ogre who had captured a beautiful girl, a king's daughter, and kept her for his own service and amusement. By chance one day a man arrived at the entrance of the cave where this woman was sitting and lamenting her lot. He inquired why she wept and she told him all that had happened to her. Both being clever and beautiful they quickly entertained affection for one another and by the evening when the ogre usually returned from his excursions, finding that the man would not leave her she concealed him in a box. However, the ogre discovered him, but did not eat him, seeing that he was pale and thin, and kept him there as a servant. By-and-by the princess discovered the secret of the ogre's life and the prince accomplished his death, and then they both, the prince and the princess, sat on the ogre's enchanted stool and were transported to

within a short distance of this place. Then the prince left the princess and never returned, because a foul leprosy had attacked him and so changed his whole appearance, that when the princess came and looked upon him a few hours afterwards she did not recognise her husband, but turned aside within this garden and wept." On hearing this story the woman stopped crying, looked up, and lo! she beheld her lost loved husband; for now every trace of leprosy had passed from him, and he was the same handsome, wise-looking, noble prince that he ever was.

After much embracing they then both went together to the third wife, the merchant's daughter, and the prince was also recognised and embraced by her. Likewise, too, by the second and first wives. Oh what a time of rejoicing it was for the prince and all his wives, who had expected never to see one another again!

Now when the king and his attendants saw this they were more surprised than before. For here was not only the man who had made them speak, but the evident husband of them all. He seemed also a man of great learning and of noble birth.

"Who art thou?" inquired the king, now drawing near. "Tell me thy history, and all that has happened to thee."

Then the prince recounted to him his whole life—how he had left his home, how he had married with these four women, and how they had all been brought together there.[16]

The king was intensely interested by the account, and invited the prince and his four wives to come and stay at the palace. Everything they wished for was provided for them, and the prince became so much in favour with the king that he was entreated to permanently take up his abode there and promised the kingdom after the king's death. To the great joy of the king the prince consented, and went daily to the *darbâr*. Fresh plans were now attempted, new laws fixed and other great improvements made, so that the kingdom became exceedingly great and prosperous. Wishing to be more thoroughly allied with one so great and good as this prince, the king sought to marry him with his only daughter. The queen, the prince, and all the court accepted the king's wish and the marriage was eventually celebrated with great rejoicing. And thus affairs continued increasingly happy and increasingly prosperous.

The prince, however, was not satisfied. He desired to know of his country and his father's house. Accordingly messengers were sent to make inquiries, and after a long time they returned, saying that the king the prince's father's country had been conquered by strangers, and that the king and all the royal family had been taken prisoners.[17] When he heard this the prince's heart was filled with remorse for not having sent before to ask concerning them. He now determined to make war against these foreign conquerors, and for this purpose he sought help from his royal fathers-in-law. Money and troops were liberally granted him and at length he started with the prayers and good wishes of everyone in the kingdoms of all his fathers-in-law. It was a long and difficult journey, but the prince and his army safely reached their destination and immediately commenced battle with the foreign king's army. They fought for days and there was much bloodshed on both sides, but at last the prince got the victory. He at once released his father and brethren, but they did not recognise him until he told them that he was the fourth son, and the banished prince. "The king, my father," said he, "banished me for saying that he held the kingdom by my good fortune. And was it not true—O king?" he added. "Directly I left the kingdom I heard that it was taken away from thee, and thou wast cast with thy family into prison, and now as soon as I return unto thee, behold thou art free again, and the monarch of a large and powerful kingdom."

"True, O son!" feebly replied the king. "We wronged thee. 'Twas not the pride and

[16] Notice that the marriage with the gardener's daughter is not recognised, nor is she sent for when the prince arrives in his own country. On being asked the reason the narrator simply answered "It was so, *sâhib*." I see, however, that the same thing occurred in the story of "The boy with the moon and star" given in *Indian Fairy Tales*, p. 135. Perhaps the other wives despised her because of her humble birth, and therefore she was deposed.

[17] It will be remembered that the prince had heard this account before he started on his first voyage. I noticed this to the narrator and expressed my surprise that such a good and wise prince should have so long delayed avenging his father's and family's imprisonment and trials. "Perhaps the sea intervening prevented him," was the answer.

haughtiness of thy heart, but of our hearts, and God has sorely punished us for it," and then locked in each other's embrace they forgot all their past trials in present joys.

As the king was now very old and infirm it was arranged that the prince should henceforth occupy the throne, while minor estates and offices should be given to the other princes. All being in a good temper and most grateful to the prince for having delivered them, this was most readily agreed to. Accordingly the prince sent word to the different kings, his fathers-in-law, advising them not to expect him, but to send his wives, as he was now ruling over his own father's kingdom. Congratulations poured in from all sides; the wives safely arrived; and the prince, now a mighty king, and increasing in wisdom and power continually, passed the rest of his years in peace.

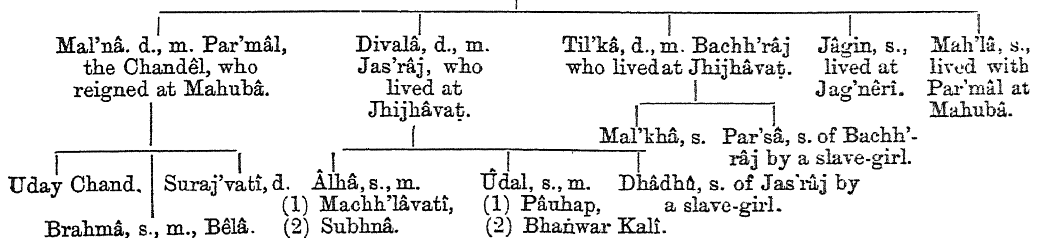
A SUMMARY OF THE ALHA KHAND.

BY G. A. GRIERSON, B.S.C.

The following rapid *résumé* of the various sections of the Western recension of the *Âlhâ Khaṇḍ*, as published by Ghâsî Râm, will give an idea of the extent and variety of the Âlhâ cycle of folk-lore. The Kanaujî version of Chapters I.—III. of this recension as translated by Mr. Waterfield in the *Calcutta Review* (see *ante*, p. 209) is referred to where it differs materially from the Hindî version.

The following genealogical table will help the reader to understand the story better:—

Bâs'dêo, King of Mahubâ.



CHAPTER I.

The Birth and Lineage of Âlhâ.

Par'mâl the Chandêl, the king of Chandêrî, after conquering the whole of India, took an oath to fight no more. He married Mal'nâ[1] or Malan Dê, the daughter of Bâs'dêo, king of Mahubâ. One day as he went out to hunt he found two beautiful boys[2] playing alone in the forest, and taking them home, brought them up as his own children. When they became old enough to be married he married one of them, whom he named Jas'râj,[3] to his wife's sister Divalâ[4] or Dival Dê, and the other, whom he named Bachh'râj, to another sister of his wife named Til'kâ.[5] The two princes were also called collectively (as also their descendants) the Banâphals. When they had been duly instructed in every warlike art, he gave them the fort of Jhijhâvaṭ[6] as a residence. About the same time he gave to one of his wife's brothers, named Jâgin,[7] the fort of Jag'nêrî, and the other named Mah'lâ[8] he kept living with himself in Mahubâ. In course of time Jas'râj had a son

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[1] Malh'nâ in the Kanaujî version.

[2] The origin of Das'râj and Bachh'râj is quite different in the Kanaujî version. They had two brothers, Rah'mal and Tôḍar, and the four were called collectively Banâphars. They lived at Bagh'sar (Buxar) between Banâras and Ârâ (Arrah). They quarrelled with Mîrâ Tâlhan (Tâlâ in the text) and started together for Kanauj to have their dispute settled by Jâichand, king of that city. On their way they stopped at Mahubâ, and agreed to make Par'mâl the arbiter. This was on the occasion of the fair mentioned in the next chapter. When Karaṅgâ attacked Par'mâl the Banâphars and Mîrâ Tâlhan turned out to defend the latter, whose salt they had eaten. Pleased at their conduct, Par'mâl adopted the Banâphars as his sons.

[3] In the Kanaujî version Das'râj.

[4] In the Kanaujî version Dêvî, and in a set of Hamir'pur songs communicated to me by Mr. V. A. Smith, Dêval Dêvî.

[5] In the Kanaujî version Birm'hâ or Brahmâ.

[6] In the Kanaujî version Âlhâ is said to have been born in Das'râpur, or Das'har'pur'vâ.

[7] In the Kanaujî version he is called Jag'nik or Jag'naik.

[8] In the Kanaujî version he is called Mâhil. He rides on the mare Lillî, and his son's name is Abhai.

named Âlhâ,[9] by his wife Divalâ, and another son, Dhâdhû by a maid-servant. So also Bachh'râj had a son named Mal'khâ[10] by his wife Til'kâ, and another son, Par'sâ, by a maidservant.[11]

CHAPTER II.

Karaṅgâ's battle with Jas'râj and Bachh'râj.

Once the Chandêlâ Par'mâl went to a fair at the Ganges to bathe, and met there kings of the neighbouring country. Next his camp was pitched that of Tâlâ,[12] king of Banâras with his army. Karaṅgâ, son of Jambâ and prince of Mâṛô came there also in the hopes of plunder,[13] and to him came Mah'lâ,[14] youngest brother-in-law of Par'mâl, and confided to him that the latter's queen was possessed of a *nau-lakkhâ-hâr*, or nine-*lâkh* necklace, with the suggestion that he could safely carry it away as booty, as she was quite unprotected. Karaṅgâ agreed to this plan, and suddenly bursting into Par'mâl's camp with an armed force rendered him helpless. While Karaṅgâ was abusing Par'mâl, the attention of Tâlâ of Banâras was called to the matter, and he came to Par'mâl's assistance with an army of five hundred men, and drove Karaṅgâ away for a distance of three leagues.

One day, as Mal'nâ, Par'mâl's wife, was taking the air on the balcony of her palace, Indra saw her, and became enamoured of her. So every night he used to visit her, coming down from heaven on a flying horse, which he fastened up in the palace stables. This flying horse formed a connection with a piebald mare of Par'mâl's, which was kept in the same stable, and as a result she gave birth to five winged colts. These colts Divalâ (wife of Jas'râj, and sister of Mal'nâ) privately conveyed to her own palace, and reared them there.

CHAPTER III.

The plunder of the nine-lâkh necklace.

About this time Karaṅgâ-Mâṛôṅ, king of Mâṛô, again advanced against the Chandêls, and bursting into the female apartments of Par'mâl, carried off his valuables, including the nine-*lâkh* necklace, the elephant named Pach'sâwat and the dancing girl named Lakkhâ Pâtar.[15] He also made Jas'râj a prisoner and carried him off in bonds. Arrived at his own country he cut off Jas'râj's head and stuck it up over his gate, while the trunk he put into an oil mill, and pressing the juice out of it sent it to Mahubâ. About the same time the very same fate befell Bachh'râj at the hands of Gaj, king of Guj'rât. The two queens, Divalâ and Til'kâ, remained mourning the death of their husbands.

At this time two sons were born to Par'mâl by Mal'nâ, whom he named Uday Chand[16] and Brahmâ, and to Divalâ, the widow of Jas'râj, a son named Ûdal. This last his mother cast away into the jungle immediately after its birth, but Par'mâl rescued it, and taking it home brought it up on the milk of a lioness.

When Ûdal and Uday Chand were five years old, when Par'sâ was six, Mal'khâ seven, Brahmâ eight, Dhâdhû nine, and Âlhâ ten years old, an ascetic called Am'râ came there, to

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[9] In the Kanaujî version he is also called Nun Âlhâ. He rides the horse Kariliyâ.

[10] In the Kanaujî version he is called Mal'khan, Mal'khâ or Mal'khay, and he rides the mare Kabût'rî.

[11] These four descendants of Jas'raj and Bachh'raj, viz., Âlhâ, Dhâdhû, Mal'khâ, and Par'sâ, together with Ûdal, who was subsequently born, are often called collectively the Banâphals.

[12] Called (*ante*, p. 225, line 413) 'the Old Saiyad,' and in the Kanaujî version Mîrâ Tâlhan, who rode a horse called the Lioness (सिंघिन). He is a prominent figure in all versions of the story, and always appears as the close friend of the Banâphals,—first of Jas'râj and Bachh'râj, and subsequently of Âlhâ, Rûdal, and Mal'khâ. In the Kanaujî version, as already mentioned, he cemented his friendship with the Banâphals, with whom he had been previously at enmity, in protecting Par'mâl in the attack described in this chapter. I do not mention him by name subsequently, but wherever the Banâphals go he accompanies them, and acts as a sort of Nestor. Another ally of the Banâphals whose name constantly recurs in folksongs was Bâwan Sûbâ. In another folksong (*Gît Bijai Mall*), he is represented as being killed by Bijai Mall, the son of Gorakh Siṅgh, in revenge for the imprisonment of the latter. He lived in a mountain fortress called Bâwan Gaṛh, said to have been situated near Mahubâ.

[13] The Kanaujî version makes his name Kariyâ or Kariṅghâ. It says that he promised his sister Bijaisinî or Bij'mâ to bring her a nine-*lâkh* chain from the fair. He could not find one at the fair, and hence he yields to Mâhil's instigation. Regarding Jambâ's kingdom Mr. Waterfield says (*Cal. Review*, Vol. LXI. p. 307), 'Where Mâṛô (or Mâṛau) was, I cannot say. It is certainly not Mâṛ'wâr (Jodh'pûr), as is, I believe, assumed by the bards. Nor is it Rîwâ, the modern Baghêl'khaṇḍ. Its neighbourhood to and dominion over Jhânsî I conceive to be a poetical embellishment, unless there is a second fort of that name. It was close to the Narmadâ, and on the further side: this may perhaps furnish a clue for identification to some one who is acquainted with that part of the country.' Bihâr tradition identifies it with Mâṛ'war, no doubt wrongly. A note of Mr. V. A. Smith, communicated to me since the above was written, states, "Mâṛô is now called Bijaipur, south of Mirzâpur, and still has Jambâ's ruined fort."

[14] Mah'lâ is throughout the legend the villain of the piece.

[15] The Kanaujî version adds Jas'râj's horse Papîhâ, and names the elephant Pach'sâwad.

[16] In the Kanaujî version Uday Siṅgh is an *alias* of Ûdal.

whom the three queens (Mal'nâ, Divalâ and Til'kâ) brought their children. The holy man adopted the boys as his god-children (*chêlâ*), and gave them the blessing of having bodies invulnerable to weapons. He then departed saying that if ever they stood in need of him they would find him in the forest of B a b ' r î.

When the boys came to man's estate they became so mighty that none of them could mount a horse without breaking its back. Accordingly they went to their respective mothers, and asked for the horses that their fathers rode. The queens, however, produced the five-winged horses,[17] and each one chose the one that pleased him best.

One day Ûdal rode on his horse to Mah'lâ's garden, and after devastating it began to insult the maids who were carrying water.[18] When Mah'lâ heard of this he first went and complained to Par'mâl, and then returned and taunted Ûdal with being brave enough to fight female water-carriers, but too great a coward to avenge his own father's death. The latter returned home in silence and anger, and approaching his mother, asked what had happened to his father. She shook her head in distress, and at first tried to put his questions off, but as he persisted, she finally told him the whole story of Jas'râj.

On hearing the details of his death he hastened to Âlhâ, and the Banâphals immediately made ready an army to invade Mâṛô. They set out and encamped on the frontier. They then, at the suggestion of D h ê v â and Tâlâ, disguised themselves as Jôgî dancers, in order to spy out the secrets of the fort, and danced so beautifully throughout the city and at the king's palace,[19] that they enchanted the souls of all the men and women in the city. Especially P â u h a p,[20] Kaṛaṅgâ's sister, became enamoured of Ûdal. When the Banâphals had finished dancing they were presented with the nine-*lâkh* necklace and returned to their camp, but were pursued by Kaṛaṅgâ who had learnt who they were, and who, after attempting to catch them, had to retreat in fear.

Then the Banâphals set their army in battle array and a terrible battle took place in which S u r' j î, one of Jam'bâ's[21] sons, was killed. Then Kaṛaṅgâ himself came out with an army, but was unable to stand before Ûdal. Then he sent out his own father, who also was defeated. Finally, with the help of a *jôgin*, or magician, he enchanted Ûdal, who fell from his horse. Jambâ then took him up on his steed,[22] carried him off and cast him into a dungeon.

On receiving this intelligence l h â and his brothers sent word to the ascetic Am'râ, and by the help of magic taught by him, Mal'khâ (Bachh'râj's son) released Ûdal from the dungeon.

Then they wrote a letter demanding that Kaṛaṅgâ's father Jambâ should send his daughter out to them to be married, but the king in rage again challenged them to fight, whereupon they bombarded his fort and blew it to pieces. Then they cut off Jambâ's head, and mounting it over the city gate beside Jas'râj's skull, pressed his body in an oil-press as he had done to Jas'râj. They put Kaṛaṅgâ in bonds and would have killed him had they not been compelled to spare him and let him go as one who had taken refuge with them. Then they carried off Pâuhap as Ûdal's bride with the nine-*lâkh* bracelet, the elephant Pach'sâwat and the dancer Lakkhâ Pâtar and with great joy and triumph returned to Mahubâ.[23]

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[17] Âlhâ's horse is named Karilivâ, and Ûdal's Benurliyâ or Râs Bêndul. In the set of Hamîr'pur songs on the Âlhâ legend, communicated to me by Mr. V. A. Smith, Ûdal's horse is called Bêndâ.

[18] It was a favourite method of insulting a person to lay waste his garden, and to insult his maidservants. Mah'lâ, Ûdal's mother's brother, was, it must be remembered, an enemy of the family.

[19] The long passage which describes the journey of the princes through the city, and how they fed their rage by visiting the scene of Jas'râj's tragic fate, is a fine specimen of vigorous poetry.

[20] In the Kanaujî version she is called Bijaisinî or Bij'mâ.

[21] Jambâ was Kaṛaṅgâ's father and king of Mâṛô.

[22] The Kanaujî version makes Kaṛaṅgâ, who is riding on Pach'sâwat, cause the elephant to treacherously seize and bind his quondam master Ûdal. The elephant subsequently repents its treachery, and allows Mal'khâ to spring on to its back and rescue Ûdal. Ûdal then attacks Kaṛaṅgâ but is driven back, and finally Mal'khâ comes up and smites off the latter's head. The head is sent in triumph to Mahubâ.

[23] The Kanaujî conclusion is infinitely more dramatic. Ûdal brings out Bijaisinî or Bij'mâ, to marry her, but Âlhâ says (I quote Mr. Waterfield's translation):—

'With the house of our foe, I bid thee know,
No marriage feast I keep;
When she thinks of her father and brethren slain,
She will kill thee in thy sleep.'

Ûdal entreats that she be spared, but in vain, and finally Malkhâ—

His shining sword he drew;
He smote so sore Bijaisin's side,
He cleft her shoulder through.

Ûdal then took his father Jas'râj's skull to Gayâ and there performed his funeral rites.

CHAPTER IV.

ALHA'S MARRIAGE.

The Banâphals went once to Har'dwâr to hunt. When they arrived near the hunting ground Âlhâ went into the Ganges to bathe, and was then and there swallowed by a monstrous fish. His friends searched for him, but failed to find him. While they were lamenting, Machh'lâvatî or Machhal Dê, the daughter of the king Raghô Machh, of Har'dwâr, came there with her companions to bathe. Hearing the lamentations of Âlhâ's friends she sent for a fisherman, who, throwing his net into the river, brought the fish to land. On its belly being split open, Âlhâ issued therefrom unhurt. Thereupon they all set out for Machh'lâvatî's house, and Âlhâ engaged himself to marry her and her friend Subh'nâ.

Shortly afterwards the prime minister of the king of Har'dwâr respectfully represented to him that his daughter Machhal Dê was of age to be married, and that an engagement should be made with some king for that purpose. The king approved of the suggestion, and published it abroad throughout the courts of Hindûstân, inviting candidates for her hand. The conditions of success were that the candidate must first conquer the king's two sons Jôgâ and Bhôgâ in battle. He must then leap high enough to cut down with his sword the mark of a fish (*machh'li*), which was fixed at the top of a pillar eighty cubits high, and finally leap into a boiling cauldron and come out alive. These particulars having been duly entered in the proclamation were carried to the various courts by a barber and a Brâhman,[24] but no one could be found brave enough to attempt the conditions.

By chance they met Mal'khâ, the son of Bachh'râj, on the way, and he accepted the terms, made ready his army and invaded the king's territories, accompanied by the other Banâphals. Âlhâ then despatched his half-brother Dhâdhû, who entered the king's audience chamber, and having quarrelled with him on the score of abusive language, returned to his comrades. Thereupon between both sides a terrible battle ensued, Jôgâ and Bhôgâ were taken prisoners, and the victorious army entered the king's palace and occupied his audience chamber. Then Âlhâ mounted on horseback, and with one blow of his sword cut the fish on the top of the pillar in two, and Ûdal leaped into the boiling cauldron and issued from it alive. So the king, admitting himself defeated, gave Machh'lâvatî in marriage to Âlhâ, which, being duly celebrated, the bridegroom and his party returned to Mahubâ with great rejoicings.

CHAPTER V.

The battle with Prith'vî Râjâ concerning Sares'mâ.

One day Mal'khâ respectfully made representation to Par'mâl, that all his brothers had been allotted separate forts and residences, but none had been given to him. He asked that the same consideration might be shown to him. The king replied that Prith'vî, Râjâ of Dillî, had encroached on his territory, and that he had invited him and the neighbouring kings to meet him at Mahubâ and settle the dispute. He was prepared to give Mal'khâ what Prith'vî should return. The meeting took place, and Mal'khâ charged Prith'vî with the encroachment, and demanded

Then said she, 'Ûdan, once I dreamed
  To spend our lives in fere;
And sweet to me e'en death had seemed
  Had thy hand made it dear.

But, cruel Mal'khan, woe to thee!
  Thy brother's wife hast slain:
So shalt thou die with no brother by,
  Unhelped in an open plain.'

But Ûdan's soul in love was drowned,
  When Bij'mâ's speech heard he;
He clasped her hand and raised from ground,
  And rested her on his knee.

'Here must we part ere yet we wed,
  But meeting canst none descry?'
'O lay me down, my love,' she said,
  Since I must a maiden die.

Here it is best my body should rest,
  But my soul new birth shall see;
King Nar'pat's daughter of Nar'war town,
  And Phul'wâ my name shall be!

And when thou, goodly steeds to buy,
  To the Kâbul land shalt ride,
Our meeting, O love, shall then be nigh:'
  So Bij'mâ spake and died.

But Ûdan bare her body fair,
  To Nar'madâ's holy tide;
He cast her into the river there
  While the troops to the camp did ride.

In Hamîr'pur the legend is that Mal'kha's fief was at Sir'sâ, east of the Dhasan, and that he bore the brunt of the Chauhân's first attack, and was then killed. *Mâl* in Hamîr'pur means 'Champion.' Compare Chapter V.

[24] These are the orthodox negotiators of marriage treaties.

the territory back on pain of war. Prith'vî finally refused to give up the disputed land, and war ensued. Par'mâl first laid siege to Sares'mâ, and in the first battle defeated Pârath. Then a larger army was sent from Dillî, but it also he defeated. Thus the king of Mahubâ got possession of Sares'mâ, and giving it to Mal'khâ returned to his capital.

Chapter VI.

The rape of Sûraj'vatî—Ûdal's war with Môtî, and marriage with his sister.

Once Par'mâl went to bathe on the occasion of a festival, and his daughter Sûrâj'vatî, by dint of sulking, obtained permission on the third of Sâwan to go with Mah'lâ into the Naulakkhâ orchard, and there swing with her companions.[25] Thereupon Mah'lâ sent word to Môtî Râo, king of Bâṅdo, of the fact, and suggested that he should come and forcibly carry her off, which Môtî Râo, not considering the result of his conduct, did.

When Mah'lâ had thus managed the abduction of his niece, he hurried to the seraglio, and told what had happened. The child's mother, Mal'nâ told it to Ûdal, who becoming filled with a violent rage attacked Bâṅdo unaided, and defeated several of its armies. Then Môtî Râo acknowledged himself defeated, begged for mercy, and promised to give Ûdal his sister Bhaṅwar Kalî in marriage. But shortly afterwards, succeeding in making Ûdal drunk, he made him prisoner, and confined him in a dungeon. When Suraj'vatî heard this, she sent a letter to her cousin, Mal'khâ, calling shame on him, for allowing Ûdal to be captured, and summoning him to the rescue. When Mal'khâ arrived he released Ûdal from the dungeon with the help of a thief named Baunâ Chôr and drew up his army in battle array.[26] Môtî Râo issued out against him, and after a terrible battle was defeated. Peace was then concluded, Môtî Râo giving Bhaṅwar Kalî in marriage to Ûdal, and Ûdal giving Suraj'vatî in marriage to Môtî Râo.

Chapter VII.

The battle of Kasauṅdî in Guj'rât.

The king of Kasauṅdî was Gaj,[27] and his daughter was named Gaj'nâ. When she became fit for marriage, her father sent notice to the neighbouring kings, calling for a suitable bridegroom. The candidate besides being suitable in other respects, must be able to bring all the tigers, scorpions and serpents within a distance of ten leagues under subjection, and to cross over two leagues of rocks so close together that a peg could not be driven between them, and a quicksand of similar extent which swallowed up elephants, riders, and all. After that he must conquer three heroes named Lâhâ, Bundâ, and Babbar. Such must be the hero who would be permitted to marry his daughter.

The only king who agreed to the conditions was Mal'khâ, who set out with his army and camped on the borders of Gaj's territory. First with the aid of his tiger Landûrâ he brought a forest of tigers under subjection. Then by means of a charm learnt from the ascetic Am'râ he destroyed the scorpions and snakes. Then he built a bridge over the quicksand and thus crossed over it, and finally passed over the rocks by fastening in them pegs of adamant, and pitched his camp at the Môtî Jhîl. Then Ûdal disguised himself as a cloth-seller, and Mal'khâ as a bangle-seller, and the two entered the fort to spy it out. Entering into the seraglio, they were allowed to put bangles on the wrists of the princesses. When they did this to Gaj'nâ they confided to her who they were. A maid-servant hearing this, went and told the king, whose son Môtî, becoming enraged, surrounded the seraglio with troops, and when the cousins issued therefrom, attacked them. Môtî was, however, defeated, and they returned safely to their camp.

At Mah'lâ's instigation, Gaj then enticed Mal'khâ into the fort, under pretence of marrying him to his daughter. Having got him safely inside, he cast him into a dungeon. When

25 [This custom of swinging for luck in the rainy month of Sâwan is universal in Northern India, and has given rise to much pretty popular verse.—Ed.]

26 Mal'khâ sent for Baunâ Chôr, and asked him to help. The two scaled the wall, Baunâ throwing up grappling irons, and got into the seraglio. There they found Suraj'vatî, who made Baunâ lie, as if sleeping, in her place, and taking Mal'khâ showed him the dungeon where Ûdal was confined. Then she returned and sent Baunâ to Mal'khâ, and again went to bed. Baunâ got into the dungeon by means of his grappling irons. Ûdal at first took him for an executioner come to kill him, but Mal'khâ reassured him, and they all scaled the wall with the aid of the grappling irons and escaped.

27 He is apparently the same as the Gaj who killed Bachh'râj.

the news of this reached Gaj'nâ she wrote an account of the whole affair, and sent it to Âlhâ. Âlhâ disguised himself as a Brâhmaṇ, and visited Gaj's palace, where he recommended that Mal'khâ should be publicly executed. The proposal being accepted, he returned to his camp, and made his army ready for the attack. When Mal'khâ was led out to execution, Ûdal attacked the guards, and after rescuing him, joined in a battle in which the generals Babbar and Bundâ were killed, Gaj's two sons Môtî and Lâhâ taken prisoners, and his army defeated. Finally the Mahubâ army looted the capital and arrived at the king's throne-room. Gaj made submission to them and explained that King Pârath also desired to marry his daughter, and he did not know whether to give her to him or to Mal'khâ. At Âlhâ's suggestion a wrestling match was agreed upon between Mal'khâ and Pârath; the prize being Gaj'nâ. In the end Pârath was defeated, and contented himself with Gaj's younger daughter, Bindâ, while Mal'khâ carried his bride Gaj'nâ home with great rejoicings.

CHAPTER VIII.

The marriage with Prith'vî's cousin.

Prith'vî's uncle Kubj'kân had a daughter named Bêlâ. When she was ready for marriage the king made proclamation of the following conditions:—The successful suitor must be able to hit with his arrows three times in succession a goal which he could only hear, but not see. He must beat in wrestling the two wrestlers, Har'dan and Mar'dan, and he must be able to dance upon weapons. The princes who took up the challenge were those of Mahubâ, who collected an army and advanced upon the frontier. They sent a negotiator in the shape of a barber named Khûbî, who arriving at the king's gate, fought with the first comers for four *gharîs*, saying that this fight was his *neg* or customary fee, as he was a soldier's barber. Thereupon the Mahubâ princes commenced a terrible battle in which they defeated Prith'vî. They then performed the various conditions of the challenge, and carried off Bêlâ in triumph, and married her to Brahmâ, Par'mâl's son.[28]

[28] Since the above was written, Mr. V. A. Smith has most kindly placed at my disposal a number of valuable songs in the Hamîr'pur dialect, dealing with the Âlhâ cycle. These I hope to publish on a future occasion.

MISCELLANEA.

FOUR QUERIES CONCERNING THE FATEHPUR DISTRICT IN THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

(1.) Fatehpur being a very common local name in Upper India, the capital of the Fatehpur District in the North-West Provinces is popularly known, by way of distinction, as Fatehpûr Haswâ; the latter member of the compound being the name of a decayed town about 7 miles distant, which tradition represents as the oldest inhabited site in the neighbourhood. Its eponymous founder is said to have been a Râjâ Hans-dhvaj, whose two brothers, Mordhvaj and Sankh-dhvaj, are also locally commemorated by the names of two adjoining villages, Morâun and Sankhâun. The Râjâ's second son Ran-bijay, having presumed to capture the horse that had been turned loose by the Pâṇḍavas after their great sacrifice at Hastinâpura, was attacked by them and slain, together with his elder brother Siva-dharna. Their sister Champâvatî then succeeded to the throne, but eventually died childless, after bequeathing the town to Brâhmans, whose descendants held it for many generations. I shall be glad of references to any passage in the *Mahâbhârata* or other authority, which supports or corrects the above tradition.

(2). After the defeat of Jay Chand of Kanauj and his brother Mânik, at Karâ (a town in the Allâhâbâd district near the Fatehpur border) Qutbu'd-dîn, with his sister's two sons, Qâsim and 'Alâu'd-dîn, advanced upon Haswâ. Its Râjâ, Hans-râj by name, came out to meet them, and joined in single combat with 'Alâu'd-dîn at a village called Chakhêrî. The Râjâ was killed, and 'Alâu'd-dîn also lost his head, but the headless trunk fought its way on to Haswâ, a distance of 12 miles, and there at last fell and was buried. His *dargâh* is on the top of the old fort in the centre of the town and is still held in much veneration. Is this capture of Haswâ mentioned by any of the Muhammadan chronographers ?[1]

3. The town of Haswâ is almost surrounded by a broad shallow sheet of water, which at one end has been deepened and brought into more regular shape as a tank. In its centre is an island, measuring 165 feet square, faced on all four sides with flights of masonry steps, and approached from the *bâzâr* by a bridge 150 feet long, consist-

[1] [Compare this Legend with the numerous similar examples quoted in the *Cal. Rev.* No. CLIII. p. 158 ff. in the article *Folklore of the Headless Horseman in Northern India.*—ED.]

ing of 15 arches, of which 7 are open and 8 closed. Its construction is ascribed to a Qâzî Ya'qûb, who, it is said, was afterwards put to death by the Emperor Akbar, and that the circumstances are related in the *Zuhâr-i-Qutbî*. I find it recorded by Badâonî that Qâzî Ya'qûb was suspended by the Emperor for maintaining that it was illegal for a Musalmân to marry more than four wives; but I have no access to other authorities, and should be glad of further information.

(4). The Fatehpur district is the original home of the great Gautam Clan, who claim the Rishi Gotama as their remote ancestor. His descendant in the 6th degree married the daughter of Ajaypâl, a Gaharwâr Râjâ of Kanauj, and received as her dowry the whole extent of country from Prayâg to Haridvâr. From the date of this event the family came to be reckoned as Ṭhâkurs, instead of Brâhmans as they first were, and the issue of the marriage took the title of Râjâ of Argal, which is still borne by the head of the clan; Argal being a village situated in the ravines of the river Rind, in the Korâ Pargana, about 30 miles west of the town of Fatehpur. Successive Râjâs greatly reduced their territory by lavish grants of land, especially by a dowry, to a Bais chieftain, of 1,400 villages, lying to the north of the Ganges. This tract is now popularly known as Baiswârâ, and constitutes the district of Râe Barelî, in Oudh. About the same time, 62 other villages were conferred upon Parmâl, the Chandel Râjâ of Mahobâ, after his defeat by Pirthî Râj in 1183. Ten years later the Râjâ of Argal, Ratan Sen, shared in the ruin that had overtaken his brother-in-law, Jay Chand,[2] the Gaharwâr (or Râthor) Râjâ of Kanauj. For the next four centuries the family was always in arms against the Muhammadan Emperors, but uniformly with ill success, till at last the Râjâ's power was finally crushed, his forts razed, and all his possessions confiscated. The present holder of the empty title is reduced to the most extreme poverty, and his eldest son, with a pedigree of 78 degrees of descent, has been glad to accept a post in the subordinate ranks of the Police, with a salary of Rs. 10 a month.

The Fort at Argal is said to have been first called Mahâkâya, from a temple of Mahâdêva under that designation, and in evidence of its ancient celebrity the following *sloka* is quoted:—*Rênukah, Sûkarah, Kâśi, Kâlî, Kâla, Vateśvarau, Kâlanjara, Mahâkâya, Ukhala, nava muktidâh.*

Some of these places are unknown or uncertain, and I shall be glad of help to identify them. Renuka, I am told, is on the Narmadâ near Jabalpur. Sûkara, as I imagine, must be Soron, in the Etâ district, where a great fair is held on the festival of the Varâha Avatâra. Kâśî requires no elucidation. Kâlî may be Calcutta. Batesar in the Âgra district is the scene of a great gathering on the full moon of Kârtik. Kâlanjar is the celebrated fort in Bundêlkhand, and Mahâkâya is Argal. But I cannot localize Kâla, nor Ukhala, nor do I understand why *Vateśvarau* should appear in the dual number. It is also probable that considerable license has been allowed to local panegyrists and that other versions of the *śloka* are current, with variations in some of the names, which it would be interesting to compare.

F. S. GROWSE.

[2] In the Râjâ's family pedigree, upon which this note is based, the Râthor Jay Chand is styled simply Gaharwâr, precisely in the same way as Ajaypâl, who preceded him by 38 generations. This supports the suggestion made by Dr. Hoernle in his paper on the Gaharwârs and Râthors: *vide supra*, page 98.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

MACARONIC VERSES OF GUMANI KAVI.

यावद्रामः शस्त्रधारी
नायातीह त्वत्संहारी ।
तावत्तस्मै देया नारी
ज्यों भींजे त्यों कम्बल भारी ॥

[Mandôdarî says to Râvaṇa after the carrying off of Sîtâ],—Before Râma, bearing weapons, cometh here to fight thee, return thou his wife to him; for —"The wetter a blanket gets, the heavier it is."

प्रिया लोकनाथस्य लङ्केश्वरस्य
प्रसूर्मेघनादस्य कन्या मयस्य ।
रता देवरं हन्त मन्दोदरी सा
भई राण नारी गई लाज सारी ॥

Even Mandôdarî, the beloved of Râvaṇa, who was emperor of the universe and king of Laṅkâ, —she who was the mother of Mêghanâda and the daughter of Maya,—even she intrigued with her husband's brother; for—"Brother, when once a woman becomes a widow, her shame is gone."

G. A. GRIERSON.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI EBN ABI TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A., M.R.A.S., Principal, Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 236.

273. He prepared the food, but did not eat of it.

274. A man is happy in the society of those who are happy.

275. Admiration of oneself is a sign of folly.

276. Anger is the fire of hearts.

277. A man who prays without working is like a bow without a string.

278. He is a sincere friend who tells you of your faults and prefers you to himself.

279. Beware of envy, for it will leave its marks on you and not on your enemy.

280. It is a distinguished virtue to forgive an injury when you can avenge yourself.

281. Justice is the crown of a king.

282. Acquire learning; for if you are rich it will adorn you; if you are poor it will support you.

283. There are three persons to whom a secret should not be told, *viz.*, a woman, a malicious person, and a fool.

284. There are three things by which the dispositions of men are proved, *viz.*, riches, power, and adversity.

285. There are three things which vex and overwhelm the mind, *viz.*, separation of friends, poverty after riches, and contempt after being honoured.

286. Three things conciliate love, *viz.*, religion, humility, and liberality.

287. The three chief points of a manly disposition are, to give without being asked, to keep one's word without a contract, and to be generous when poor.

288. Draw wisdom from him who brings it to you, and attend to what anyone says without reference to the speaker.

289. A slip of the tongue wounds more than a spear which goes straight to its mark.

290. A slip of the foot wounds, a slip of the tongue destroys.

291. To give more than you promised is noble, but to give less shows a mean mind.

292. Patience is the ornament of society by which one can put up with another's faults.

293. There are two things whose excellence is not recognised except when they are wanted, *viz.* youth and health.

294. Blessed is he whose heart is engaged in attentive contemplation, and his tongue in the praises of God.

SOCIETIES.

Proceedings of the American Oriental Society at Baltimore, October 29th and 30th, 1884.

This number, though late to hand, contains some interesting communications on subjects connected with India and the East.

Dr. D. B. McCartie discourses on the origin of the Chinese and Korean writing, showing that, however close in external appearance the script of the Koreans may be to that of the Chinese, it differs radically from the latter insomuch as it employs a real alphabet, which the Chinese has never done. On the same grounds it is argued that a Japanese origin for the Korean letters is highly improbable. The purely conventional character of these letters is most remarkable, as their elements are, "the square, its upper right-hand angle, lower left-hand angle, a rectangle with the right side gone, and with its sides prolonged upwards, the triangle, circle, and straight line";—showing a wide divergence from the principles on which the western alphabets have grown into existence.

Mr. Rockhill gives an account of and extracts from the *Hundred Thousand Songs* of Milaraspa, a Buddhist Missionary of the 11th century, from the Tibetan. Prof. D. G. Lyon calls attention to Part II., Vol. V. of the *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, containing two important items, *viz.* a list of verb-forms in an alphabetical arrangement of radicals after the native Arabic plan, and a clay cylinder of Antiokhos, in which he styles himself "An-ti-'i-ku-us, the great king, the mighty king, son of Si-lu-uk-ku (Seleukos) the king Ma-ak-ka-du-na-a-a (the Makedônian)" and mentions his son Seleukos and his wife As-ta-ar-ta-ni-ik-ku (Stratonikê).

Prof. W. D. Whitney has a paper on certain Aorist-forms in Sanskṛit, in which he brings further information to bear on the matters discussed in his *Sanskṛit Grammar*, §§ 834, 881, 883, and 884; and in another paper on the etymology of the Sanskṛit *vratá*, he inclines to the view that it must be referred to the √ *vṛit* with a leading sense of 'course of action or behaviour.' Prof. M. Bloomfield makes an attempt to define the position of the *Vaitânasûtra* in the literature of the *Atharva-Veda*; and Prof. C. K. Lanman addresses himself to the vexed question of Sanskṛit transliteration with reference to typographical requirements. The question of transliteration is becoming a burning one, though Orientalists have not yet got beyond the stage in which every man doeth that which is right in *his own* eyes, and so every fresh solid addition to the literature of the subject is welcome. The writer advocates the employment of Professor Whitney's system as exhibited in his *Sanskṛit Grammar*, and accordingly for ordinary Sanskṛit he makes the following table of types:—

Gutturals	k kh	g gh ñ	h	a ā
Palatals ...... ç	c ch	j jh ñ	y	i ī e āi
Linguals...... ṣ	ṭ ṭh	ḍ ḍh ṇ	r	ṛ ṝ
Dentals ...... s	t th	d dh n	l	ḷ
Labials	p ph	b bh m	v	u ū o āu

ḥ ṅ ṁ

For printing Vedic texts, besides the above, an additional *l* would be necessary, and the following vowels:—

a	á	à	ā	ā′	ā̀
i	í	ì	ī	ī′	ī̀
u	ú	ù	ū	ū′	ū̀
ṛ	ṛ′	ṛ̀	ṝ	ṝ′	
ḷ					
e	é	è	āi	āí	āì
o	ó	ò	āu	āú	āù

The simplicity and economy of this system is apparent, because for ordinary Sanskṛit type it would be merely necessary to add to a font of ordinary English type *ḍ, ḥ, ṇ, ṛ, ṣ, ṭ; ñ, ṅ, ṁ*, and optionally *ṝ* and *ḹ*. These last are so rare that adding macrons and dots to shaved letters will ordinarily suffice. For Vedic type, having due regard to frequency of occurrence, only *ā′, ī′, ū′ ā̀, ṛ, ḷ*, would be necessary additions, judicious shaving and adding diacritical marks on separate pieces of metal sufficing for the rest. As an additional advantage it is claimed that, if a press wished to provide itself with *complete* Sanskṛit 'sorts' on this system, no cutting of new dies would be necessary, as, by shaving and adding the diacritical marks to existing types and then electrotyping or stereotyping, matrices for the necessary 'sorts' could be easily made at very small expense.

In this *Journal* the system of transliteration used has grown to be what it is much after the fashion as we fancy to be the case with most periodicals of any standing, and the main difficulty to be contended with is this,—that we have not one language or one system of alphabets to deal with. A general Oriental journal is bound to provide for the wants not only of one language in one character, as in the case of Sanskṛit for instance—but for groups of languages in groups of characters, and even for languages alien to each other written in the same character. Take the requirements of Hindî, Pañjâbî, Baṅgâlî, and Marâṭhî, all capable of representation in the Dêvanâgarî character, and take the sounds of ड and ढ as ḍ and ḍh and also as ṛ and ṛh: take again the sound in Baṅgâlî of অ and ঐ as something like ŏ and oi: and again the frequent short e and o in the modern dialects. Even the specialized variety of the Persian character used for the Indian languages clashes in many ways with the native Dêvanâgarî, and great difficulties arise as to ص س ث and as to ذ ظ ز ض. Then again when we come to represent Arabic itself we are confronted with a double pronunciation—a native and an Indo-Persian—of many letters, as ث , ض , ذ , which leads to the transliterations of *athír* and *asír* and of *dhu* and *zu* for identical words in the vernacular script. Again, if we represent the Arabic ث and the Burmese *s* by *th, as we ought*, in English transliteration, what is to become of थ? Once more, in Malay and in Arabic we have ع.[1] In the former it is *ṅg* and in the latter *all* the vowels with a guttural sound.

If we are to reform transliteration we must work on very wide and general lines; nevertheless a practical contribution such as that under review towards the better rendering of even one language in English characters is very welcome.

BOOK NOTICES.

The Elephant Pipes in the Museum of the Academy of Natural Sciences, Davenport, Iowa, U. S. A., by Charles E. Putnam.

This is a curious pamphlet, and shows that the searcher after knowledge is no safer from attack—unjustifiable and otherwise—in the New World than in the Old. The Davenport Academy of Natural Sciences, entirely supported by voluntary subscriptions and work given to it from pure love of science by enthusiasts, who look for no pecuniary rewards, has been in existence some twenty years, and has published four volumes of *Proceedings*. Some members of the Academy, in 1877, discovered two 'elephant pipes' and three 'inscribed tablets' in what is known as 'mound No. 3' on the Cook farm adjoining the city of Davenport. Such things do not appear to have been discovered elsewhere, and accordingly the possession of these unique relics of antiquity by the Museum of the Davenport Academy has given it a 'deserved eminence,' since the importance of the find as testifying to the degree of civilization among the ancient American populations is obvious. In the *Second Annual Report* of the Bureau of Ethnology for 1880-81 and written then, though not published till last year, in a monograph entitled *"Animal Carvings from Mounds in the Mississippi Valley,"* by H. W. Henshaw, there appeared a most severe criticism of the work of the Davenport Academy, doubting the genuineness of the find and the good faith—a much more serious matter—of the finders. The pamphlet before us is issued with the object of

[1] At last the modified form of ع properly used for *ṅg* is often thus printed.

establishing the *bona fides* of the Rev. Jacob Gass, the chief finder, in all he did. Without entering into the rights of the controversy one or two things strike us as most important in it for the future well-being of American research.

In the first place the *Reports* of the Bureau of Ethnology are issued under the auspices of the Smithsonian Institute and of the Government, are endorsed in fact by the Director of the Bureau; so that they are put before the world with all the authority, scientific and official, at the command of the United States. Now we notice that in the quotations from the *Report*, Mr. Henshaw—backed up, be it remembered, by the official authority of Major Powell, the Director—in addition to his attack on the personal character of Mr. Gass, practically tells him and his fellow-workers to cease from exploration. And we further notice that one object of the Bureau of Ethnology appears to be to centralize, and bring under its own direction *all* the research in the United States, and it seems to have taken steps to bring this about. Nothing could be more unsafe than this. Let a Government subsidize and encourage research as much as it finds itself able, and let it appoint official Directors of any branch of research that seems likely to be forwarded by such a step, but let it keep carefully clear of one thing—the official direction of *all* the research in the country. This means, of course, the centralization of research in the hands of one man or of a clique, and it might easily mean also the stifling of all independent labour.

The existence of the controversy under review points emphatically to the danger of such a system. Here we have an official employed in the 'direction' of scientific research—backed up by his Director—warning certain outsiders against continuing in a certain line of exploration, and this official is criticising archæology, though his special training appears to be in ornithology. This kind of universal versatility—as we so well know in India—is more or less unavoidably to be expected of officials, but suppose such an official had it in his power *to stop* any particular line of research, what then? And if the Smithsonian Institute or the Bureau of Ethnology had all the direction of science in their hands in the United States, would not this sometimes happen? It seems to us a matter of the first importance to scientific men in America.

One more point. If Mr. Henshaw be rightly reported, his main reason for impugning Mr. Gass's good faith is that no one else has yet discovered similar important relics. The *Indian Evidence Act* lays down that *no particular number* of witnesses is required to establish a fact. One may be enough and one hundred insufficient. This seems to us to be common sense. The converse doctrine would render valueless many a paper in the *Indian Antiquary* on which it justly prides itself.

The SANKHYA APHORISMS of KAPILA, with illustrative extracts from the Commentaries. Translated by JAMES R. BALLANTYNE, LL.D., late Principal of the Benares College. Third Edition (London: Trübner and Co., 1885). 8vo., pp. 464.

Dr. Ballantyne's translation of the *Sâṅkhya Aphorisms*, in three volumes, printed at Allahabad in the years 1852 to 1856, was for long well and favourably known in India, but has for some time past been very scarce. The abridgment, published in the *Bibliotheca Indica* (1862 and 1865), contains nothing of the Sanskrit text, and was therefore not so useful to students. In the volume now under notice, Messrs. Trübner and Co. have brought out, under the careful scholarly editorship of Dr. Ballantyne's old friend, Dr. Fitz-Edward Hall, a new and carefully revised reprint of the original work, which will doubtless be heartily welcomed. The corrections introduced in the readings of the aphorisms are very numerous, and all blemishes of idiom have been carefully removed from the translation, while the editor has evidently spared no pains in verifying references, and his numerous footnotes, supplying the variant readings of the commentators and other illustrative information, are most valuable. It is rarely one meets with a book of this kind, edited with such care and masterly acquaintance with the subject. It will be found to be of sterling value to the student.

KALILAH AND DIMNAH; OR THE FABLES OF BIDPAI. BY J. G. N. KEITH-FALCONER, M.A., Cambridge. University Press, 1885.

This book is a very welcome addition to the literature of the well-known fables of Bidpai. The edition of *Kalîlah and Dimnah*, by Prof. Wright, issued last year, being merely the Syriac text, was of no use to any but Semitic scholars, if the valuable introduction be omitted. The great value of this edition is that it translates Prof. Wright's text and so brings it before the student of general folklore. The introduction, too, which extends to lxxxv pp., gives a good detailed account of all the chief recensions of these universal fables and a capital *résumé* of what has up to date been written as to their origin and migrations. It is to be observed that at p. lxix, the author notices that the *'Iyâr-i-Dânish* version, drawn up by Abû'l-Fazl for the delectation of Akbar in 1587 A.D., has never been edited, though Capt. Roebuck edited an Urdû version of it in 1815 as the *Khird Afroz*. Here is a chance for Persian Scholars.

THE KANGAR OR KANGRI, THE KASMIRI PORTABLE BRAZIER.

BY THE REV. J. HINTON KNOWLES, F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S., etc., C.M.S., SRINAGAR.

THE *kângar*, as it is pronounced by the true Kâśmîrî, or *kângrî*, as it is usually pronounced by the Pañjâbî, or Kâśmîrî of Pañjâbî extraction,[1] generally consists of two parts; the inner earthenware vessel called *kunḍal*, wherein the fire is placed, and its encasement of wicker-work, which is sometimes very pretty, being tastefully ornamented with rings and brilliantly coloured. A little wooden or silver spoon (*tsâlan*), tied to the handle (*kânjih*) completes this Oriental brazier, which may be purchased in any Kâśmîrî *bâzâr* for the sum of one *ânâ* and upwards, according to the make and size. Should the *kângar* consist merely of an earthenware vessel a little ornamented, it is then called a *manan* by the common folk. These are used principally in the Leh and Ladâkh direction.

The best *kângars* are said to be made in Zainagar, a big village in the Kamrâz district. Islamâbâd, Tsrâr, Shâhâbâd, and Sopûr, are also noted for good *kângars*, which are frequently named after the places where they are made; *e. g.*, Islâmâbâdî *kângar*, or Tsrârî *kângar*, etc. An ordinary peasant's *kângar*, very rudely made, is called *gristi kângar*,[2] while a finely-worked highly-coloured *kângar* used by the wealthier classes is called *khoja*[3] *kângar*.

Kângars are to be met with also in the *bâzârs* of those cities and villages, whither oppression and famine have driven the Kâśmîrî. They have been heard of at Badrawâh, Kashtawâr, Râmnagar, Bisaulî, Nûrpûr, Kângrâ, Amṛitsar, Lûdiânâ, and other places; but the *kângars* manufactured outside "the Happy Valley" always seem to be of an inferior pattern and quality, and to be used by a very limited class indeed beyond the Kâśmîrî emigrant community.

The Kâśmîrî is very fond of his *kângar*, and wherever he goes, whenever you see him, whether asleep or awake, at work or at play, sitting down or walking (of course I am speaking of the winter months)—he has this little fireplace, held in one hand beneath his loose, long, nightgown-like garment called *phêran*,[4] in immediate contact with his stomach and thighs. As will be expected, this very close familiarity generally proves very dangerous. A person is tripped up by a stone in the way and falls upon his red-hot *kângar* fire, or a child rolls in her sleep and upsets the fireplace, burning herself, the bedding, house, and everything. There are really very few of the wealthier, middle, or poorer class Kâśmîrîs, who at one time or another have not been more or less burnt from accidents with the *kângar* fire.[5]

However, the *kângar* continues more popular than ever, and not a few songs and sayings in its honour are extant in the valley.[6] There is no doubt that this portable brazier wards off many a disease from the poor Kâśmîrî, terribly exposed, as he sometimes is, to bitter winds, freezing rains, and biting hail, for Winter now and again makes Kaśmîr the centre of his dominions, and rules supreme there.

A story is told of a native doctor, who once visited the valley to see what he could do for the poor people there during the severe winter season. On reaching Bârâmûlâ, the place where visitors change the horse, *kahâr*, and *qulî* for the boats on their way into Kaśmîr, he noticed a boatman with only a loin-cloth on, squatting in his boat in the cold wind and eating some cold food. The doctor thought within himself that the man was mad, and that he would certainly catch a chill and die. But the boatman had a *kângar* between his knees, and when the doctor on a closer observation saw this, he at once decided to return whence he came, saying: "The Kâśmîrî people have

[1] I have noticed this distinction in pronunciation in scores of cases, *e.g.* Kâśmîrî *lar*, a house, Pañjâbî-Kâśmîrî *larî*; Kâśmîrî, *kurs*, a chair, Panjâbî-Kâśmîrî, *kursî*.

[2] *Grust* is the Kâśmîrî for a peasant.

[3] *khoja* or *khwâja* (Persian) means in Kâśmîrî a master, a gentleman, or man of some distinction.

[4] This *phêran* is the chief garment worn by the Kâśmîrî, male or female. As already noticed its shape is not unlike a stout nightgown, but with sleeves very often half-a-yard wide and two to three yards long. The women's sleeves are generally larger than the men's. The *phêrans* are made in all colours and in all kinds of cloth, according to the position and sex of the purchasers. The word *phêran* is manifestly derived from the Persian *pîrâhan*, a loose vest, shirt.

[5] Many houses are destroyed by fire every year in Śrînagar, the result of a careless use of the *kângar*; and scores of patients are treated at the Mission Hospital for *epithelioma*, a kind of cancer generated from *kângar* burns.

[6] "O *kângar*, O *kângar*, offerings for thee. Thou art a virgin of paradise, thou art a fairy."

"If there is not *the heat of fire* in the bosom, one's precious life will undoubtedly come out"—and many others.

got their own antidote for their winter cold. There is no necessity for me to go there."

It has been suggested that the Kâśmîrî learnt the use of the *kângar* from the Italians in the retinue of the Mughal Emperors,[7] who frequently visited the valley during the summer months 1587—1753 A. D. On this point nothing trustworthy has been procured as yet from the natives. Enquiry has been made from high and low, rich and poor, but no person can tell anything, fact or fiction, as to who originated, or whence was imported, this popular and necessary article.

The following extract from the *Queen* for March 1885 and the plate attached hereto will throw a good deal of light on the probable European origin of this now national utensil of the Kâśmîrîs. The first three figures are from the *Queen*, the fourth is a sketch of a Kâśmîrî *kângrî* drawn by Mr. J. Griffiths, from a specimen in the Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy School of Art at Bombay, and the fifth is half-size reproduction of an ordinary earthenware and wicker-work *kângrî* in the possession of one of the Editors of this *Journal.*

"In Italy, Spain, and in the East the brazier (*brasero*) as a heating apparatus was, and in many places is still, preferred to the fireplace. These charcoal-holders could be employed anywhere and carried from room to room. They were made in a great variety of shapes, and their surfaces received every kind of ornamentation; medallions with figures and complex bas-reliefs, emblazoned escutcheons, &c. The grounds were sometimes *guilloché* with delicate foliage, borrowed by the Venetians from the chasings and inlayings of the Orientals. Braziers remained in use in France as late as the seventeenth century. They were frequently arranged on columnar tripods, with the fire-irons attached to them, or made portable and fitted with bars on the movable top, to rest the feet upon. Sometimes braziers and fire-dogs were combined. Combinations of this kind are still to be found in old Normandy farmhouses, where the top basin is used to keep dishes warm.

Directly connected with the braziers are the hand-warmers, which were already known to the Romans under the name of *trulla,* and long preceded the foot-warmers. These *chauffe-mains* were kept warm either by hot ashes or by a spirit lamp. First used in the Middle Ages by the clergy during their functions in church, ladies adopted them in the course of time as a counterpart to the pears made of agate, which served to cool the hands and to keep them dry. One of these agate pears is mentioned in an inventory of Gabrielle d'Estrée in 1599."

With regard to the derivation of the word there are two plausible conjectures:—

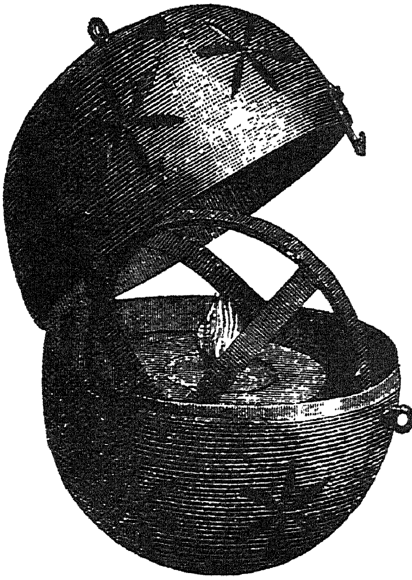
(1.) That the word *kângar* comes from two Kâśmîrî words *kâni* (*kânih* and sometimes *kaunjih*), which means a switch used for making baskets, and *gar* a maker or fastener. Hence the two words together *kâni-gar* would mean a binder or fastener of switches. But this combination might mean also switches bound together, because it often happens in Kâśmîri that the thing made is called after the maker and *vice versâ*; and the *kângar* is nothing but a basket with a little earthenware basin inside. From *kânigar* we easily get *kângar.* A shortening like this is very common in Kâśmîrî, *e.g.*, *rangi-gar* is shortened into *rangar,* a dyer, and *bungi-gar* is shortened into *bangar,* a worker or trader in hemp.

(ii) Another, and perhaps a better, suggestion, is that the word comes direct from Sanskṛit. *Ku* कु (*kad* and *kâ*) as a prefix implies deterioration, depreciation, littleness, and *aṅgâra* अङ्गार means charcoal heated or not heated, while *aṅgârî* अङ्गारी is a portable fire-place. Hence *kâ*+*aṅgâra* or *aṅgârî* कु+अङ्गार or अङ्गारी would mean a little heated charcoal, or a small portable fire-place. This, perhaps, could easily come to be pronounced *kâṅgâra* or *kâṅgârî*, according to the Sanskṛit habit, *e.g.* *kâ*+*agni* makes *kâgni,* a little fire, and *kâ*+*aksha* makes *kâksha,* to wink, etc. Sanskṛit scholars may, perhaps, be able to throw more light upon this point.[8]

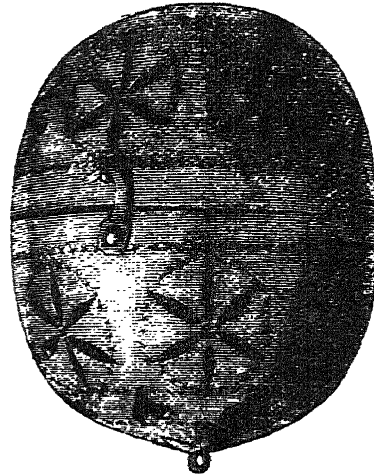
[7] It will be enquired, "Then, what did the people do for warmth before the annexation of the province to the Mughal Empire?" The Kâśmîrîs have a story that the Emperor Akbar, enraged at the brave and prolonged resistance offered by them to his general Qâsim Khân, determined to unman and degrade the people of this country. And so he ordered them on pain of death to wear *phêrans*, which has effeminated them and hindered them in battle and in all manly exercises. Before Akbar's conquest they all wore coats and vests and trousers. Bate's *Gazetteer*, I hear, has a short article on this subject. If this story is true then they would not have required the *kângar*—indeed, they would have found it extremely inconvenient, except as a charcoal-burner, as it is used in Italy, or as the *chauffe-pied* of Switzerland and other parts of the Continent of Europe.

[8] [If the Italians really introduced the *kângar* into Kaśmîr they would be as likely as not to have introduced their own name for the article. This is a point worth observing in this connection.—ED.]

PORTABLE BRAZIERS.



I.—HAND WARMER (OPEN), 16TH CENTURY.



II.—HAND WARMER (SHUT), 16TH CENTURY.

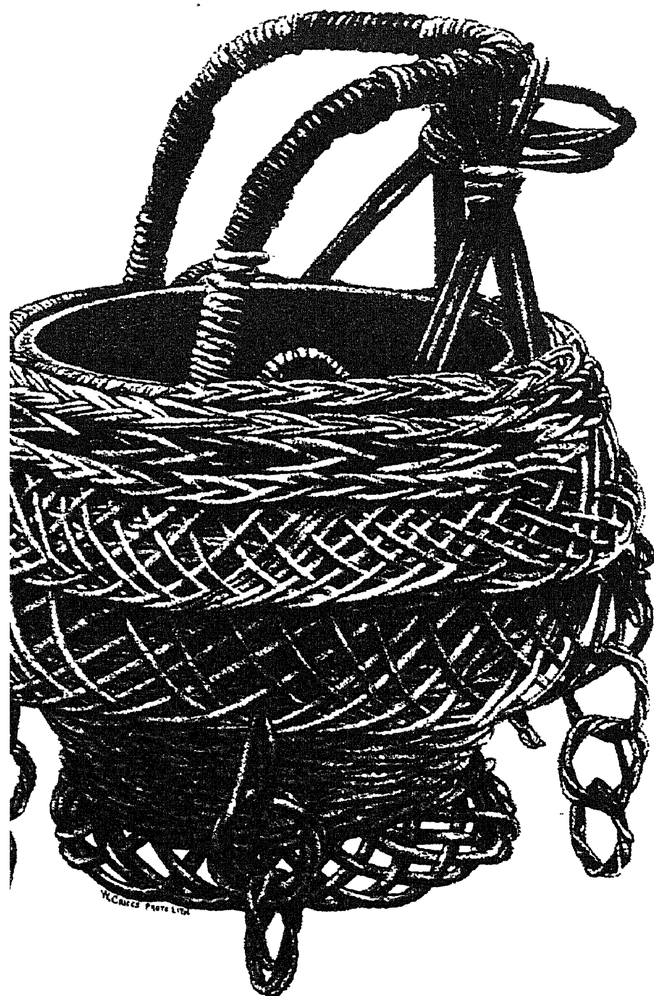


III.—PORTABLE BRAZIER.



IV.—KASMIRI KANGRI.

PORTABLE BRAZIERS.



V.—COMMON KASMIRI KANGAR.
(Half size).

CHINGHIZ KHAN AND HIS ANCESTORS.

BY HENRY H. HOWORTH, F.S.A.

(*continued from p.* 179.)

XXXI.

When Chinghiz Khân retired from China he deputed his most trusted general Mu-khu-li to complete the conquest of the Kin Empire. "I have conquered," he said, "the Chinese provinces north of the Tai-hang Mountains. It is for you to subdue the country south of that chain." And he invested him with a golden *paizah*, or official tablet, which constituted him his vicegerent in China. Douglas says he gave him a chariot and a banner of nine pennons. He also commanded that the same honours were to be paid to him as to himself. Maps of China were ordered to be prepared by *hing-shing*, or surveyors, preparatory to the new campaign.

Mu-khu-li set out with 23,000 Mongols and Turks, *viz.*, 10,000 Onguts, 1,000 Kushikuls (?), 4,000 Uruts,[1] 2,000 Inkirasses under Tutu Gurkan, 1,000 Mangkuts under Munkaka Kaljah, 3,000 Kunkurats under Alji Noyan, and 2,000 Jelairs under Thalisun the brother of Mu-khu-li, together with two divisions of Khitans and Churchis, commanded respectively by two generals belonging to the two nations, called Oyar and Tughan, who both received the title of leaders of *tumans*, *i.e.* of 10,000, which, in Chinese, is *wang-shai*.[2]

D'Ohsson says that after Chinghiz Khân's withdrawal most of the positions he had conquered had been reoccupied and fortified by the Kin troops, and the Mongols in fact only retained Chung-tu and the northern borders of Pe'chihli and Shan-si. Meanwhile the imprudent Kin Emperor Utubu quarrelled with his southern neighbour, the Sung Emperor, who ruled the country south of the river Hoai in Ho-nan, with his capital at Hang-chau, the chief town of Che'kiang. The latter had seized the opportunity of the Mongol attack to refuse to pay the tribute, which had been hitherto exacted from him by the Kin ruler; and Utubu was now persuaded by his prime minister Chuku-kaoki to send an army to exact this tribute, and accordingly in 1217 a Kin army crossed the Hoai, captured several towns, and ravaged the country. Hearing that the Mongols were again in motion Utubu repented this movement, and sent envoys to the Sung Emperor, to propose an alliance against the invaders. This the latter, who knew his enemy's embarrassment, naturally refused to entertain.[3]

Setting out from Yen-king, or Peking, in 1218 Mu-khu-li marched upon the towns of Sui-ching[4] and Li-chau.[5] The latter resisted bravely, and in consequence he would have slaughtered its inhabitants, but Chao-tien, one of his officers, who was born there, and whose family was inside, threw himself at his feet and in tears offered his own life to redeem the place. Mu-khu-li, touched by this, pardoned it. He then marched eastwards and successively captured the towns of Tsi-nan, Lin-tsi, Teng-chau, and Lai-chau.[6] Douglas tells us that he conquered Ta-ming-fu, Tung-chau and Ting-chau in Chih-li and Etu-chau, Litsil-chau, Tang-chau and Lai-chau in Shan-tung, and also secured the cities of Mien-ching, Lu and Me. The losses among the Kin generals from death and desertion were numerous.[7]

The most important event of the campaign was undoubtedly the capture of Ta-yuan-fu, the capital of Shan-si.[8] This important capital was then governed on behalf of the Kin by Ukulun-t'eshing, and he defended it skilfully. The Mongols pressed their attack chiefly against the north-west bastion, which they at length forced. Still the place held out. Ukulun-te'shing then made a barricade with a number of carts bound together, behind which he sustained three assaults, but eventually the Mongols poured in such a shower of stones and arrows that the garrison was obliged to surrender. Its brave commander hanged himself.[9]

Ping-yang, which had a weak garrison, was

[1] Erdmann says Urats.

[2] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 79 and 80; Gaubil, p. 32; Erdmann, p. 334; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 162; Douglas, p. 84.

[3] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 355.

[4] The modern Gan-su-hien.

[5] *i.e.* Li-hien in the district of Pao-ting-fu in Pe'chihli.

[6] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 80 and 81.

[7] Douglas, *op. cit.* pp. 84 and 85.

[8] The *Kang-mu* tells us that Mu-khu-li, having conquered the towns of Yen, *i.e.* of the provinces of Chih-li and Shan-tung, marched towards Tai-ho-ling, south-east of Ma-i-hien of Tai-tong-fu, and having entered the district called Ho-tong he secured the towns of Tai-chau and Tsih-chau, whence he proceeded to attack Tai-yuan.

[9] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 82-83.

easily captured. The troops wished to cut their way out, but its governor Li-kê said he could not survive the loss of a place committed to his care by the Emperor. He accordingly killed himself. The governors of Fun-chau and Lu-chau also died sword in hand in defence of their towns.[10] Douglas, in reporting these events, dates them a year later, and adds the towns of Hin-chau and Ho-chau to the above list of Mongol captures.[11] Gaubil tells us that Mu-khu-li was accompanied in this campaign by his son Polu or Boru.[12] The Kin empire had certainly fallen upon hard times, for while the Mongols pressed it hard on the north, it was carrying on a vigorous struggle with the Sung empire in the south, a good proof of its energy and vitality.

In the fifth month of 1218 we read how a Kin general named Miao-tao-yun was assassinated by an official at the court named Kia-yu. A colleague and friend of the former named Chang-yeou, who was a native of Ichau in Pe'chihli, marched with a body of troops to avenge his death; but when he reached Tsi-king-kuan, the famous Judastree Pass in Pe'chihli, he was met and defeated by a Mongol army under the general Mingan. His horse having fallen under him he was captured and taken before Mingan and ordered to bend the knee before him. He replied that he was, like Mingan himself, a general officer, and would die rather than disgrace himself in the way proposed. Mingan admired his soldierly courage and ordered him to be unbound. Presently, to save the lives of his father and mother, who had been captured and taken to Yen-king, he gave a feast and consented to enter the service of the Mongols, and eventually became one of their first generals.[13]

He was speedily put in harness, for we are told that early the next year, *i.e.*, 1219, he was sent at the head of a body of troops against Yong-chau, I-chau, Pao-gan-chau and some other southern towns. He began his campaign by an attack on a small place called Kong-shan-tai.[14] It was commanded by his mortal enemy, Kia-yu, already named. Kia-yu resisted so obstinately that Chang-yeou had recourse to a little engineering feat, by which he diverted a stream that supplied the place with water, and it was thus compelled to surrender. He then tore out his enemy's heart and offered it to the *manes* of his dead friend Miao-tao-yun. He next pitched his camp at Muan-ching, a town situated north-west of Pao-ting-fu in Pe'chih-li.[15] Here he was vigorously attacked by the Kin general Wu-sien. Too weak to risk a battle, Chang-yeou compelled every one inside to man the ramparts, even including the weak, the aged, and also women, while at the head of his most valiant soldiers he made a sortie and attacked the enemy in rear, capturing many prisoners. He then unfurled many standards on the neighbouring hills, and spread the report that the Mongols were approaching in strength. Frightened by these rumours and by the drums which were beaten on the hills and inside the town Wu-sien withdrew precipitately, and Chang-yeou put a large number of his men to the sword. He then captured Wan-chau. The commanders of Ki-yang and Kiu-yang, the modern Hien in Chih-li, submitted. He next attacked the town of Chong-shan-fu, situated in the modern department of Ting-chau in Chih-li, to whose relief Ko-tiei-tsiang, a lieutenant of Wu-sien, marched. Chang-yeou met him at Sin-lo, where there was a sharp conflict, in which he was struck by an arrow in the mouth, losing two of his teeth. This made him furious, and he pressed the enemy and killed a great many of them, and also defeated Lieou-ching, who had marched against him. Then advancing southwards he exacted a submission from Ku-ching, Shin-chê, Ning-tsin, and thirty other towns. The Mongols also captured U-chau west of Shu-chau in the district of Tai-tong, Ho-ho-hien and Tong-shing-chau. The Kin emperor, who was being hard pressed both on his northern and southern frontier, wreaked his vengeance on his chief minister, Chuhu-kaoki, whom he put to death.[16]

Mu-khu-li himself during the latter part of this year captured the towns of Kohan, Ke and Hien, with other places in Shen-si, and killed their inhabitants.[17] In the fourth month of 1220, the Mongols attacked Yu-chau

[10] *id.* p. 83.
[11] *Op. cit.* p. 85.
[12] *Op. cit.* p. 43.
[13] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 87 and 88; Gaubil, p. 43.
[14] Gaubil calls it a mountain.
[15] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 87 and 88; Gaubil, p. 44.
[16] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 88-90; Gaubil, pp. 44-45; Douglas, p. 87.
[17] Douglas, p. 88.

(*i.e.*, Ho-kiu-yen in the district of Tai-yuen-fu in Shan-si) and Yen-chau (in the southern part of Shan-tung), and gained a victory in which the Kin general Uyen Weiku was killed. Two months later Mu-khu-li secured Lan-chau and Kiang-chau, but he failed to capture Ho-chong-fu, which resisted all his efforts.

Hitherto we are told the Mongols had waged war mercilessly, and their officers had permitted the greatest atrocities. Shi-tian-ni, a Chinese, who served among them, having gained considerable influence over Mu-khu-li, urged upon him that this method of waging war made the Mongol name to be detested, and made people dread to become their subjects. Mu-khu-li, having listened to this counsel, published everywhere a strong prohibition of pillage and slaughter, and also ordered all his prisoners to be released, so that they could return home and work in the fields. This clemency produced a good effect and caused wide-spread gratification.

In the eighth month of 1220 Mu-khu-li, who had gone towards Moan-ching, sent three thousand horsemen under a Mongol named Mouku-puhoa to capture Tao-ma-kuan, one of the mountain fortresses of Pe'chihli. This general having defeated a body of Kin troops, Wu-sien, who commanded at Ching-ting-fu, and who had grown weary of resisting the invaders, made his peace with them and surrendered that important town.[18] Wu-sien was now appointed deputy governor of the western division of Hopè,[19] with the Chinese general Shi-tian-ni, already named, as his colleague.[20] Shi-tian-ni had joined the Mongol service on the occasion of the first invasion of China. His father, who was a native of Yung-tsing, having noticed that the invaders spared the districts where they were not resisted, went with a large number of people in 1213 and submitted to Mu-khu-li, who was then encamped near Cho-chau, a few leagues to the south-west of Peking. Mu-khu-li wished to make him commander of a *tuman*, and on his refusal he gave the post to his son Shi-tian-ni.[21]

The Kin Emperor Utubu now determined to again open negociations for peace. He sent Ukulun Chong-tuan with an offer to recognize Chinghiz Khân as his elder brother and to behave towards him as a younger brother. Mu-khu-li replied that some time before the Mongols had asked him to cede to them the countries of Ho and Su, promising on this condition to suspend hostilities. This offer had been rejected. "Now," he continued, "that we have conquered these countries and there only remain some towns of Kwang-si which are not ours, if you will surrender them we will recognize you as Prince of Ho-nan." This offer was rejected,[22] and Mu-khu-li marched upon Shan-tung. Yan-shi, who commanded in Chang-te-fu and in seven other districts in the south of Pe'chihli, in the portion of Ho-nan north of the Yellow River and the province of Shan-tung, submitted to him. De Mailla says he controlled 3 towns of the first order, and 6 of the second, with 300,000 families. Mu-khu-li duly confirmed him in his post. He then secured Tsi-nan-fu, the capital of Shan-tung.[23]

The Kin Emperor had appointed a vigorous man named Su-ting as his chief minister in the place of the disgraced Kaoki. He speedily raised an immense army in Shan-tung, which prevented the Sung Emperor and the king of Hia from joining in an attack upon the province of Shen-si. The Kin army in Shan-tung was encamped at Hoang-ling-kang, and its general detached 20,000 foot-soldiers to attack Mu-khu-li in the neighbourhood of Tsi-nan, who defeated his assailants, and then assailed in turn the main army of the Kin, which was ranged on the southern bank of the Yellow River in the district of Tsao-chau-fu. He dismounted his cavalry and attacked the enemy sword in hand, broke their ranks and drove many of them into the river, where a vast number of them were drowned. He then advanced upon Chou-kieou, which he captured, and passing by Shen-chau laid siege to Tong-ping in Shan-tung (called Tong-chang-fu by Gaubil). This place offered a stubborn resistance, so after besieging it for a month he left a small force to blockade it

[18] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 92 and 93; Gaubil, p. 45.

[19] *i.e.*, of the country north of the river, by which the district north of the Yellow River is generally meant, but here apparently the northern part of Pe'chihli is alone included in the term.

[20] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 361; Douglas, p. 89.

[21] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 361.

[22] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 93, 94.

[23] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 362-3; De Mailla, Vol. IX. p. 94.

under the general Yan-shi, informing him that the place would not surrender until its people were pressed by famine. He ordered him to treat the people well, as also the inhabitants of the neighbouring districts. He nominated Solu-hutu as commandant of Tong-ping when it should surrender, Yan-shi as governor of the people (? *dârûgha*), and ordered Sarta, after the capture of the place to create two military governments, one of the north and the other of the south, and to entrust the one to Yan-shi and the other to Shi-kue.[24] Mu-khu-li himself advanced upon Ming-chau (Kuang-ping-fu in Pe'chihli), dividing his army into small bodies, and thus overran the country north of the river. Douglas says he laid siege to Tsu and Ming, and adds that it was in this campaign the Kin general Wanian Weiko lost his life.[25]

Tong-ping did not surrender till the fifth month of 1221, when its commanders Monku-kang and Wang-ting-yu, being hard pressed for food, abandoned it and tried to escape to Pei-chau. Solu-hutu pursued them and killed 7,000 of their men. Yan-shi entered the town and in accordance with Mu-khu-li's commands restored order there. Sarta, similarly obedient, divided the country into two departments, giving Yan-shi that of the north with the towns of Nghen-chau, Po-chau and others depending on them, while Shi-kuê fixed his court at Tsao-chau, and took possession of the southern division.[26]

In November 1221 Mu-khu-li crossed the Yellow River at Tong-shing-chau, the modern Tokhto-khota, with the intention of attacking Kia-chau. He really wished to secure that part of Shan-si which belonged to the Kin Tartars in order thence to attack Ho-nan and Kai-fong-fu, the southern capital of the Kin dynasty. The king of Hia or Tangut was naturally alarmed at the invasion of his borders, and sent his general Taga to the district now occupied by the Mongol tribe of the Ordus to congratulate him. Mu-khu-li having asked for some troops the king further ordered his general Dake-ganpu,[27] to join him with 50,000 men. The Mongols speedily secured Kia-chau, and its commander Hang-kong-tso having fled, Mu-khu-li did not stay long there; but having entered the department of Sui-te-chau he captured two strong fortresses, Po-ma and Kê-yong. While there another Tangutan general named Mipu arrived with reinforcements. Before being presented he enquired what the ceremony would be. Mu-khu-li informed him he should expect him to behave as his master the king of Hia would conduct himself before Chinghiz Khân. This reply embarrassed Mipu, for he knew the Mongols treated the kingdom of Hia as tributary and subject, and that this meant some act which would be interpreted as homage of some kind. He replied that he had received no instructions from his master in regard to this matter, and he accordingly withdrew with his men; but he returned shortly after, as Mu-khu-li had attacked Yeng-gan, a town situated on the Yen-ho in Shen-si. Mi-pu went to him, held the reins of his horse, and made the salutation which Mu-khu-li prescribed.

Khada, the Kin Commander-in-Chief, and Nahomaichu had united for the defence of Yen-gan. The former was encamped with 30,000 men to the east of the town. Mongu-puhoa, having reconnoitred his position with 3,000 men, reported to Mu-khu-li on his return, that the Kin troops despised the Mongols, since they thought their army was a small one, and suggested the formation of an ambush that very night. Mu-khu-li approving of this, planted a portion of his force in a defile between two mountains, and the next day before sunrise Mongu-puhoa attacked the Kin army with the advance-guard. He pretended not to be able to hold his ground and fled, abandoning his drums and standards. The Kins, who were deceived, pursued him quickly to the defile, where Mu-khu-li caused his concealed men to charge them amidst a tremendous beating of drums. Their surprise was naturally very great. Khada took to flight, and lost 7,000 men. He withdrew into the town, to which Mu-khu-li laid siege. As the place was strong, and promised to make a long resistance, he left a portion of his force there, and went southwards to attack Fu-chau and Fang-chau, situated in the modern Chung-pu-hien, and other neighbouring towns. At Fu-chau there fell several distinguished Kin

[24] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 94 and 95.
[25] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 363-4; Douglas, p. 90.
[26] De Mailla, Vol. IX. p. 98.
[27] Called Takokanpu by De Mailla.
[28] De Mailla calls him Hota.

officers, such as Wanian-lukin, Hêshêliei-ho-sheou, Pucha-leoushi, and a great number of soldiers. A few days afterwards Fang-chau was captured, while Sse-chau and Kichau were plundered.[29]

De Mailla describes the pillage of Sse-chau. He tells us how the town was built on a scarped rock, and its governor, Yang-chin, finding himself hard pressed by Mu-khu-li threw his wife and children from the battlement, and himself jumped over after them. As this was an important place, Mu-khu-li left a garrison there with a body of light cavalry under Mongu-puhoa, which was to overrun the surrounding district, and to secure the most important posts in the mountain and fords over the rivers. He himself with the main army captured Mong-chau, Tsin-yang, Ho-i, and several other towns where the Kins had garrisons.[30]

In the eleventh month of 1221, Chang-lin, the governor of Sung-gan, went over to the Mongols, and thus put them in possession of all the country east of the capital, including the cities of Tsang and King in Chih-li, and Pin and Tai in Shan-tung. He was rewarded with the appointment of commandant of the eastern division of Shan-tung.[31]

In the latter part of this year the Sung emperor sent Kao-mong-yu to make an alliance with the Mongols against the Kins. The Mongols duly sent back envoys to the Imperial court.[32]

Douglas mentions the towns of Kien-king, and Pin in Shan-si, and Yuen in Kansuh, the modern Chin-yuen-kien, among Mu-khu-li's captures.[33] He also says that Hutieutso deserted the Kin cause, and gave up the Blue Dragon fort to the Mongols, after which Mu-khu-li took the Cow-heart stockade, when the prefect was killed by the fall of a house. He then summoned Shi-tian-ni and told him that Ho-chung was the most interesting place in Ho-tung (*i.e.* the country south of the Yellow River), and he would not entrust its protection to any one but himself. He thereupon gave him authority over all the troops in that district, and then went to Chang-nan, *i.e.* Si-ngan-fu, the capital of Shen-si, which he entrusted to the U-hu-nai and Tai'-pu-hoa.[34] He gave Ganchi[35] command of an army with which to blockade the famous fortress of Tong-kuan, and in the eleventh month of 1222 captured Tong-chau, in the defence of which Wanianoko, one of the best generals in the Kin service, lost his life.[36]

In the first month of 1223, Mu-khu-li attacked Fong-tsiang-fu, a town of Shen-si. This he assailed night and day for forty days without effect, and was despairing of taking it and preparing to retire, when he heard that the Kin general, Siao-shu, had recaptured the town of Ho-chong-fu (Pu-chau-fu), an important place near the eastern bank of the Yellow River, and had killed its governor, Shi-tian-ing, already named. It seems that having learnt that a Kin army was marching against him he had planted U-tsê in ambush in a defile in the mountains by which it would have to pass. U-tsê was brave, but addicted to wine, and notwithstanding his promise not to drink till his return, he had scarcely reached his post when he got drunk. The Kin passed by him quietly, and marched on to attack Ho-chong-fu, which had not been put into a state of defence. All those in the place who had submitted to the Mongols now abandoned them, joined the enemy, and introduced them into the town, which they proceeded to fire. The rising flames soon informed Shi-tian-ing that the enemy was in the place, and he put himself at the head of fifty or sixty of his men with the intention of driving them out. They wished him to cross the Yellow River and save himself, which he could well have done without compromising his reputation or bringing on himself the reproaches of Mu-khu-li. He said, however, that he should blush to appear before his friends, and must either drive the enemy out or perish. He accordingly marched against the Kin troops, and fought very bravely till mid-day, when he was overpowered and killed. The invaders having burnt the town, and put its inhabitants to the sword, retired by the same way they had gone. Antsar, a Mongol general, pursued them; and, we are told, killed 30,000 of them. Mu-khu-li, to reward the services of

[29] De Mailla, pp. 98—100; Gaubil, pp. 46 and 47; Douglas, p. 92; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 364 and 365.
[30] De Mailla, p. 103. [31] Douglas, pp. 92 and 93.
[32] DeMailla, Vol. IX. p. 100.
[33] *Op. cit.* p. 94.
[34] The Anki of D'Ohsson.
[35] D'Ohsson says to the general, Khunatai-Buka.
[36] De Mailla, Vol. IX. p. 163; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 365.

Shi-tian-ing gave his son, Shi-wa-ko.[37] the same government and the same authority as his father had held. Mu-khu-li on hearing of the death of Shi-tian-ing raised the siege of Fong-siang, and repaired to Ho-chong, which had been abandoned, as I have mentioned.[38] He put a new garrison there, and repaired the fortifications which had fallen into ruin.[39] Setting out from Ho-chong Mu-khu-li fell dangerously ill at Wen-li-hien or Wen-he-hien, in the department of Hiai-chau in Shen-si. He summoned his younger brother, Tai-sun, and said to him that he had for forty years fought for his master, and had never been defeated. His only regret was that he had not captured Nanking, a task he left for him to fulfil.[40] Mu-khu-li died in April, 1223, at the age of 54 years.[41] I have referred at some length to his earlier adventures in chapter XV. and elsewhere, and here I would merely say that he was Chinghiz Khân's most distinguished and trusted commander.[42] Mu-khu-li's command and honours were made over to his son, Polu or Boru.

In August, 1223, Monku-kang, governor of Pei-chau for the Kins, treated his soldiers with so much severity that they revolted. Naho-luko, one of his principal officers, feeling that the Mongols were riding the winning horse, put himself at the head of the malcontents, killed Monku-kang, and having arranged his plans with Lirtsu, a Mongol officer, they wrote a joint letter to the governor of Hai-chau, to inform him of their intention to submit to him. The letter was intercepted by an officer in the service of the Sung empire, who handed it to his commander, Li-tsiuen, who sent some troops under Wang-hi-ul to try and divert their intention, and to persuade them to join the imperial service. Lirtsu having gone to Pei-chau enticed Wang-hi-ul into the town under pretence of treating with him and, having closed the gates, arrested him. Li-tsiuen, piqued at this trick marched to attack Pei-chau, which was surrounded by water on all sides, and was bravely defended. The garrison, however, made a sortie, when his troops were badly beaten and many of his men were killed, whereupon he retired to Tsing-chau. Meanwhile the Kin general, Yauta, also marched upon Pei-chau, where he defeated and killed Naho-luko, and recovered it for his master.[44]

Two months later Utubu the Kin emperor died, and was succeeded by his third son, Ninkiasu, whose Chinese name was Sheou-siui. About the same time died Le-tsun-hiu, the king of Hia, and was succeeded by his son Li-te'-wang.[45] Early the next year, *i.e.* 1224, Ninkiasu made peace with the Sung emperor, Ning-tsong. Ning-tsong died shortly after, probably from chagrin, and was succeeded by his adopted son, Li-tsong; so that the death of Mu-khu-li was followed in a few months by those of the three potentates dividing the Chinese empire between them, the emperors of the Sung and Kin dynasty, and the king of Hia.

Ping-i-bin, one of the Li-tsong's generals, having made himself master of the greater part of Shan-tung, allied himself with Wu-sien, whom Mu-khu-li had made deputy governor of Western Hopê (*vide ante*), and who having thus rebelled killed his colleague, Shi-tian-ni, and occupied Ching-ting-fu. Shi-tian-tsi, the brother of the murdered man, was nominated in the latter's place by the Mongol generalissimo Boru. He attacked Wu-sien, defeated him, and took Ching-ting-fu.[46] This was in 1225. Presently Wu-sien returned, recaptured Ching-ting-fu while Shi-tian-tsi withdrew beaten to Kau-ching in Pe'chihli.[47] The next year Shi-tian-tsi again proceeded to Ching-ting-fu. Choosing a dark night for his attack he was completely successful. Wu-sien sought refuge in the mountains of the West, where he entrenched himself.[48] Li-tsiuan, who governed Chung-shau (Ting-chau in Pe'chihli) for the Mongols, had also joined the party of Ping-i-bin, who, being thus reinforced, proceeded to attack Tung-ping, where Yan-shi still commanded. After resisting for four months he was compelled by the want of provisions to surrender, and thereupon also joined the rebels. They marched together upon Ching-ting-fu, and were met near the Western Mountains by the Mongols under Belkê.

[37] Called Shi-tian-tsi by D'Ohsson.
[38] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 103-104.
[39] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 367. [40] DeMailla, Vol. IX. p. 105.
[41] DeMailla, Vol. IX. p. 105; Gaubil, p. 47; Douglas, p. 96; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 367.
[42] D'Ohsson says he died at Ven-hi, in the district of Se-chau in Shen-si.
[43] Gaubil, p. 48; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 367.
[44] DeMailla, Vol. IX. pp. 106-107.
[45] *id.* pp. 107-108; D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 368.
[46] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. p. 368.
[47] Douglas, p. 99.
[48] Douglas, p. 101.

Thereupon Yanshi, who was aggrieved that Ping-i-bin had treated him haughtily, again changed sides and went over to the Mongols. Ping-i-bin was at the same time attacked in rear by Shi-tian-tsi, and was captured. Bidden to do homage to the Mongol ruler, he replied proudly that he was a subject of the great Sung empire, and would not serve another ruler. They accordingly put him to death with torments. Yan-shi now secured the submission to the Mongols of that part of Shan-tung, east of the river Tsing, of which Ping-i-bin had taken possession. Meanwhile Li-tsiuan, who was master of the north of that province, having fought several times with the Mongols and been always defeated,[49] shut himself up in the town of Itu (Tsing-chau-fu in Ho-nan), where he was attacked by Mu-khu-li's brother, Taisun. He held out for a whole year, notwithstanding that famine raged inside and that the besieged had to feed on human flesh, but surrendered in 1227. Taisun made over Shan-tung with the district of Khuai-nan in Kiang-su to him as a fief, for which he had to pay an annual tribute. Douglas says he was made Inspector of Shan-tung and Hwainan.[50] Meanwhile Boru captured Chan-ti-fu whose governor, Wañian Aishin, was killed during the siege, and also captured Lin-tao-fu, and killed its commander, Toman-hushi-men, and laid waste all the country between Fong-siang and King-chao. In the last month of 1227 the Mongols invaded the Sung empire by the three defiles of Ping-tsing (south-west of Sin-yang-chau in Ho-nan), U-yang (north-east of Jung-shan-hien of Te-gan-fu in Hu-kuang) and Koang-hien (south-west of Lo-shan-hien of Yu-ning-fu in Ho-nan), whereupon Ching-sun, believing they meant to attack Se-chuan, abandoned Mien-chau, and retired into the interior of the country.[51]

The Kin Tartars had virtually lost to the Mongols Northern China, comprising Hopê of Shan-tung, and all the districts of Koan-shen, and now concentrated their endeavours upon the defence of Ho-nan, of which Tung-kuan was the key. Notwithstanding their recent losses they still retained command of the country stretching from Lo-yang, San-men, and Si-tsin, eastwards as far as Yuen-tsiao-chin, extending over more than 2,000 *lis*, and protected by 200,000 men; and to show the heroic materials of which the race was made, I would quote the siege of Si-ho-chau, which took place at this time. Its governor having defended it for a long time, saw that he must surrender, and told his wife, Tushi, that she had better see to her own safety, as the place was about to be lost. "Do you think," she replied in a firm voice, "that loaded with the favours of our princes I am going to sacrifice my duty to a weak love for life. No, I will not survive my misfortune. I had rather die than be wanting in fidelity." She thereupon took poison, and died a few hours later. Two of her sons drank what she had left, and died by her side, while her husband, Chin-yu, and several of his friends, ashamed of being beaten in courage by a woman committed suicide, and fell over the body of this heroine and her children. As many as twenty-eight of his friends preferred this end to surviving their defeat.[52]

I have now brought down the account of the Mongol doings in China until Chinghiz Khân's return home, when he again is found on its borders. Before describing his last campaign, we will bring up the story of one of the dependencies of his empire to this point. When he set out for the West, as we have seen, he left behind as his vicegerent in Mongolia his brother, Ochigin (called Uachê by Gaubil and DeMailla), who, we are told, ruled with considerable prudence. In the year 1220, he received at his court the princess Tiao-li (called Yao-li-si, in the *Kang-mu*), who went to announce to him the death of her husband, Yeliu-Liuko, the tributary king of Liau-tung, who had had to sustain some severe struggles in his young kingdom. Ochigin received the princess with great pomp, and giving her the official seal, sent her home with some troops to rule Liau-tung until Chinghiz Khân's return. She ruled it, we are told, exemplarily.[53] After Chinghiz returned home, and when he was engaged in his campaign against Tangut, which I shall describe presently, and in 1227 was encamped at Yen-chau-chuen near the Yellow River, the princess repaired

[49] Douglas says he defeated Chang-fu and made him prisoner in Shan-tung.
[50] D'Ohsson, Vol. I. pp. 368-370; Douglas, p. 101.
[51] DeMailla, Vol. IX. p. 120.
[52] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 120-121.
[53] Gaubil, pp. 42 and 43; DeMailla, Vol. IX. p. 96.

to him, accompanied by her sons, Shan-ku, Tieiku and Yong-ngan, by her adopted son, Tatar, and by her grandson, Siukuenus. When Chinghiz Khân saw her, he said laughingly, "although the falcons which fly so swiftly have not yet arrived, yet you, a woman, are already here." He then presented her with a bowl of wine (doubtless *darasun*), and enlarged on his good-will towards her. The princess replied, "Liuko, my husband, lives no longer, and the people over whom you placed him are without a master. Hiuesê (called Pitu by Gaubil), the eldest of my sons, has been with your army for a long time, and is still in the West. I have brought my second son, Shanku, with me, to remain as a hostage with your majesty, and I beg you to send for Hiuesê, so that he may succeed his father." "I regard," said Chinghiz, "Hiuesê as one of my most faithful subjects. He followed me into the West, and when my son (Juchi), attacked the town of Hani (?), inhabited by the Muhammadans, Hiuesê, at the head of a thousand men, distinguished himself more than any of my officers. At Sunsecan (*i.e.* Samarkand), he was wounded while fighting like a hero, and his great deeds have placed him among my best officers. He is useful to me, and I cannot part with him. Shan-ku, your second son, should succeed his father." "Hiuesê," said the princess, "is not my son, but Liuko's son by an earlier marriage. Shanku, who is my son, is younger than he. If you give the latter his father's place will it not be said that regardless of justice I only consulted my maternal feelings. I beg you earnestly not to do a wrong which will tarnish my reputation, nor prefer the younger son to the elder." Chinghiz praised her wisdom, and he accorded her wish, nominating Yeliu Hiuesê as king of Liau-tung. When the princess took leave of Chinghiz he gave her 40 post horses, 9 prisoners whom he had captured in Ho-si, 9 horses, 9 ingots of silver, 9 pieces of silk, and 9 specimens of various kinds of precious stones. He retained Shan-ku, Tatar and Siukuenus at his court, and only sent back Yong-ngan, her fourth son, with the princess.[54]

When Yeliu-Hiuesê arrived at Chinghiz Khân's camp, he said to him, "Yeliu-Liuko, your father, put himself under my protection in order to get support against the Kin who ill-used him, and wished to undo him, and as a gauge of his sincerity he placed you as a hostage in my hands. Presently Yêssêpu (?) and other malcontents revolted against him and against your family with the intention of exterminating it. Do you think the germs of disorder are extinct, and that you have no more enemies in your country? I have always treated your father like a younger brother, and I have loved you as a son. Command my troops conjointly with my brother, Belgutei, and live together in close union." When Hiuesê bade him good-by, and desired to leave for his government he detained him for a while, so that he might share in the glory of capturing the capital of Hia.[55]

This reminds us that Chinghiz Khân was then engaged in his famous campaign in Hia or Tangut, the last of his great enterprizes, and to it we must now turn.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ANIMALS AND PLANTS OF INDIA WHICH WERE KNOWN TO EARLY GREEK AUTHORS.

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In a communication made by me in the year 1883 to the Royal Geological Society of Ireland, entitled *A Geologist's Contribution to the History of India*,[2] I endeavoured to identify many mineral productions which are mentioned by the writers of antiquity. Partly by the recorded characteristics of these minerals, and partly by such indications as are given of the localities whence they were derived, I was enabled, by a comparison with our present knowledge of the mode of occurrence and distribution of minerals in India, to arrive at a number of conclusions, the main tendency of which has been to show that many apparently extravagant and fictitious stories by these early writers rest on substantial bases of facts.

While engaged upon that inquiry with reference to minerals, I came upon numerous allusions to animals and plants, for some of which, in spite of their apparently mythical

[54] De Mailla, Vol. IX. pp. 122-123. [55] *id.* pp. 124-125.

[1] From the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, 2nd Ser., Vol. II., No. 6, with additions and revisions.

[2] Reprinted in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIII. p. 228ff.

character, I felt sure that equally substantial foundations could be found by subjecting them to the same sort of analytical comparisons with known facts. From time to time, as leisure has been found for the purpose, I have carried on this investigation, and have occasionally published some of the results.[3]

Inquiries like these belong, if I may use the expression, to a border-land where the student of books and the student of nature may meet and afford one another mutual assistance.

I possess no special philological qualifications for this kind of work, and have only a slight acquaintance with a few of the languages of India; but, on the other hand, I think I may lay claim to the possession of some special knowledge of the animals and plants of India, the ideas about them which are current among the natives, and the uses they put them to. During my travels in the wildest regions of India I have ever taken an interest in the customs and beliefs of the so-called aboriginal tribes, and have had many opportunities for tracing out stories believed by them, and also sometimes by Europeans, to the sources from whence they had originated. This kind of experience enables me now to take up the tale of explanation where it has often been left by linguists and historians, and carry it forward to a perhaps more satisfactory conclusion.

A want of personal acquaintance with India, or when that was possessed, a want of such information as can only be acquired by a field naturalist, using the title in its widest sense, has caused many commentators, both among the early Greeks and Romans and the Continental and English *literati* of the present day, when at a loss to explain the so-called myths, to turn upon their authors and accuse them roundly of mendacity. Thus Strabo states succinctly that, "Generally speaking, the men who have hitherto written on the affairs of India were a set of liars." Again, Lassen has spoken of Ktêsias, when referring to a particular statement of his, in much the same way, although I shall be able to demonstrate that the condemnation was in that particular case wholly undeserved.

The Euemeristic treatment of myths, according to which all that is possible may be accepted as historical, while the remainder is to be rejected as fiction, is all very well, provided that the person who conducts the analysis has become competent to do so by the nature and extent of his experience.

Elsewhere[4] I have recorded numerous reported cases of children having been found living in wolves's dens in India; and these, to say the least, cannot be fairly disposed of in the off-hand manner which the follower of the Euemeristic doctrine would apply to the story of Romulus and Remus, and many others like it.

The well-known Arabian story, related by the author of *Sindibâd*, Marco Polo, and Nicolo Conti, of the method of obtaining diamonds by hurling pieces of meat into a valley, had its origin, as I believe, in an Indian custom of sacrificing cattle on the occasion of opening up new mines, and leaving portions of the meat as an offering to the guardian deities, these naturally being speedily carried off by birds of prey. This custom is not yet extinct.

The so-called myth of the gold-digging ants was not cleared up till, by chance, information was received[5] as to the customs and habits of the Tibetan gold miners of the present day. Then Sir H. Rawlinson, and, independently, Dr. Schiern, of Copenhagen, were enabled to come forward and state beyond a question of doubt that the *myrmêkes* of Hêrodotos and Megasthenês were Tibetan miners, and, it may be added, their dogs. The same dogs are now for the first time identified, as will be seen further on, with the *griffins*. The full account of this discovery by the above-named authors would find its proper place in a paper on races of men, so that I pass from it now, save that I mention a contribution which I have made to it, namely, that the horn of the gold-digging ant, which we are told by Pliny was preserved in the temple of Hercules at Erythræ, and which for centuries has been the subject of much speculation, was probably merely one of the gold-miners' pickaxes. I have been informed by an eye-witness, Mr. R.

[3] *The Academy*, April 21, 1883, and April 19, 1884. Reprinted in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII. p. 234ff.

[4] *Jungle Life in India*, and *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, 1880.

[5] From the *Reports* of the Pandits employed in Trans-Himâlayan Exploration by the Indian Government.

Lydekker, late of the Geological Survey of India, that the picks in use by agriculturists and miners in Ladâkh consist of horns of wild sheep mounted on handles. I believe it probable that Dr. Schiern would be willing to accept this in preference to his own suggestion, namely, that the horns were taken from the skins which are worn as garments by the Tibetans. Perhaps it is as well to add here further, for the benefit of those who may not be aware of the origin of the connexion between ants and gold, that independently that part of the myth was cleared up some years ago, first by Dr. Wilson, who pointed out that the Sanskṛit name for the small fragments of alluvial gold (gold dust) was *pipîlika*, meaning "ant-gold," in reference to the size and form; but the characteristics of the "ants" were always supposed, up to the year 1867, to have been wholly imaginative. Then, however, it was found, as related above, that these characteristics were in the most minute particulars identical with those of Tibetan miners. The whole is an example of what has occurred in reference to other subjects also, namely, the too literal acceptance by the Greeks of the signification of Oriental words, the merely symbolical meaning not having been understood as such. This is, for instance, notably the case with reference to the "Indian Reed": as is printed out on a subsequent page.

It may be here noted that in the foot-notes of various editions of Ktêsias, Megasthenês, Hêrodotos, Ælian, and Strabo, *i.e.*, the authors who furnish the principal part of the statements with which this paper deals, commentators have not unfrequently suggested alterations in the accepted text to suit their preconceived notions of what is possible. With regard to several cases of this kind, I believe the explanations offered in the following pages will show that the text would lose the meanings intended were such changes adopted. Again, there are cases where commentators have suggested derivations for Greek words from Sanskṛit or Persian names, which will, I think, be shown to be incorrect.

Many of the identifications of animals and plants suggested by commentators exhibit a sublime indifference on their part to the laws which govern and the facts observed with reference to the geographical distribution of animals. This practice is akin to the custom common enough among Englishmen in India of talking about animals by names strictly applicable to species not found in the Oriental region. Thus you will hear, at the present day, some sportsmen speaking of panthers, bison, elk, armadillos, alligators, toucans, canvas-back-ducks, and humming-birds, as being commonly shot by them in India, though as a matter of fact none of the animals to which these names are correctly applicable are ever found beyond the limits of the American Continent. It is only just to the Indian sportsmen of to-day to add that a majority among them are anxious to acquire the proper names of the animals they meet with, and there is accordingly a large sale in India for the text books on Indian Zoology.

As an example of how statements about animals sometimes require strict investigation, I remember on one occasion an Englishman assuring me *very positively* that sulphur-crested cockatoos were to be found in large numbers in a particular jungle in the Central Provinces of India. On my pointing out the impossibility of such being the case, the only evidence he could bring in support of the statement that this essentially Australian bird was to be found so far from its proper limits, was that the Râjâ of the district told him so when he had been shown a domesticated specimen. To which I could only reply that a boastful spirit as to the resources of his own territory must have led the Râjâ to state what was not quite true.

I have still another charge to make against the commentators. Up to the very last edition of one of our Greek authors, which was published last year, a custom has been in practice of passing very stale comments from one to another, without reference being made to more recent and direct sources of information.

And here I would mention the names of two encyclopædists for whose works I have the greatest respect and admiration: they are Lassen and Ritter, to the researches by both of whom commentators are much beholden. But as may readily be conceived, during the last fifty years there has been a great advance in our scientific and accurate knowledge of the animals and plants of India, nevertheless we find modern editors making use of statements

proximately derived from Lassen, but which are often ultimately traceable to that most industrious compiler, Karl Ritter, who wrote nearly fifty years ago. Were he alive he would probably have kept better abreast with modern research than have so many who now use the *data* which he collected from still earlier writers. Surely such a statement as that there is at present a tribe of Khonds in the Dakhan who eat the bodies of their deceased relatives, is one that ought not to appear, as it does in a recent edition, except it can be substantiated.[6] It may be true; but, without modern and undoubted proof of the fact, I think no one should be asked to believe it.

The original texts of Megasthenês and Ktêsias not having been preserved to us, except as fragments which have been incorporated by other authors, we cannot say with certainty what they may or may not have contained; but it is sufficiently apparent that it is precisely the most marvellous and apparently impossible descriptions which have been preserved, sometimes out of mere curiosity, and sometimes for purposes of condemnation; the plain matter-of-fact stories about men, animals, and plants, if they ever existed, have been irretrievably lost.

Though not unaware that I run the risk of some adverse criticism when entering into an arena of controversy like this, I have already received a considerable amount of encouragement from quarters where such work is duly appreciated; but the highest incentive I have had in the elucidation of these myths, apart at least from the interest of the study itself, is, that as a former Indian traveller myself, I derive a sincere pleasure in so far establishing the veracity and relieving the characters of travellers from the aspersions which during twenty centuries, more or less, have been freely cast upon them.

I take for my text and for my justification, if need there be, the following passage from De Gubernatis, who, although the author of a zoological mythology, lays no claim to being a zoologist himself. He says: "And if I have sought to compare several physiological laws with the myths, it is not because I attribute to the myth a wisdom greater than that which it contains in reality, but only to indicate that much better than metaphysics, the science of Nature, with the criteria of positive philosophy, can help us to study the original production of myths and their successive development in tradition."

It will be observed in the pages which follow that, besides the simple identifications, there are what may conveniently be called compound identifications, of two classes. In the first, two or more animals, as described by the compilers, are shown to owe their origin to accounts by different authors of the same animals or plants, the identity of which was not perceived by compilers like Ælian. In the other class, under one name, characteristics belonging to more than one species are included. Both these, but especially the latter, have increased the difficulties of identification. Pliny's accounts of minerals furnish a striking example of both: on the one hand, under half a dozen different names, culled from different authors, he has described the same mineral over and over again, without recognizing the identity. In several cases, notably in that of the *adamas*, he describes several distinct minerals under one title.

But a few words remain to be said as to the arrangement of the facts contained in the following pages. Originally it was my intention to make use of some of them as illustrations of a paper on the origin of myths; but, as they multiplied, it seemed to me that they would have an additional value if they were so arranged that they could be easy of reference; and, in order to complete the list, I have included some identifications which have been made by others. This is more particularly the case with the plants yielding drugs: these have for a long time attracted the notice of botanists and other experts; but their determinations have not in all instances found their proper places in the footnotes of commentators.

There still remain a few accounts of animals and plants which have yet to be grappled with; some of these I hope to be able to discuss hereafter, and it may be that I shall see my way to account for some of the so-called mythical tribes of men described by the early Greeks. Some of them, however, appear to be quite beyond the

[6] *Cf. Hêrodotos*, by Prof. Sayce.

reach of explanation, but others may possibly be identified with particular tribes of what are commonly, but not always correctly, called the aboriginal inhabitants of India.

LIST OF SPECIES MENTIONED.

MAMMALS.

1. Πίθηκος ... ... Monkey (*Inuus rhesus*).
2. Κερκοπίθηκος ... ... „ (*Presbytis priamus*).
3. Ὄφις πτερωτός... ... Bat (*Pteropus medius*).
4. Μαρτιχώρας ... ... Tiger (*Felis tigris*).
5. Κροκόττας[7] ... ... Hyæna (*Hyæna crocuta*).
6. Γρύψ ... ... Dog (*Canis domesticus*), (Var. *tibetanus*).
7. Κύων ... ... Dog (*Canis domesticus*) and (*Cuon rutilans*).
8. Δελφίς ... ... Dolphin (*Platanista gangetica & Delphinus, Sp.*).
9. Κῆτος... ... ... Whale (*Balænoptera indica*).
10. Ἐλέφας ... ... Elephant (*Elephas indicus*).
11. Καρτάζωνον Ἰνδικός ὄνος ... ... Rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros indicus*).
12. Ὄνος ἄγριος ... ... Wild ass (*Equus onager*).
13. Ὗς ... ... Pig (*Sus indicus*).
14. Λευκοκρόταs ... ... *Nîlgâu* (*Portax pictus*).
15. Πρόβατα καὶ αἶγες ... Sheep & Goats (*Ovis et Capra*).
16. Ἀγριοβοῦς... ... ... Yak (*Poephagus grunniens*).
17. Φαττάγης ... ... Pangolin (?) (*Manis pentadactyla*).

BIRDS.

18. Ἀετός... ... ... Eagle (*Aquila chrysætus*).
19. Βίττακος, ψιττακός ... Parroquet (*Palæornis eupatrius*).
20. Ἔποψ ... ... Hoopoe (*Eupupa epops*).
21. Κέρκιων ... ... Hill *mainâ* (*Eulabes religiosa* or *E. intermedia*).
22. Πελειάς χλωρόπτιλος.. Green pigeon (*Crocopus chlorigaster*).
23. Ἀλεκτρυόνες μέγιστοι. *Munâl* pheasant (*Lophophorus impeyanus*).
24. Κῆλας... ... ... Adjutant (*Leptoptilos argala*).

REPTILES.

25. Χελώνη ... ... Fresh-water turtle (*Trionyx Sp.*).
26. Ὄφις σπιθαμιαῖος ... *Biskhuprâ* (*Eublepharis Sp.?*).
27. Σκώληξ ... ... Crocodile (*Crocodilus indicus*, or *Gavialis gangeticus ?*).
28. Ὄφις ... ... Python (*Python molurus*).
29. Ὄφις θαλάσσιος... ... Water snake (*Hydrophis, Sp.*).

INSECTS.

30. Μέλι ... ... Honey-Bees (*Apis dotsata*).
31. Μύρμηξ ὁ Ἰνδός ... ... Termites (*Termes, Sp.*).
32. Ἤλεκτρον, &c. ... ... Shellac & Lac insect (*Coccus lacca*).
33. Δίκαιρον ... ... Dung beetle (*Scarabæus sacer*).

PLANTS.

1. Ὄρυζα ... ... Rice (*Oryza sativa*).
2. Μέλι τό καλάμινον ... Sugar Cane (*Saccharum officinarum*).
3. Φλοιός ... ... ? Papyrus (*Papyrus pangorei*).
4. Κάλαμος Ἰνδικός ... Palmyra Palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*).
5. Ναύπλιος ... ... Cocoa-nut (*Cocos nucifera*).
6. Πάρηβον ... ... *Pîpal* (*Ficus religiosa*).
7. Δένδρεα εἴρια φέροντα.. Cotton (*Gossypium indicum*).
8. Σιπτάχορας, part,[8] ... *Khusum* (*Schleichera trijuga*).
9. Λύκιον... ... ... Lycium (*Berberis tinctoria*).
10. Βδέλλιον ... ... Bdellium (*Balsamodendron mukul*, Hook.).
11. Πέπερι ... ... Pepper (*Piper nigrum*).
12. Μαλάβαθρον ... ... Malabathrum (*Cinnamomum tamala*).
13. Καρπίον ... ... Karpion (*Cinnamomum Sp.*).
14. Κασσία ... ... Cassia (*Cinnamomum cassia*).
15. Ἰνδικόν μέλαν ... ... Indigo (*Indigofera tinctoria*).
16. Δένδρον λόπους ἔχον ... *Amaltâs*, H. (*Cassia fistula*).
17. Ἄνθος πορφυροῦν ... *Dhaurâ* H. (*Grislea tomentosa*).
18. Σιπτάχορας, part,[9] ... *Mahwwâ* H. (*Bassia latifolia*).
19. Ἔλαιον σησάμινον ... Sesamum (*Sesamum indicum*).

[7] This animal is included here because it has been mistaken by some commentators for the Indian jackal. It belongs, as correctly stated by Ktêsias, to the African *fauna*.

[8] *Vide* No. 18 *infra*.

[9] *Vide* No. 8 *supra*.

20. Νάρδος	... ...	Spikenard (*Nardostachys jatmansi*).
21. Κόστος	... ...	Costus (*Aucklandia costus*).
22.		Mangrove (*Bruguiera gymnorhiza*).

MAMMALS.

1. MONKEY (Πίθηκος).

Inuus rhesus, Des.(?)—The Bengal Monkey, or *Macacus radiatus*, Kuhl.—The Madras Monkey.

According to Strabo,[10] Megasthenês says, "There are monkeys, rollers of rocks, which climb precipices, whence they roll down stones upon their pursuers." There is not much to enable an exact identification of the species, but it was probably one of the above species of brown monkeys. I am not prepared to deny that this story may have originated in the title of 'monkey' which, as is well known, was freely bestowed upon the wild tribes of men who inhabited the jungles of India, and who, when attacked, often had recourse to this mode of defence against their better armed assailants.[11] But that it is not impossible that the story may have referred to real monkeys will be apparent from the following personal experience of my own:—"When at Malwâ Tâl, a lake near Nainî Tâl, in the Himâlayas, I was warned that in passing under a landslip, which slopes down to the lake, I should be liable to have stones thrown at me by monkeys. Regarding this as being possibly a traveller's tale, I made a particular point of going to the spot in order to see what could have given rise to it. As I approached the base of the landslip, near the road on the north side of the lake I saw a number of brown monkeys (*Inuus rhesus*), rush to the sides and across the top of the landslip, and presently pieces of loosened stone and shale came tumbling down near where I stood. I fully satisfied myself that this was not merely accidental, for I distinctly saw one monkey industriously, with both fore paws, and with obvious *malice prepense*, pushing the loose shingle off a shoulder of rock. I then tried the effect of throwing stones at them, and this made them quite angry, and the number of fragments which they set rolling was speedily doubled. This, though it does not actually amount to throwing or projecting an object by monkeys, comes very near to the same thing, and makes me think that there may be truth in the stories of their throwing fruit at people from trees,"[12] or at least dropping them on their heads.

Bâbar in his *Memoirs* gives an account of several species of monkeys, both wild and domesticated, which were known in Western India in his time.

2. LONG-TAILED MONKEY (κερκοπίθηκος).

Presbytis priamus, Elliot.—The Madras *Langúr*.

There can be little doubt that another species of monkey, described by Megasthenês, as recorded by Strabo and Ælian, belonged to the genus *Presbytis*, and it may, I think, be identified with the Madras species *priamus* rather than with the Bengal species *entellus*. "The monkeys of India," writes Strabo,[13] "are larger than the largest dogs. They are white, except in the face, which is black, though the contrary is observed elsewhere. Their tails are more than two cubits in length; they are very tame, and not of a malicious disposition, so that they neither attack nor steal." An account by Ælian[14] is more detailed. "Among the Prasii (Sansk., *Prâchyas*, *i.e.*, Easterns) in India there are found, they say, apes of human-like intelligence, which are to appearance about the size of Hyrkanian dogs. Nature has furnished them with fore-locks, which one ignorant of the reality would take to be artificial. Their chin, like that of a satyr, turns upwards, and their tails are like the potent one of the lion. Their bodies are white all over, except the face and the tip of the tail, which are of a reddish hue. They are very intelligent, and naturally tame. They are bred in the woods, where also they live, subsisting on the fruits which they find growing wild on the hills. They resort in great numbers to Latagê, an Indian city, where they eat rice, which has been laid down for them by the king's orders. In fact, every day

[10] *Geôgraphika*, xv. 1, 56. *Cf. Megasthenês*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 58.

[11] [Natives commonly believe that the *English* are the descendants of the monkey army of Hanumân, the ally of Râma Chandra. There are several proverbs turning on this notion, based on a prophecy said to be in the *Râmâyaṇa*, that a race with the characteristics of Hanumân's monkeys would conquer India under certain conditions. The English are said to fulfil the characteristics and their rule the conditions.—ED.]

[12] *Jungle Life in India*, p. 537.

[13] *Geôgraphika*, xv. 1, 37.

[14] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 10. *Cf. Megasthenês*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 57.

a ready-prepared meal is set out for their use. It is said that when they have satisfied their appetite they retire in an orderly manner to their haunts in the woods, without injuring a single thing that comes in their way." Ælian gives another account also, which differs in some respects from the above: but, on the whole, considering the region to which the account of Megasthenês referred, I think that the species was the above, the technical description of which, given by Jerdon,[15] is as follows:—"Ashy grey colour, with a pale reddish or *chocolat au lait* overlying the whole back and head; sides of the head, chin, throat, and beneath, pale yellowish; hands and feet, whitish; face, palms, fingers, soles of the feet and toes, black; a high compressed vertical crest of hairs on the top of the head; hairs long and straight, not wavy; tail of the colour of the darker portion of the back, ending in a whitish tuft; much the same size as *entellus*, *i. e.*—length to root of tail, 30 inches; tail, 43 inches; but it attains a still larger size. Inhabits the Eastern Ghâṭs and southern portion of table-land of Southern India, also in Ceylon, but not extending to Malabar coast."

Setting out rice for the use of monkeys, as described by Ælian, is a common custom at present.

3. THE FLYING SERPENT (Ὄφις πτερωτός).

Pteropus medius, Temm.—The Flying Fox.

Strabo,[16] quoting from Megasthenês, tells us that there are "in some parts of the country serpents two cubits long, which have membranous wings like bats. They fly about by night, when they let fall drops of urine or sweat, which blister the skin of persons not on their guard with putrid sores." Ælian[17] gives a similar account. There can be little doubt that this is an exaggerated account of the great fruit-eating bats of India, which are known to Europeans as flying foxes. The extent of their wings, according to Jerdon, sometimes amounts to 52 inches, and in length they reach 14½ inches. Less accurate observers have stated the span to exceed 6 feet. Though noisome animals in many respects, their droppings have not the properties above attributed. Flying foxes are eaten by some of the lower classes of natives, and Europeans who have made the experiment say the flesh is delicate and without unpleasant flavour. Though small species of European bats were well known to the Greeks, these large fruit-eating bats might well be regarded by them as something *sui generis*. It is quite probable that at the present moment many Europeans in India do not even know that they *are* true bats. As to the winged scorpions which, according to Megasthenês, sting both natives and Europeans alike, I can only suggest that they were hornets of large size.

4. THE MARTIKHORA (Μαρτιχώρας Ἀνδροφάγος).

Felis tigris, Linn.—The Tiger.

This animal was described by Ktêsias as being of the size of the lion, red in colour, with human-like face, ears and eyes, three rows of teeth, and stings on various parts of the body, but especially on the tail, which caused it to be compared with the scorpion.[18] Its name records the fact that it was a man-eater (Persian *mard-khor* in its archaic form), and this characteristic is also expressly stated by Ktêsias. It was hunted by the natives from the backs of elephants. Although it has been suggested by some commentators that it was the tiger, none of them appear to have seen how the several statements can be shown to be founded on actual facts. Pausanias for instance, attributes these details to the imagination of the Indians, excited by the dread of the animal. Others appear to be unwilling to regard the animal as being capable of identification. Thus Lassen, referring to Ktêsias's assertion, that he had seen one of these animals with the Persian monarch, to whom it had been presented by the Indian king, asserts that "he cannot, in this instance, be acquitted of mendacity."[19]

Among facts not generally known, though mentioned in some works on Zoology, is one which I can state from my own personal knowledge is familiar to Indian *shikârîs*—it is that at the extremity of the tail of the tiger, as well as of other *felidæ*, there is a little horny

[15] *Mammals of India*, p. 7.
[16] *Geôgraphika*, xv. 1, 37. *Cf.* J. W. M'Crindle's *Megasthenês*, p. 56. [17] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 41.
[18] Topsell's fantastic figure, founded on this description, given in his *History of Four-footed Beasts*, has been recently reproduced by Miss Phipson in her *Animal Lore of Shakespeare*.
[19] *Ancient India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 77.

dermal structure like a claw or nail, which, I doubt not, the natives regard as analogous to the sting of the scorpion. Moreover, the whiskers of the tiger are by many natives regarded as capable of causing injury; and sportsmen know, where this is the case, that the skins of their slaughtered tigers are liable to be injured by the plucking out or burning off the whiskers—to avert accidents. Some believe that the removal of the whiskers prevents any human being assuming the form of the tiger, others that the possession of tiger's whiskers endowed the fortunate possessor with unlimited power over the opposite sex.[20] The idea of the three rows of teeth probably had its origin in the three lobes of the carnivorous molar, which is of such a different type from the molars of ruminants and horses. The *Martikhôra* was therefore, I believe, the tiger, and the account of it embodies actual facts, though they were somewhat distorted in the telling.

It may be said that it would not be difficult to construct an account of the tiger derived from the attributes and characteristics ascribed to the animal at the present day by the natives, which would have a far less substantial basis of fact than has the one given to us by Ktêsias.

Aristotle gives an account of this animal, which, he states, was taken from Ktêsias.[21]

Megasthenês, according to Strabo, states with reference to tigers, that the largest are found among the Prasii (Sansk., *Prâchyas, i.e.*, Easterns), being nearly twice the size of the lion, and so strong that a tame tiger, led by four men, having seized a mule by one of the hind legs, overpowered it and dragged it to him.[22] Not a very remarkable performance, the Indian sportsman will remark, who knows what a tiger can do in the way of dragging heavy oxen for long distances over obstacles.

5. THE KROKOTTAS, OR KYNOLYKOS (Κροκόττας Κυνόλυκος).

Hyæna crocuta.—The Spotted Hyæna.

Ktêsias, according to Photios,[23] describes the above animal as follows:—"There is in Ethiopia an animal called properly the *Krokottas*, but vulgarly the *Kynolykos*. It is of prodigious strength, and is said to imitate the human voice, and by night to call out men by their names, and when they come to fall upon them and devour them.[24] This animal has the courage of the lion, the speed of the horse, and the strength of the bull, and cannot be successfully encountered with weapons of steel."

This I am disposed to identify (as from the references given by him in a foot-note, so also does Mr. M'Crindle) with the spotted hyæna (*H. crocuta*) of Africa—a very powerful animal—which, like its Indian relative (*H. strita*), has a hideous cry at night. It is, I believe, not conspicuous for courage; but according to some accounts the lion is less courageous in reality than is generally supposed. That, however, is a small matter. I cannot but think that Lassen[25] is wrong in identifying, on philological grounds, this animal with the jackal, the Prâkṛit name for the latter being *koṭṭharaka* (Skr. *krôshṭuka*). This involves his saying, first, that the above were "fabulous attributes given to the jackal, an animal which frequently appears in Indian fables;" and, second, that the Ethiopia of Ktêsias meant India.

6. THE GRYPHON, OR GRIFFIN (Γρύψ).

Canis domesticus, var. *Tibetanus.*

Tibetan Mastiffs.

According to Ktêsias, as related by Photios,[26] gold was obtained in certain "high towering mountains which are inhabited by the griffins, a race of four-footed birds, about as large as wolves, having legs and claws like those of the lion, and covered all over the body with black feathers, except only on the breast, where they are red. On account of these birds the gold, with which the mountains abound, is difficult to be got." Ælian's account of the same animals adds some probably spurious particulars—such as that the wings are white, the neck variegated with blue feathers, the beak like an eagle's, and that, according to the Baktrians, they built their nests of the gold which they dug out of the soil, but that the Indians deny this. He

20 [A long and very interesting account of the superstitions connected with tigers in the Central Provinces is to be found in Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections*, Vol. I. p. 161 ff. ED.]

21 *De Hist. Anim.* ii. 1. *Vide postea.*

22 *Geôgraphika*, xv. i. 37. *Cf. Megasthenês*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 56.

23 *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii. *Cf. Ancient India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, pp. 32, 33.

24 [It is worth noting that this is commonly attributed by the natives of *India* to ghosts and goblins, especially to the *churel* or malignant female ghost of a woman dying in childbed.—ED.]

25 *Ancient India*, p. 75.

26 *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii.

states that the auriferous region which the griffins inhabited was a frightful desert.

Taking Photios's account alone, and excluding from it the word birds, and for feathers reading hair, we have a tolerably accurate description of the hairy black-and-tan-coloured Tibetan mastiffs, which are now, as they were doubtless formerly, the custodians of the dwellings of Tibetans, those of gold miners as well as of others. They attracted the special attention of Marco Polo, as well as of many other travellers in Tibet; and for a recent account of them reference may be made to Captain Gill's *River of Golden Sand.* They are excessively savage, and attack strangers fiercely, as I have myself experienced on the borders of Sikhim. I remember seeing a very fine pair of them which were brought from Kâshghar by Dr. Bellew. They suffered much from the heat on their journey from Simla to Bombay. Whether they ever reached England I cannot say.

This identification serves also to clear up certain of the details in the story of Megasthenês and Hêrodotos, as to the gold-digging ants, which have been identified by Sir H. Rawlinson and Professor Schiern, as mentioned in the introductory remarks, with Tibetan gold miners and their dogs. The former, on account of the great cold, are and were clad in furs, and it would appear, shared with the dogs in giving characteristics to the famous ants which were for so long regarded as a myth incapable of explanation. The "ants" which, according to Hêrodotos, were taken to Persia, and kept there, were, I believe, simply these mastiffs. He tells us[27] elsewhere that Tritantakhmês, Satrap of Babylôn, under the Akhaimenians, "kept a great number of Indian dogs. Four large towns situated in the plain were charged with their support, and were exempted from all other tribute."

Larcher, in his *Notes on Hêrodotos* (Vol. III. p. 339), quotes the following, without however noticing how far it aids in clearing the myth of the griffins:—"M. de Thou, an author worthy of credit, recounts that Shah Thamas Sophie of Persia,[28] sent to Suliman one of these ants in 1559. '*Nuntius etiam a Thamo Oratoris titulo quidam ad Solimanum venit cum muneribus, inter quæ erat formica Indica, canis medioeris magnitudine, animal mordax et sævum. Thuanus—Lib.* xxiii."

Hêrodotos himself evidently supposed the Gryphons to be a race of men.

Regarding the origin of the name griffin or gryphon, the Persian *giriftan* (to gripe, or seize, is suggested by Mr. M'Crindle as the source) Hindustânî contains several words thence derived, as *giriftâr*, a captive; *girift*, seizure, &c. The Tibetans call their dogs *gyake*, or royal dogs, on account of their size and ferocity.

It may be added here, in its proper place, though already mentioned in the introductory remarks, that a passage in Pliny's account of the ants,[29] which has been the source of much difficulty to many who have discussed this question, admits, as I have elsewhere shown, of a satisfactory explanation. The passage is:—"*Indicæ formicæ cornua, Erythris in æde Herculis fixa, miraculo fuere.*" The horn of the Indian ant was probably an example of the pickaxe even now in common use in Ladâkh and probably also in Tibet. It is a sheep's horn fixed on a handle: this is, I think, more probable than that it was a horn taken from one of the skin garments worn by the Tibetan miners, as has been suggested by Professor Schiern.[30]

7. DOG (Κύων).

Canis and *Cuon* (?)—Domestic and Wild Dogs.

There are various allusions by our authors to other dogs besides those which have been identified as the originals of the griffins. Thus Ktêsias, according to Potios,[31] says that "the dogs of India are of great size, so that they fight even with the lion." This may possibly refer to the well-known fact that packs of wild dogs (*Cuon rutilans*) prove a match for the larger carnivora. There are numerous well authenticated cases of tigers having being killed by these dogs.

Ælian[32] relates that "Ktêsias, in his account of India, says that the people called the Kynamolgoi rear many dogs as big as the Hyrkanian

[27] *Clio*, lib. I. cap. cxcii.

[28] [The persons meant are Shâh Tahmasp Safavî of Persia, 1524-1576 A.D., the celebrated succourer of Humâyûn in 1543, and the still greater Sultân Sulaimân the Magnificent, 1520-1566.—ED.]

[29] *Hist. Nat.* lib. XI. cap. xxxi.

[30] See *ante*, Vol. IV. p. 231.

[31] *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii.

[32] *De Animal. Nat.*, xvi. 31. *Cf. Anc. India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 36.

breed; and this Knidian writer tells us why they keep so many dogs, and this is the reason: from the time of the summer solstice on to mid-winter they are incessantly attacked by herds of wild oxen, coming like a swarm of bees or a flight of angry wasps, only that the oxen are more numerous by far. They are ferocious withal and proudly defiant, and butt most viciously with their horns. The Kynamolgoi, unable to withstand them otherwise, let loose their dogs upon them, which are bred for this express purpose; and these dogs easily overpower the oxen, and worry them to death. During the season when they are left unmolested by the oxen, they employ their dogs in hunting other animals. They milk the bitches, and this is why they are called Kynamolgoi (dog-milkers). They drink this milk just as we drink that of the sheep or goat."

There is at present a tribe in India who are noted for keeping a large breed of dogs, which are most efficient in the chase. These are the Labânâs or Brinjârâs, who, by means of their pack cattle, perform most of the inland carriage in the hilly central regions of the peninsula. I have met their caravans, and also their fixed habitations in the Central Provinces bordering Western Bengal, where they are very numerous. This general region is the one where the Kynamolgoi (or Kynokephaloi) may be presumed to have dwelt. In Orissa there is a Râjâ of a petty State who keeps a very fine breed of dogs, by means of which deer are run down, especially, as I was told, during the rainy season, when the softness of the ground prevents them from running so fast as they are able to do at other times. There are similar breeds also in other parts of India.

According to the author of *Indian Field Sports* (p. 39), the Râjâ of Kandâ in the Hazâribâgh District of Chutiâ Nagpûr had a breed of such dogs, which hunted in the hot weather and could take up the scent of deer many hours after they had passed.

The " oxen" referred to were probably wild buffaloes, which still do much injury to the crops in some parts of India, and are a cause of terror to the natives.

8. Dolphin (Δελφίς).

Platanista indi., Blyth. *Delphinus* (*Sp.?*)

Ælian[33] tells us that the "dolphins of India are reported to be of two sorts: one fierce, and armed with sharp-pointed teeth, which gives endless trouble to the fishermen, and is of a remorselessly cruel disposition; while the other kind is naturally mild and tame, swims about in the friskiest way, and is quite like a fawning dog; it does not run!! (*sic* in translation) away when anyone tries to stroke it, and it takes with pleasure any food it is offered."

The first of these is probably the Indus species of the very curious genus of river porpoise (*Platanista*) which is found in India. The jaws are provided with numerous conical, recurved teeth. These porpoises are very destructive to fish, and are occasionally accidentally taken in nets. According to Jerdon,[34] they are speared by certain tribes of fishermen on the Ganges, who eat the flesh, and make oil from the blubber, which they use for burning.

Under the name *Khûk âbî*, *i.e.*, water hog, the *Platanista* is described in Bâbar's *Memoirs* by Erskine. Sir A. Burnes (*Cabool*, p. 8) calls it the *Boolun* (*Bûlan*).

The other dolphin mentioned by Ælian may, perhaps, be identified as a species of *Delphinus*, which often keeps company with vessels for long distances, though probably its tameness is somewhat exaggerated for the sake of contrast.

9. Whale (Κῆτος).

Balænoptera indica, Blyth.—The Indian Fin-whale.

Ælian[35] tells us that "whales are to be found in the Indian sea; they are five times larger than the largest elephant. A rib of this monstrous fish measures as much as twenty cubits, and its lip fifteen cubits." Further on, he states that it is "not true that they come near the shore lying in wait for tunnies."

The rib, twenty cubits long, was probably really the *ramus* of a jaw, and the length given is therefore not excessive, since one in the Calcutta Museum, according to Jerdon,[36] from an individual eighty-four feet long, measured twenty-one feet; and it is said that specimens measuring up to one hundred feet have been stranded on the Indian coast. *Rami* of the jaws of whales are even now not uncommonly mistaken for ribs.

Since the species of this genus of whales

[33] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 18.
[34] *Mammals of India*, p. 159.
[35] *Hist. Anim.* xvi. 12.
[36] *Mammals of India*, p. 161.

feed on fish, the statement which Ælian denies was probably to some extent founded on actual observation.

10. THE ELEPHANT (Ἐλέφας).

Elephas indicus, Cuv.—The Indian Elephant.

There are, as might be expected, numerous allusions to the Elephant by Megasthenês, Arrian, and the author of the *Periplus.* Its mode of capture is described, as also are its training, its uses in the chase and in war, its habits, and certain peculiarities of its constitution. Some of these latter, as, for instance, those connected with the coming together of the sexes, are correct, though a myth in reference to this last exists even at the present day, and is very commonly believed by many.

The elephants of Taprobanê (*i.e.* Ceylon) are distinguished, according to Ælian's account—derived perhaps from Megasthenês—as being larger, and more intelligent, than those of the mainland. The same author, too, describes a white elephant, and relates in reference to it a story of its devotion to its master.

The author of the *Periplus* mentions several ports, both in Africa and India, whence *elephas* (*i.e.*, ivory) was an article of export, as we know it had been since the days of Solomon.

A very fair monograph of the habits and external characteristics of the elephant might be written from the facts recorded by the above authors, supplemented by such as are given by Strabo and Pliny.

11. THE KARTAZONON AND THE INDIAN ASS.
(Καρτάζωνον, Ινδικὸς ὄνος).

Rhinoceros indicus, Cuv.—The Rhinoceros.
Genḍâ, Hin.

The *Kartazônon* of Megasthenês and the horned ass of Ktêsias, although separately described by Ælian as if they were distinct animals, appear to be both capable of identification with the rhinoceros. This fact has been already more or less generally accepted by writers, although some particulars, especially those as to the colour, have given rise to much discussion and argument. It seems probable that[37] the Rhinoceros was also the original of the *monokeros*, or unicorn, which, as we have good cause to know, is usually represented as an Horned Ass. Ælian's[38] description of the *Kartazônon* is as follows:—"It is also said that there exists in India a one-horned animal, called by the natives the *Kartazôn.* It is of the size of a full-grown horse, and has a crest and yellow hair soft as wool. It is furnished with very good legs, and is very fleet. Its legs are jointless, and formed like those of the elephant; and it has a tail like a swine's. A horn sprouts out from between its eyebrows, and this is not straight, but curved into the most natural wreaths, and is of a black colour. This horn is said to be extremely sharp. The animal, as I learn, has a voice beyond all example—loud, ringing, and dissonant."

Photios's[39] account of the "horned wild ass" of Ktêsias agrees, in the main particulars, with one by Ælian.[40] That by the former is as follows: "Among the Indians there are wild asses as large as horses, some being even larger. Their head is of a dark-red colour, their eyes blue, and the rest of their body white. They have a horn on their forehead, a cubit in length (the filings of this horn, given in a potion, are an antidote to poisonous drugs). This horn, for about two palm-breadths upwards from the base, is of the purest white, where it tapers to a sharp point, of a flaming crimson, and in the middle it is black. These horns are made into drinking-cups, and such as drink from them are attacked neither by convulsions nor by the sacred disease (epilepsy); nay, they are not even affected by poisons, if either before or after swallowing them they drink from these cups wine, water, or anything else. While other asses, moreover, whether wild or tame, and indeed all other solid-hoofed animals, have neither huckle-bones (*astragulus*) nor gall in the liver, these one-horned asses have both. Their huckle-bone is the most beautiful of all I have ever seen, and is in appearance and size like that of the ox. It is as heavy as lead, and of the colour of cinnabar, both on the surface and all throughout. It is an exceedingly fleet and strong animal, and no creature that pursues it, not even the horse, can overtake it," &c.

[37] [*Cf. Panjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. note 85. In *J. A. S. B.* for 1839, p. 919, it is stated that a Kumâunî swore he had seen a unicorn with the Râjâ of Gaṛhwâl and that on inspection it turned out to be a rhinoceros.—ED.] The unicorn of the Highlands is *Kemas Hodgsoni*, the Tibetan antelope, which when seen in profile appears to have only one horn, as was stated by the Abbé Huc.

[38] *Hist. Anim.* xvi. 20, 21.

[39] *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii. 25; *Cf. Anc. India*, by J. W. M'Crindle.

[40] *Hist. Anim.* iv. 52.

Regarding the *astragulus*, or huckle-bone, the statement of its absence in solid-hoofed animals is incorrect, and I can offer no explanation of the reputed characteristics of that of the horned wild ass, except that an example seen by Ktêsias had simply been dyed and weighted with lead. For short distances the rhinoceros can charge with great speed and force, and its voice is such as to merit to some extent the description by Megasthenês.

In reference to the colours of the animal, when I recall that I have often seen in India horses with tails and manes of a bright magenta, and with spots of the same colour all over their otherwise white bodies; that I have also seen elephants belonging to Râjâs ornamented on their heads by the application of various pigments—I am led to conclude that the rhinoceros from which Ktêsias's description was taken was a domesticated one, which, in accordance with the natives' taste for bright colours, had been painted to take part in some pageant. Domesticated rhinoceroses are still kept by many natives; and they have, I believe, sometimes been trained like elephants to carry *haudâs* with riders in them. I once met a native dealer in animals who had taken with him, for several hundred miles through the jungles, a rhinoceros, which he ultimately sold to the Râjâ of Jâipûr, in Madras. He drove the animal before him, he told me, "as if it were a cow."

The horn of the rhinoceros is still held in much esteem by the natives of India, both for making into cups, which are supposed to sweat on the approach of poison, and for the preparation of a drug. They will pay sportsmen a high price for these horns, but are particular about obtaining the right article, as I learned from a gentleman who, as a speculation, brought a number of rhinoceros horns from Africa, but failed to dispose of them in the Calcutta *bâzârs*.

An interesting account of the Rhinoceros, which in his time inhabited the valley of the Indus, is given by Bâbar in his *Memoirs*. Among other things he says, "As the horse has a large stomach so has this: as the pastern of the horse is composed of a single bone so also is that of the Rhinoceros: as there is a *gumek* (marrow?) in the horse's fore-leg so is there in that of the Rhinoceros."

Having thus offered an explanation of what has hitherto been a difficulty to commentators, I should not be surprised if evidence should be forthcoming to prove that it has been the custom with the natives to adorn with coloured pigments the cuirass-like hides of tame rhinoceroses.

Since the above paragraph was written, I have obtained sufficient confirmation of the correctness of this view, for, on referring to Rousslet's work on the Native Courts of India,[41] I find an account of a rhinoceros fight at Baroda, which took place before the Gaekwâṛ. The two animals were chained at opposite sides of the arena—one of them was *painted black, the other red*, in order that they might be distinguished, for otherwise they resembled each other in every point.

Ktêsias' horned ass, therefore, had probably been whitewashed, and had had his horn painted blue and scarlet by his owner—who little foresaw what food for discussion and comment he was affording, by that simple act, to twenty centuries of philosophers and historians.

12. WILD HORSES AND ASSES

(Ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι ἄγριοι).

Equus onager, Pallas.—Wild Ass of Kachh, &c.

According to Ælian[42] there are herds of wild horses and also of wild asses. "These interbreed, and the mules are of a reddish colour and very fleet, but impatient of the yoke and very skittish. They say that they catch these mules with foot-traps and then take them to the king of the Prasians, and that if they are caught when two years old they do not refuse to be broken in, but if caught when beyond that age they differ in no respect from sharp-toothed and carnivorous animals."

The mention of both horses and asses is no doubt due to the somewhat mule-like characters of the wild ass which is found in Western India, and is called *gorkhar* in Hindustânî and *gor* by the Persians. A closely allied species is the *kiang* of Tibet: (*E. hemoinus*, Pallas). Even now by travellers they are sometimes spoken of as wild horses, but

[41] *L'Inde des Rajahs.*

[42] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 9. *Cf. Megasthenês*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 163.

their neigh or bray, and tail, prove them to be true asses. In the Bîkâner State, according to Dr. Jerdon, "once only in the year, when the foals are young, a party of five or six native hunters, mounted on hardy Sind mares, chase down as many foals as they succeed in tiring, which lie down when utterly fatigued, and suffer themselves to be bound and carried off. In general they refuse sustenance at first, and about one-third only of those which are taken are reared; but these command high prices, and find a ready sale with the native princes. The profits are shared by the party, who do not attempt a second chase in the same year, lest they should scare the herd from the district, as these men regard the sale of a few *gorkhar* annually as a regular source of subsistence."[43]

Bâbar in his *Memoirs* gives a spirited account of his hunting the *gorkhar* in Kâṭhiâwâḍ.

13. The Pig (Ὗς).

Sus indicus, Schinz.—Indian Wild Boar.

Among statements by Ktêsias which cannot be accepted, is the following, as related by Photios :[44]—"India does not, however, produce the pig, either the tame sort or the wild." Ælian in reproducing the same, adds that the "Indians so abhor the flesh of this animal that they would as soon taste human flesh as taste pork." Aristotle and Palladios also repeat the story of the absence of swine, which, if it had been true, would naturally suggest the inquiry—how came the Indians to abhor the flesh, and, still more, how came the fact to be known? It is notorious that certain tracts of India at the present day do not contain wild pigs, and also that several large sections of the people detest the pig, and do not allow it to be kept in their villages. There are, however, some Hindûs of high caste who will eat the flesh of the wild boar, and the Sind Amîrs had pig preserves for purposes of sport. If other evidence were wanting that the pig is not a modern importation, and that the wild pig is truly feral, appeal may be made to the fossil remains of pigs found in the Sivâlik Hills to show that it belongs to the ancestral fauna. Among some of the aboriginal and other tribes the keeping of pigs is, and probably always has been, a prevalent custom. Ancient Sanskrit writings would probably furnish evidence of the existence of pigs in India before the time of Ktêsias.

14. The Nilgau (Λευκοκρόταs).

Portax pictus.

So far as I know the *Leucocrotta* of Pliny[45] has never been identified. He says it was the size of the wild ass, with the legs of a stag; the neck, tail and breast of a lion, the head of a badger, a cloven hoof; the mouth slit up as far as the ears, and one continuous bone instead of teeth. The last item I cannot explain; but the mane and tail of the *Nîlgâu* sufficiently resemble those of the lion to have suggested the comparison. The *Hippilaphos* of Aristotle has also been supposed to be the *Nîlgâu* by some writers.

15. Sheep and Goats (Πρόβατα καὶ αἶγες).

Ovis et Capra.

Both Photios[46] and Ælian state that the sheep and goats of India are bigger than asses. The former adds that they produce from four to six young at a time, and the latter that they never produce less than three, but generally four.

All these statements are without foundation, for, although there are large breeds of goats peculiar to certain parts of India, they never approach the ass in size, and the sheep are particularly small. Ælian[47] alludes to the largeness of the tails, those of the sheep reaching to their feet, and the tails of the goats almost touching the ground. There are breeds of large-tailed sheep in Western India and Afghânistân called *dumbas*,[48] but I am unaware of the existence of any breed of goats which are remarkable in this respect. However in India some of the sheep are very goat-like and the contrary is also true. A wild goat of large size, said to be equal to an ordinary donkey, occurs in the Western *Ghâṭs* and the Nilagiri Hills. It is the *Hemitragus hylocrius* of Ogilby.

16. The Agriobous (Ἀγριοβοῦς).

Poephagus grunniens, Linn.—The Yak.

The above name is that given by Kosmas Indikopleustês, a monkish traveller of the

[43] *Mammals of India*, p. 237.
[44] *Cf.* J. W. M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, pp. 17, 46, 47.
[45] B. viii. ch. 30.
[46] *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii. 13. *Cf. Anc. India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 17.
[47] *De Animal. Nat.*, iv. pp. 32.
[48] [*dumba* appears to be a Persian and not an Indian word.—ED.]

seventh century, to an animal which is most probably the same as one described by Ælian in the passage quoted below. Taking both of these accounts together, I do not hesitate to identify it with the Yak, which occurs not in India, but north of the Himâlayan snow ranges. Yaks' tails are even at the present time a regular trade commodity, brought into India through Nepâl and other frontier states, and they are much used by Indian potentates for various decorative purposes, insignia, &c., and from them are also made the more humble fly-whisks carried by horsemen.

Ælian says[49] :—"There is found in India a graminivorous animal (ποηφάγον ζῷον), which is double the size of a horse, and which has a very bushy tail, very black in colour. The hair of this tail is finer than human hair, and its possession is a point on which Indian women set great store, for therewith they make a charming coiffure, by binding and braiding it with locks of their own natural hair. The length of a hair is two cubits, and from a single root there spring out in the form of a fringe somewhere about thirty hairs."

Ælian gives also a second and separate description of an animal shaped liked a satyr, covered all over with shaggy hair, and having a tail like a horse's. It was found in the mountains skirting the inland frontier of India, in a district called Korinda. When pursued it fled up the mountain sides, rolling down stones on its assailants. This, I think, was probably also the Yak. Compilers like Ælian have often mentioned the same object twice under different titles. "The animal itself is the most timid that is known, for should it perceive that anyone is looking at it, it starts off at its utmost speed, and runs right forward; but its eagerness to escape is greater than the rapidity of its pace. It is hunted with horses and hounds, good to run. When it sees that it is on the point of being caught, it hides its tail in some near thicket, while it stands at bay, facing its pursuers, whom it watches narrowly. It even plucks up courage in a way, and thinks that since its tail is hid from view the hunters will not care to capture it, for it knows that its tail is the great object of attraction. But it finds this to be, of course, a vain delusion, for someone hits it with a poisoned dart, who then flays off the entire skin (for this is of value), and throws away the carcass, as the Indians make no use of any part of its flesh."[50]

Kosmas describes it as "an animal of great size, belonging to India, and from it is got what is called the *toupha*,[51] wherewith the captains of armies decorate their horses and their standards when taking the field. They say of it that if its tail be caught by a tree, it no longer stoops, but remains standing through its unwillingness to lose even a single hair. On seeing this, the people of the neighbourhood approach and cut off the tail, and then the creature flies off when docked entirely of its tail."[52]

17. THE PHATTAGES (Φαττάγης).

Manis pentadactyla, Linn. (?)—The Pangolin.

In Ælian's elsewhere quoted account of the animals of India,[53] which, from internal evidence, is considered by Schwanbeck, as pointed out by Mr. M'Crindle, to have been largely borrowed from Megasthenês, the following passage occurs:—

"In India there is an animal closely resembling the land crocodile, and somewhere about the size of a little Maltese dog. It is covered all over with a scaly skin, so rough altogether, and so compact, that when flayed off it is used by the Indians as a file. It cuts through brass, and cuts iron. They call it the *phattagês*." It has been identified by Mr. M'Crindle with the pangolin, or scaly ant-eater. This identification may, perhaps, be correct; but I must confess to some reluctance in accepting it, since the *bajr-kîṭ*, as it is called in Hindustânî, (Skr. *vajra-kîṭa*) seems scarcely to answer the description so well as would one of the land lizards, *Varanus*, or the water lizards, *Hydrosaurus*. In any case, the statement that the skins are used as a file capable of cutting metals must be regarded as apocryphal. The scales and flesh are used medicinally by the natives, being supposed to possess aphrodisiac properties.

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[49] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 21.

[50] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 11. *Cf.* M'Crindle's *Megasthenês*, p. 164.

[51] Called *tugh*, an emblem of Noblemen of the First Class, in Bâbar's *Memoirs*, Erskine, p. 249.

[52] *De Mundo*, xi.

[53] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 6. *Cf.* M'Crindle's *Megasthenês*, p. 163.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p. 233*).

No. CLVIII.

GOA PLATES OF SHASHTHADEVA II.—KALIYUGA 4348.

This inscription is from a set of copper-plates which were found at Goa, and are now in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about 7⅝″ by 5¼″. The edges of them are raised into rims to protect the writing; and, except in a few places on the outer side of the third plate, the inscription is in a state of perfect preservation throughout. The ring, on which the plates were strung, is about ¼″ thick and 2¾″ in diameter; it had not been cut when the grant came into my hands. The seal on the ring is circular, about 2⅜″ in diameter. On the rim, which is about ¼″ broad, it has, in the same characters as the body of the grant, the marginal legend — *Srî(śrî)-Shashṭhadêva-pratishṭhâpakaḥ śrî-Kâmadêva-bhu(bhû)mi-pâlaḥ*, "the illustrious king Kâmadeva, the establisher of the illustrious Shashṭhadêva,"—followed by a *svastika*. Inside this, in relief on a countersunk surface, it has a conventional *siṁha* or lion, couchant to the proper right, and facing to the front, with the sun and moon, and a sword, dagger, or umbrella, above it. The weight of the three plates is 3 lbs. 5½ oz., and of the ring and seal, 1 lb. 1½ oz.; total weight, 4lbs. 7 oz. The characters are Nâgari, of the period to which the inscription refers itself; and the *virâma* is represented by the same sign that is used for the short vowel *u*. The language is Sanskrit throughout. The inscription is arranged on the plates so that they turn over like the pages of an English book; but the order of them is reversed, and the inscription begins on what, according to English custom, would be the last page.

The inscription commences with an invocation of Śiva,—followed by a verse in praise of the same god under the name of Saptakôṭîśa,—and another, in which the same god, under the name of Tryaksha, or "the three-eyed," is asked to preserve king Shashṭha, the ornament of the family of the Kâdambas,[1] and king Kâvaṇa (line 3).

It then continues,—from a drop of sweat, which fell from the forehead of Puramathana[2] and touched the ground near the roots of a *kadamba*-tree, there sprang the four-armed and three-eyed Jayanta (l. 5.) Many kings of his lineage followed; and at length there was born among them Gûhalla (l. 8.) Then there was Shashṭha (l. 9.) His son was Jayakêśin (l. 10.) His son was Vijayârka. Then there was Jayakêśin (l. 12), to whom the Châlukya king Permâḍi[3] gave his daughter Mailalamahâdêvî (l. 13) in marriage. Their sons were Permâḍi and Vijaya (l. 14.) From Vijaya there was born Jayakêśin (l. 15), whose wife was Mahâdêvî. Their son was Tribhuvanamalla (l. 16.) And from him and his wife Mâṇikâdêvî, there was born king Shashṭha (l. 18), the full-moon of the ocean which was the family of the Kâdambas (l. 19.)

The inscription then introduces a certain 'king' Kâma (l. 22), Kâmadêva (l. 23), or Kâvaṇa (l. 24),[4]—the son of Lakshmidêva and Lakshmî,—whose wife was a sister of king Shashṭha (l. 22), and who is described as the establisher of Shashṭha.[5]

The inscription then proceeds to record that,—when four thousand three hundred and forty-eight years of the Kaliyuga had expired (l. 30); in the fifth year of his reign; in the Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsara*[6]; on Budhavâra, or Wednesday, the first day of the bright fortnight of Aśvayuja (l. 31); when the sun was in the sign of the scales; and at the time of the

[1] The Kâdambas of Goa; see *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 89 ff.

[2] Śiva, as the destroyer of the cities of the demon Tripura.

[3] The Western Châlukya king Vikramâditya VI.

[4] By this name he is mentioned also in the legend on the seal.

[5] *Shashṭha-bhûpâla-pratishṭh-âdhishṭhita* (l. 23); and see also the legend on the seal.

[6] By the Tables in Brown's *Carnatic Chronology* and Cowasjee Patell's *Chronology*, Kaliyuga 4348 was the Plavaṁga *saṁvatsara*; and the Sâdhâraṇa *saṁvatsara* was Kaliyuga 4351.

(*autumnal*) equinox,—in conjunction with[7] Kâmadêva, who had attained fortune by worshipping the god Mallinâtha (l. 28),—Shashṭhadêva, who had attained the favour of the god Saptakôṭîśvara, and who was the ornament of the family of the Kâdambas, and who had also the name of Śivachitta[8] (l. 27), gave—to his *Guru*, the *Rájaguru* and *Dîkshita* Jyêshṭha-Vishṇuśarman (l. 35), of the Gárgya *gôtra* (l. 32)—a rice-field named Kiñjalauga (l. 39), in the north-west part of the village of Sâlîbhaṭṭi (l. 38) near the god Mûrtti-Nârâyaṇa in the north part of the city of Gôpakapurî[9] (l. 37), where the presiding god is Gôvêśvara,—and with it a copper-plate charter (l. 48.)

Lines 48 to 50 record that the inscription was composed by Chaṭyaṇârya, the son of Sômanâtha, and was written by Nârâyaṇa, the son of Durgaṇa. And the inscription ends with four of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 50 to 55.

TEXT.[9]

First plate.

[1] Ôm ôm nama[ḥ*] Śivâya |(||) Śrêyaḥ[10] śrî-Saptakôṭîśô dêyâd=vaḥ sa yad-a-
[2] jñayâ | bibharty=âdi-varâhô=pi daṁshṭr-âgrè maṁḍalaṁ bhuvaḥ |(||) Śrîmat-Shashṭha-mahî-
[3] pâlaṁ Kâdaṁba-kula-bhu(bhû)shaṇaṁ | Kâvaṇa-kshitipaṁ Tryakshô rakshatv=akshîṇa-saṁpadaṁ |(||)
[4] Puramathana[11]-lalâṭa-svêda-biṁdôḥ kadaṁba-kshitiruha-tala-dhâtrî-saṁgatâd=âvirâ-
[5] sît | tri-bhuvana-nuta-kîrtti-śrîś=chatur-bâhur=aṁchad-dhanur-ishu-phalak-âsiḥ śrî-Jayaṁ-
[6] tas=trinêtraḥ |(||) Atha[12] tasya kulê jâtâḥ kêpi bhu(bhû)pâ mahaujasaḥ | ku(kṛi)t-ânê[13]ka-
[7] makha-khyâti-viḍaṁbita-Biḍaujasaḥ |(||) Tataḥ khyâtô=bhavat=têshu Paṁchánana-parâkrama[ḥ*] [|*]
[8] Gûhalla-nṛipati[ḥ*] srî(śrî)mân=Arjjunaḥ Pâṁḍavêshv=iva |(||) Tataḥ[14] sva-śauryêṇa viruddha-Laṁkâ-pu-
[9] raḥ śaraḥ Paṁchaśarasya shashṭhaḥ | Shashṭhô nṛipaḥ kôpy=abhavat=prasiddha-siddhaḥ svayaṁ dha-
[10] rmma-bhṛitâṁ dhurîṇaḥ |(||) Tasya[15] sunu[16] satâm=âdyô Jayakèsi(śi)-nṛipô=bhavat | tat-sutô Vija-
[11] yârkô=bhûd=anya-nârî-sahôdaraḥ |(||) Tatas=tyâgajaga[j*]jhaṁppa(pa)-Jhaṁppa(pa)ṇ-âchârya-dhuryatâṁ |

Second plate; first side.

[12] bibhrad=atr=âpta-kîrti[17] śrî-Jayakêsi(śi)-nṛipô=bhavat |(||) Tasmai Châlukya-Permâḍî(ḍi)-bhûpati-
[13] s=tanayâm=adât | śrî-Mailalamahâdêvîṁ Śivây=Ômâm=iv=âchalaḥ |(||) Tasmâd=asyâm=ajâyê-
[14] tâṁ Permâḍi-Vijayau sutau | Mahêśâd=iva Pârba(rva)tyâṁ Shaḍânana-Gajânanau |(||) Tayôr=Bi(vi)ja-

[7] The construction of the original is *Shashṭha-bhûpâlaḥ* (l. 28) . . . . *Kâmadêva-bhûpâlaḥ* (l. 29) . . . . *sa Kâmadêvaḥ* (or perhaps *sa-Kâmadêvaḥ*) *Shashṭhadêvaḥ* (l. 47) . . . . *prâdât* (l. 48). . . . . *prâyachchhat* (l. 48), which contains an unnecessary repetition of the names, and is ungrammatical, unless we assume either that Kâmadêva was also named Shashṭhadêva, or that Shashṭhadêva was also named Kâmadêva, and that one or other of them made the grant singly. It seems probable that something or other in this long passage was omitted by the composer or by the writer, and that the grant was really made by Shashṭhadêva and Kâmadêva conjointly.

[8] In an Old-Kanarese inscription, dated Saka 1179, at Buradasiṅgi in the Hubbaḷḷi Tâlukâ of the Dhârwâḍ District, he is called Śivachitta-Chaṭṭayadêva.

[9] The modern Goa. In Old-Kanarese inscriptions of the period, the name appears as Gôve; and we have Gôvâ, the Sanskṛit form of this, in the immediately following name of the god Gôvêśvara.

[9] From the original plates.

[10] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

[11] Metre, Mâlinî.

[12] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

[13] The vowel *ê* is very thin and faint in the original, as if it was omitted at first and inserted afterwards on revision.

[14] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[15] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following four verses.

[16] Read *sûnuḥ*.

[17] Read *kîrttiḥ*.

[15] ya-bhûpâlâj=Jayakêsi(śi)-nṛipô=bhavat | Mahâdêvî-mahârâj[ñ*]î samabhût=tasya vallabhâ [||*]

[16] Tasmâd[18]=asyâṁ samajani guṇa-maṇi-samudaya-mah-ôdadhis=tanayaḥ | Tribhuvana-

[17] malla[19]-kshitipas=tri-bhuvana-rakshâ-vidhau dakshaḥ |(||) Tribhuvanamalla[20]-nṛipâlâj=jâtaḥ śrî-

[18] Mâ[21]ṇikâdêbyâ(vvâ)ṁ | śrîmat-Shashṭha-nṛipâlaḥ śaśvad=Viśvêśa-p[â*]da-bhakti-yut[aḥ|| Śr][22]î[23]-Sa-

[19] ptakôṭî[24]śvara-pâda-padma-prasâda-labdha-sthira-râjya-lakshmîḥ | Kâdamba-vaṁs-â[r[25]]ṇṇava-

[20] pûrṇṇa-chaṁdraḥ śrî-Shashṭha-dêvô jagati prasiddhaḥ |(||) Tyâgê[26] satyê cha sâhityê kulê mahati vi-

[21] kramê | n=ânyas=tava samô râjâ Shashṭha-dêva Kalau yugê |(||) Lakshmy[â*]ṁ śrî-Lakshmidêv-âkhyâ-

[22] j=jâtaḥ śrî-Kâma-bhûpatiḥ | śrîmat-Shashṭha-mahîpâla-svasâ yasya priy=âbhavat |(||)

[23] Kâmadêva-nṛipaḥ śrêshṭhô garishṭhô guṇa-gumphitaḥ | varishṭha-Shashṭha-bhûpâla-pratishṭh-â-

[24] dhishṭhitô=bhavat |(||) Sat-pratâp-ôdayâdri-sthaḥ Kâvaṇ-ôrbî(rvî)śa-bhâskaraḥ | karavâla-karâ-

Second plate; second side.

[25] l-ârchir-nirast-âri-tamas-tatiḥ |(||) Hutavaha[27]-Varuṇa-Puraṁdara-Nirru(rṛi)ti-Dhanadêśa-Yama-pava-

[26] na-samaiḥ | a-samair=maṁtri-samu(mû)hai[ḥ*] | srî-Kâvaṇa-bhu(bhû)mipô jayati |(||) Evaṁvidha-guṇa-

[27] gaṇ-âlaṁkṛita-srî(śrî)-Saptakôṭîśvara-labdha-vara-prasâda-śrî-Kâdamba-kula-tilaka-śrî-Śiva-chi-

[28] tta-vîra-Shashṭha-bhûpâlaḥ śrî-Mallinâtha-dêva-śrî-pâdapadm-ârâdhana-prâpta-sâmrâjya-lakshmîkaḥ

[29] śrî-vîra-Kâmadêva-bhûpâlaḥ | ashṭâchatvâriṁśad-adhika-triśat-ô[tta*]rêshu chatuḥ- | sahasrêshu[28] Kali-

[30] yuga-saṁvatsarêshu parâvṛittêshu satsu | sva-râjy-ânubhava-kâlê paṁchamê Sâdhâraṇa-saṁvatsa-

[31] rê [| tas[29]]y=Âśvayuja-śu[d*]dha-pratipadi Budhavârê tulâ-râśim=upagatavati bhagava-

[32] vati[30] bhâskarê vishuva-saṁkrâṁtau | mah[â*]-puṇya-kâlê |(||) Gârgya[31]-gôtra-samutpanna-śrî-Nârâ-

[33] yaṇa-yajvanaḥ | putrô=bhû(bhû)n=Nâgadêv-âkhyô yâyaju(jû)ka-śirôma- | -ṇiḥ[32] |(||) Tasy=âbhu jyâya-

[34] si[33] jâyâ Jâkal-âkhyâ mahâ-satî | tasmât=tasyâṁ prajâtâya bahu-saṁttâ(tâ)na-śôbhinê |(||)

[35] Śrî-Shashṭha-bhu(bhû)pa-guravê vêda-sâstr-ârtha-śâlinê | bâl-âgnihôtriṇê Jyêshṭha-Vishṇu-dîkshi-

[36] ta-śarmaṇê |(||) Abhinava[34]-Laṁkâpuravara-Gôpaka-puryâm=adhîśa-Gi- | -rijêśaḥ[35] | śrî-

[37] Gôvêśvara-dêvaḥ sarba(rva)-jan-ânaṁda-dô jayat|(||) Tasyâ Gôpaka-puryâ uttara-dig-bhâgê

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[18] Metre, Âryâ.

[19] The lower *l* is very thin and faint in the original, through having been accidentally beaten in when correcting the mistake at the commencement of the next line.

[20] Metre, Udgîti.

[21] Before this *mâ*, there is a large blur, owing to the engraver having engraved something or other by mistake and then cancelled it by beating it in.

[22] The *visarga*, mark of punctuation, *śr*, and most of the *î*, were cut away in making the ring-hole, which was therefore made after the inscription was engraved.

[23] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ.

[24] The tops of these two syllables were accidentally beaten in, in correcting the mistake referred to in note 21 above.

[25] This *r* was cut away in making the ring-hole.

[26] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following three verses.

[27] Metre, Âryâ; two short syllables are deficient in the second *pâda*.

[28] Read *chatuḥ-sahasrêshu*.

[29] The mark of punctuation, and the *tas*, were cut away in making the ring-hole.

[30] Read *bhagavati*.

[31] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

[32] Read *śirômaṇiḥ*.

[33] Read *âbhûj=jyâyasî*.

[34] Metre, Âryâ.

[35] Read *Girijêśaḥ*.

Third plate; first side.

[38] śrî-Mûrti-Nârâyaṇa-dêva-saṁ[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[39] tasya vâyabya(vya)-bhâg[ê*] Kiṁjalauga-[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Tasya chatur-[illegible]

[40] sîmâ [illegible] | tasya prâchyâṁ Śivachitta-[illegible] sêtuḥ | [illegible] Paṭṭanga-

[41] kshêtrasy [illegible]-bhâgê [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] uttarasyâṁ [illegible] [illegible]

[42] tê [illegible] [illegible] sêtuḥ [illegible] [illegible]-sa[ṁ*]-yukta[ṁ*] [illegible]

[43] ryâdâ-baṁdha-karma-[illegible] [illegible]-sahitaṁ [illegible] Śâmtikâ-[illegible]

[44] śûnya-bhâgê vistîrṇa-gṛiha-sahitaṁ [illegible] [illegible] parikalpita-

[45] śulka-bâdha-phalaṁ [illegible] Kiṁjalauga-[illegible] samagraṁ sâ-

[46] li-kshêtrâṁ tasmai Jyêshṭha-Vishṇu-dikshit-âryâya râjaguravê [illegible] prakshâlya hiramṇy[37]-ôdaka-

[47] dhârâ-pûrba(rva)kaṁ âyur-ârôgy-aiśvary-âbhivṛiddhy-arthaṁ sa Kâmadêvaḥ[38] Shashṭhadêvaḥ dâna-svarûpêṇa

[48] prâdât | tasy=â-chaṁdr-ârka-bhôga-sâdhanaṁ tâmra-śâsanaṁ cha prâyachchhat |(|) Śrî[39]-Yajñavarya-putra-

[49] sya Sômanâtha-vipaśchitê(ta)ḥ | tat-putra-Chaṭyaṇ-âryasya kṛitir=jjayatê(ti) śâsanê |(|) Durggaṇa-pri-

[50] ya-putr[ê*]ṇa tulâ-dibya(vya)-niyôginâ | Nârâyaṇêna likhitaṁ śâsanaṁ cha nṛip-âjñayâ |(|) Sâ-

Third plate; second side.

[51] mânyô[40]=ya[ṁ*] dha[r]ma-sêtu[r]=nṛipâṇâ[ṁ] kâl[ê] kâl[ê] pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ | sarv[â*]n=êtân=bhâvinaḥ pâ[r]thiv[êṁ]-

[52] [dr]ân=bhûyô bhûyô yâchatê Râmachaṁdraḥ |(|) Sva[41]-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasuṁdharâṁ [|*] shashṭi-varsha-saha-

[53] srâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ |(|) Gâm=êkâṁ ratnikâm=êkâṁ bhu(bhû)mêr=apy=êkaṁ=aṁ[gu*]laṁ | haran=naraka-

[54] m=âpnôti yâvad=â-bhu(bhû)ta-saṁplavaṁ |(|) Ashṭâviṁsa(śa)ti-kôṭyô yâ narakâṇâṁ su-dâruṇâḥ | kramê-

[55] ṇa tâsu pachyaṁt[ê] dêvabrahmasva-hâriṇaḥ |(|) Maṁgala-mahâ-śrî-śrî | Ṭa chha ṭa[42] || Chha ||

CORRESPONDENCE AND MISCELLANEA.

PTOLEMY'S GEOGRAPHY.

Sir,—Perhaps I may be permitted to make a few remarks on some of the identifications by Mr. M'Crindle of localities mentioned by Ptolemy.

I. *Sambalaka* (141°; 29°30′), *ante* Vol. XIII. pp. 363, 364. This town, which was in the country of the Mandalai and on the Ganges river, was, I take it, not Sambhalpur on the Mahânadi, but Saumelpur on the Koil, a tributary of the Sohan or Sone (and therefore indirectly of the Ganges) in the District of Palamau. Although the precise site of the town has not been determined I have been able to fix its position approximately from the indications given by Tavernier, who visited it about the year 1665.[1] Diamonds from this locality

[36] The reading in line 39 above is very distinctly *Kiṁjalauga*. [37] Read *hirany*.

[38] Or perhaps *sa-Kâmadêvaḥ*. See note 7 above.

[39] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

[40] Metre, Śâlinî.

[41] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following two verses.

[42] This second *ṭa* is written backwards.

[1] See *Economic Geology of India*, page 27.

and another on the Sankh river a few miles to the south enjoyed some reputation in Dehlî in Akbar's time and subsequently.

The statement on page 364 that Sambhalpur on the Upper Mahânadî produces the finest diamonds in the world, is scarcely supported by the only extant records of the now long-deserted mines, which, however, produced some large stones, though, on the other hand, the produce is spoken of in the *Central Provinces Gazetteer* as having been of inferior quality.

II. *Bênagouron* (140° 20° 15′), see *ante*, Vol. XIII. page 364. This was one of the towns of the Salakênoi, towards the Oroudian mountains, which Mr. M'Crindle believes cannot now be recognised. I would suggest its identity with the modern Wairâgaṛh (lat 20° 26′; long. 80° 10′) in the Chândâ District. As an old city of Gondwânâ, which was taken possession of by the rulers of Berar, it has several times been referred to by early writers, who allude to the fact of diamond mines being in its vicinity.[2] The earliest reference to it is, perhaps, in the *Barhut Saṁhita*, where it appears under the name of the Vêṇa Gaṅgâ, on a tributary of which river it is situated. Farishta, in 1425, refers to the city and its diamond mines. In the 15th century, too, Nicolo Conti speaks of a diamond locality under the name Albenigaras or Abnigaro, which I doubtfully refer here: but, regarding its identity with the Bairagaṛh of the *Âîn-i-Akbarî* there is no doubt whatever, in spite of the fact that Karl Ritter and Rennell argued that it must have been—the former to the west, and the latter much further to the east, of its true position—Bairagaṛh (the modern Wairâgaṛh) is therefore, I suggest, identical with Ptolemy's Bênagouron.

III. *The Loadstone Rocks* of Southern India, to which early writers have referred, as noticed by Mr. M'Crindle, *ante* Vol. XIII. page 386,—so far from being mythical and owing their conception alone to the absence of iron in the boats and canoes of that region,—are a very solid reality, as there are in various parts of the country extraordinary deposits of vast extent of the purest magnetic iron which in some cases form whole hills and ridges, and in others afford the main sustaining backbones of the elevated portions of the country. Is it too much to conclude, knowing this fact, that the magnetic property of the rock was discovered in early times? If so, this, like many another 'myth,' proves to rest upon a very substantial basis of fact.

V. BALL.

Science and Art Museum, Dublin,
17th July.

NOTANDA.

With reference to the inscription published by me in the August number (p. 233) under the title of "*A Jaina-Vaishṇava Compact,*" I have since found that an erroneous version of the same, made for Colonel Mackenzie, appeared in 1809 in *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX. p. 270.

In connection with the Gaṅga inscription published by Mr. Fleet in the same number (p. 229), he remarks (note 7) that "the text of the Hosûr grant has not been published." This is not so: for I would point out that it was published by me *in extenso* in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1878, p. 138. Other inscriptions of the same kings in my possession, not yet published, make it quite clear that Durvvinîta was a different person from Avinîta, and at the same time give very important information regarding him.

LEWIS RICE.

Bangalore, 25th August 1885.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

ANOTHER MACARONIC VERSE OF GUMANI KAVI.

दुःकृतिनां प्रकृतिः किल घोरा
मानसवृद्धिरतीव कठोरा ।
वाक्सुधया सदृशी रसपूरा
मुख में राम बगल में छूरा ॥

Terrible indeed is the nature of the wicked, and the workings of their mind are cruel, while their words are as if they were full of nectar;—"God in the mouth, and a dagger under the arm."

G. A. GRIERSON.

THE PROVERBS OF ALI EBN ABI TALEBI.

Translated by K. T. Best, M.A.,. M.R.A.S.,
Principal Guzerat College.

Continued from p. 262.

295. Blessed is he who conquers himself, and keeps his desires in subjection.

296. Blessed is he whose breast is free from hatred, and his heart from deceit.

297. An ugly wise man is better than a handsome fool.

298. The heart of a fool is in his mouth, and the tongue of a wise man in his heart.

299. A wicked man never has a contented and tranquil mind.

300. The best contest is that which you carry on against yourself.

[2] See *Economic Geology of India*, page 37.

A SELECTION OF KANARESE BALLADS.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

A CONSIDERABLE amount of attention has been directed in recent years to the Folk-Songs and Folk-Lore of India. In the former department, a highly interesting collection was published, some ten years or so ago, by Mr. Charles E. Gover, under the title of *Folk-Songs of Southern India.* And in the latter, in addition to numerous valuable papers that have appeared from time to time in the present Journal and in the *Calcutta Review*, a special monthly publication, entitled *Legends of the Pañjâb*, is devoted by Captain R. C. Temple, B.S.C., to the Legends and Folk-Lore of Northern India, and has already run through one entire volume. And, in the Bhôjpûrî Epic of Âlhâ and Rûdal, published by Mr. G. A. Grierson, B.C.S., in the August number of this Journal, p. 209ff. above, we have been introduced to another class of work which promises much, both for historical and linguistic purposes, as well as for those connected with the subject of Folk-Lore and Legends.

There is, however, another branch of vernacular literature, not so well known as these, and not of the same literary pretensions with them, which is equally worthy of attention,—I mean the popular ballads[1] of the present century, which commemorate such historical and political occurrences of recent date, as have been of sufficient importance to interest, closely and personally, large classes of the lower orders of the people.

During the final consolidation of the British power, a people, accustomed by the influence of generations to the lawlessness that had prevailed under native rule, when every man's hand was lifted against his neighbour and the State was against them all, had to be brought into habits of obedience to constituted authority and of mutual peace and goodwill. In the course of this,—especially in the wild Western Ghauts, with their natural fortresses improved by art and strengthened into places of offence and refuge well-nigh impregnable,—there was hardly one of the numerous *Gaḍs* or hill-forts, scattered over the Kanarese and Marâṭhâ country, which was not the scene either of determined resistance to the introduction of the British rule, or, later on, of some futile but troublesome rebellion against it. And ballads abound all over the country, describing these events, and the final downfall of these ancient places of renown.

So also, in more recent times, there have constantly been matters of general interest, which have engrossed the attention of large classes of the community, and have been commemorated in songs that still endure. Such are the Disarming Act; the establishment of the Revenue Survey Department; the first introduction of the Income Tax; or some peculiarly hard case in which a cultivator, driven to despair by the dishonesty and tyranny of the village money-lender, has turned at last and slain the man who worked his ruin, and then, under some law unintelligible to the people, has with his life paid forfeit for the deed.

As I have said above, these popular ballads have no literary pretensions; in fact, no greater contrast can be imagined than between them and the artificial compositions, whether ancient, mediæval, or modern, from which our knowledge of the vernacular languages of the country is chiefly drawn. Their linguistic value lies in the fact that, being composed by uneducated rustics, they give us what can be obtained from no written source that I know of,—the vernacular as it is actually spoken, with all its intermixture of provincialisms and borrowed words, by the men who compose and sing them. And their historical and political value consists in their giving us the genuine native view, never intended for European ears, of our system of administration, and of what is thought of the various measures that we have taken to introduce and enforce it,—the popular native opinion about the local officers, who, to the lower classes, represent the government in person, and who, in well-known cases, are constantly mentioned by name in these songs,—and illustrations, of the most ingenuous kind, of traits of native character which are familiar otherwise only to those who have had long

[1] Called, in the Vernacular, sometimes *Pawâḍâ* and sometimes *Lâwaṇî.*

official experience in this country. Thus, in the first ballad that I shall give, the quaint way in which "that mighty Queen Victoria" is represented as being present in person in Bombay and taking into her own consideration the Magistrate's report from Dhârwâḍ, exhibits what is still the rustic belief in some up-country parts. The amusing description of the Magistrate,—who, when the news of Râyaṇṇa's insurrection reaches him, first wishes not to be bothered about "a matter that is past and gone," and then, finding that he really must take cognisance of it, gnashes his teeth and bites his wrist and flings his hat about before he sits down to write his report,—would hardly be ventured on, save in a song like this, which was never composed for communication to European ears. The description is a thoroughly characteristic one, of the way in which the three traitors, hearing of the reward proclaimed by beat of drum, conspire together and bind each other by a written bond of agreement to betray Râyaṇṇa, before they make their overtures to the Magistrate,—of the manner in which they then worm themselves into Râyaṇṇa's confidence, so as to have him in their power,—and of their fear for themselves when the Magistrate thinks that so valiant a man deserves a better fate than death, and their request that, if he is pardoned, they themselves may first be hanged and put out of his reach. And, finally, the lamentation of the people when Râyaṇṇa is executed,—the regret for him shown by the Magistrate, especially in paying out of his own pocket the expenses of his burial,—the way in which the people plant a tree over his grave, and swing their cradles on its boughs, and obtain offspring by worshipping the dead man,—all shew how the popular opinion is that, far from being a malefactor, Râyaṇṇa was a hero, worthy of praise and admiration, and was put to death unjustly and without due cause.[2]

As regards the universal popularity of these ballads, I can myself vouch for it from ample experience. They are sung professionally by the *Dâsas* or minstrels, who are described so well by Mr. Gover, in the Introduction to his *Folk-Songs of Southern India.*[3] But they are also known and sung by ordinary villagers all over the country-side, anywhere near the locality of the events to which they relate; and the ballads that I have collected have been mostly written down from the dictation of villagers,—only in a few cases, of professional *Dâsas.* Anywhere, for instance, in the south of the Belgaum District, or the north of Dhârwâḍ, there is hardly a village, except the very smallest, in which someone cannot be found able to sing the ballad of Râyaṇṇa of Saṅgôḷḷi, or the Lamentations of Îravva of Kittûr, or the Taking of Nargund. Nothing pleases the people more than that, when the villagers are all assembled for the examination of accounts, one of them, on the conclusion of business, should be told off to sing one of the best-known songs. And often, when I have arranged to have the ballad-singers brought to my tents after dinner in the cool of the evening the news has got abroad, and testimony has been borne to the popularity of the subject by the crowds of people that have come out of the village to sit round under the trees and enjoy what was going on.

In construction, these ballads follow the principle of the *Kanda* or Kanarese metre, answering to the Sanskṛit *Âryâ*, *Gîti*, &c., and consisting of feet of four short-syllable instants each. But no absolute metrical precision is aimed at; and,—though the principle of construction is distinctly recognisable,—in carrying it out by scanning, or in adapting the words to the airs, short syllables have to be drawn out long, and long syllables clipped short, *ad libitum.* And, as a rule, no attempt is made to arrange the *nuḍis* or 'paragraphs or verses' in divisions consisting of equal numbers of feet. The rhythm of the songs can only be learned by actually hearing them sung. Another noticeable feature,—distinguishing them from anything based on the principles of classical composition, is that final rhymes are used, instead of the customary alliteration of the second initial syllable of each *pâda* or line of a verse, which is the characteristic of Kanarese poetry. The final rhymes, however, are much more marked in some ballads than in others,—according to

[2] Compare the popular beliefs in the Pañjâb about the Nawâb of Lohârû, hanged in 1835, in Sleeman's *Rambles and Recollections,* Vol. II. p. 229f. See also *Legends of the Pañjâb,* Vol. II. p. 364, Introduction to the Ballads about Sarwan and Farîjan.

[3] Compare Preface to *Legends of the Pañjâb,* Vol. I. p. viii. ff.

THE INSURRECTION OF RAYANNA OF SANGOLLI.

(Air of the Chorus.)

San-gol-li Ra-yi - na-yi-ka sar-jya | Sam-pa-gam-vi Su-bhe-ya-

-da - ra - na mya - ga. | tal - li ma - da - ta - no | pun - da

wat - ta - ra - din - da | sut - ti - na hal - li | mut - ti - gi ha - ki

ba-de-dar an-na | got - ta il - la - da | han-ge ho - tyo | ban - da

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the skill, or want of it, of the individual composer; and in most of them the final rhymes are laid aside, in favour of continuous alliteration or even of ordinary rhythmical prose, in passages of particular pathos or excitement. The tunes are very taking, but, like all native music, very difficult to catch and transfer to writing. The singing of the *nuḍis*, in fact, varies a great deal with the individual singer; but the tune of the *pallâ* or 'chorus' seems to be always pretty constant and well-known. In a few instances I succeeded in catching the air of the chorus and transferring it to writing, as well as can be done according to the English system; the chorus of my first ballad, for instance, runs as given in the accompanying plate.

The most interesting of the ballads that I have collected are—the Lamentations of Îravva of Kittûr; the Insurrection of Râyaṇṇa of Saṅgôḷḷi; the Taking of the famous Fort of Raṇamaṇḍala at Bâdâmi by the English; the Taking of Nargund during the Mutiny; a song on the Introduction of the Income Tax; the Insurrection of the Bêḍas of Halagali in connection with the Disarming Act; an account of the Murder of a Village Money-lender by an oppressed cultivator named Saṅgaṇṇa, and the trial and condemnation of the latter; a song on the Glory and Power of the English Nation; and an alliterative prose composition on the Revenue Survey Department. Of these, I now give

No. I.

THE INSURRECTION OF RAYANNA OF SANGOLLI.

The narrative of the events referred to in this song is best taken from the *Historical Account of the Belgaum District*[4] by Mr. H. J. Stokes, M.C.S. p. 82ff. :—

"The next event of importance as affecting this District was the outbreak of Saṅgôḷḷi-Râyappa. He was a Sanadî,[5] or village watchman, of Saṅgôḷḷi, and had been one of the Kittûr Dêsâî's[6] retainers. He had received a pardon for his participation in the rebellion of 1824; but now, rendered desperate by the confiscation of his service-land (a measure necessary in his case, as in others, owing to the enormously superfluous number of Sanadîs), and, it is said, exasperated by a quarrel which he had with the Kuḷkarṇî[7] of his village, he gathered round him many of the disaffected; and, taking with him the boy alleged to have been adopted by the late Dêsâî of Kittûr, he commenced a revolt with the avowed object of restoring the Saṁsthân.[8]

"The Dêsâîs of Kittûr had always been regarded with affection by the poorer classes in their country. Their memory is still tenderly cherished. They were Liṅgâyats,[9] as the mass of the population about them, and were therefore naturally inclined to treat their poorer subjects without harshness. On the other hand, Mallasarjya, the last Dêsâî but one, who ruled for thirty-four years, and is the best remembered, had not spared the wealthier classes of the population, from whom he often found pretexts to make large exactions. He also, in the beginning of the present century, resumed the whole of the *Inâm*[10] lands of the district and village hereditary officers, and appointed stipendiary Kârkûns[11] to conduct the duties of the offices, the emoluments of which he appropriated. Measures of this sort only increased his popularity with the humbler classes, and therefore an outbreak with the ostensible aim of restoring the family had their fullest sympathies.

"Râyappa commenced by burning the Kachêrî[12] at Bîḍi in the beginning of 1829. He

[4] Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. CXV. New Series.

[5] Sanadî, or Śêtsanadî, is one who, in return for rendering public service, holds lands rent-free or under a quit-rent by a *sanad* or written warrant.

[6] Dêsâî is an hereditary officer, the chief local administrator of a *dêśa* or *parganâ*, *i.e.* district; another name for the same officer is Dêśmukh. The duties of the Dêsâî or Dêśmukh, in the district under him, were very similar to those of a Pâṭîl in his village; and he had, as his coadjutor, a Dêśpâṇḍyâ, corresponding to the Pâṭîl's coadjutor, the Kuḷkarṇî, or village-accountant. The officers of Dêsâî and Dêśpâṇḍyâ do not exist under the British Government; but the titles are still known and used, as in most cases the service-lands have been continued to the descendants of those who held office under the Pêśwâ's rule.

[7] Kuḷkarṇî is the village-accountant.

[8] Saṁsthân is a Sanskṛit word, meaning, literally 'standing together; a common place of abode,' which has become invested with the sense of 'a royal town,' a seat of government,' and is now always used in the vernacular to denote a Native State that is not large and powerful enough to be called a Râj or 'kingdom.'

[9] The Liṅgâyats are a sect, founded or developed by the famous Basava and Channabasava, whose special object of worship is the *linga* or phallic representation of the god Śiva.

[10] *Inâm*, or properly *In'âm*, is a grant in perpetuity without condition. But it is now used loosely to denote any grant, present, or reward, of whatever nature and however trifling.

[11] Kârkûn is a clerk, scribe, writer.

[12] Kachêri, or properly Kachahrî, is a court for the administration of public business.

had then about one hundred men with him. Subsequently many more joined him, and he went about looting and burning various villages in Bîḍi, among the rest Nandigaḍ. In a short time he had a thousand men with him. He spent the day in the Bâḷgund and Haṇḍi-Baḍaganâth hills; and at night they divided into parties to loot. The Mâmlatdâr[13] of Sampgaum, Kṛishṇa Rau, my informant's father, got instructions to endeavour to arrest Râyappa. He placed the treasure, Rs. 50,000, on top of the mosque in Sampgaum, and leaving a guard of peons, he started for Bîḍi. In the popular account, it is against him that the revolt was made, and it is his exertions which are represented as having quelled it. It was hoped at first that the rising might be put down without military force, but when the Kittûr Śêtsanadîs[14] refused to serve, and the disturbance continued increasing, it became necessary to obtain the services of strong detachments. These regular troops, however, as might be expected, were not found well suited for pursuing bands of robbers through close and difficult country. Kṛishṇa Rau, after scouring the jungles in vain, came from Bîḍi to Muguṭkhân-Hubaḷḷi with a large body of Śêtsanadîs, and some Jâhgîr[15] horse. There he learned that Râyappa had eluded him, and had passed by a little-known path by Kâdarôḷḷi to Sampgaum, where he had burned the Kachêrî and destroyed the records. The Mâmlatdâr hastened forward and overtook the rear of Râyappa's band at the little tank outside Sampgaum on the north. He had ten Sawârs[16] with him, and succeeded in killing four of the rebels. The rest retired to Suttagaṭṭi, where they divided into two large bands, one of which returned with Râyappa to Kittûr hill by Saṅgôḷḷi, while the other looted and burned Marikaṭṭi. The Mâmlatdâr attacked the latter band on Nêsargi hill, and dispersed it, killing ten or twenty, and taking about one hundred prisoners.

"At this time, the late Dêsâî's widow, Îravva, was living at Bail-Hoṅgal. It was found advisable to remove her to Dhârwâḍ. This nearly excited another rising; in fact, a thousand men got together at Ânegoḷ to resist the removal of Îravva. Most of them, however, submitted on receiving a promise of pardon; while the rest joined Râyappa.

"Îravva died in July at Dhârwâḍ,—it was supposed by poison, taken by herself or administered to her. Soon after this the insurrection was quelled. Kṛishṇa Rau, the Mâmlatdâr, discovered that Liṅganagauḍa,[17] Pâṭîl[18] of Khudânpûr, had wished his own son to be adopted on the death of the late Dêsâî, and resented the refusal with which his proposition was met. He was chosen as a fit instrument to betray Râyappa. Emissaries were sent to join the rebels and suggest to them to call in the Khudânpur Pâṭîl, who could aid them with three hundred men. Râyappa took the bait, and wrote to Liṅganagauḍa to ask his co-operation. The Mâmlatdâr sent Liṅganagauḍa with a body of men; and, as he was timid and weak, Yeṅkanagauḍa[19] of Nêginhâḷ, who was bold and courageous, was sent with him to support him. They joined Râyappa, and continued with him, for a fortnight, looting. Then one day, when Râyappa had laid aside his arms, and was bathing, Lakkappa, a Sanadî of Nêginhâḷ, rushed suddenly on him and clasped him round the body, whilst another secured his weapons. The rest overwhelmed him, bound him hand and foot on a stretcher, and carried him in triumph to Dhârwâḍ.

"He was condemned to be hanged at Nandigaḍ, the scene of his chief robbery. As he passed along the road to the gallows, he pointed out a spot for his burial, stating that a great tree would spring from his remains. He was buried where he desired, and a magnificent banian is now shown close to the road near Nandigaḍ, as the one which grew from his grave. Under the shade of it a temple has been erected, to which poor people who desire offspring, or wealth, or health, make pilgrimages from great distances; and where the husbandmen, on their way with their produce to the market in Nandigaḍ, stop to vow an offering on their return, if they obtain good prices. This deification of Râyappa is the

13 Mâmlatdâr, or properly Mu'âmladâr, or Mu'âmlâtdâr, is the head revenue and magisterial officer of a Tâlukâ (properly Ta'lûqa) or Subdivision of a District.

14 See note 5 above.

15 Jâhgîr, or more correctly Jâgîr, is an assignment of lands or revenue for the performance of public service.

16 Sawâr is a horseman or cavalry soldier.

17 The Niṅganagauḍa of the ballad. Liṅgana and Niṅgana are only different forms of the same name.

18 Pâṭîl is the head managing officer of a village.

19 The Veṅkanagauḍa of the ballad. Yeṅkana and Veṅkana are only different forms of the same name.

most singular part of his history. Whether it is to be ascribed to the remains of the old custom of devil-worship, and he be now glorified on account of the excess of misery he occasioned in his lifetime,—or whether his popularity as a leader of the poorer classes, in a cause which had their sympathy was the reason of his apotheosis,—are questions that naturally present themselves.

"Râyappa's outbreak lasted about four months. At one time he came to Kaṇbargi, with the intention of seizing Beḷgaum Fort by a rush at the time of changing guard, but did not carry his intention into execution. His betrayers were rewarded with Inâms. Liṅganagauḍa got Kalloḷi near Kittûr, and Yeṅkanagauḍa Ḍôri, a village in Dhârwâḍ."

TRANSLATION.

Chorus.—The noble Râyinâyaka of Saṅgôḷḷi,—the wicked fellow that he is,—is pillaging the Subhêdâr[20] of Sampgaum. Quickly have his men laid siege to all the surrounding villages, and beaten (*the inhabitants of them*); so that, O my brother! a disturbance has arisen that cannot be estimated.

First Verse.—I tell you a tale of days gone by; sit, all of you, and listen to what I have to say.

Pride came upon the Kulkarṇî of Saṅgôḷḷi. Most pleasantly had Râyinâyaka been his close friend; but then a deadly feud broke out between them. When the Kulkarṇî Bâḷapa and Râyaṇṇa were bathing,—"Wash me my waist-cloth, and bring it here," said (*the Kulkarṇî*), and offered it to his hand. Angry at this speech, Râyaṇṇa hardened himself, and said "Never will I touch your cloth." "How then, thou Haḷaba[21]!" (*said the Kulkarṇî*); "how cautious thou art; has pride inflamed thee, that thou speakest this impertinence to me?" When he heard this, wrathful was Râyaṇṇa, and he said, "I will leave off from now from doing your behests[22];" and so he turned and went away;—"Look now, Bâlaṇṇa; you must submit to be pillaged by me; know that the time has come for the neighbouring villages to be sacked."

Second verse.—Quickly Râyinâyaka went, and fell at the feet of the mother that bore him; and then, taking his sword, in firm resolve he set out.

Going to the Nizâm's Dominions, he stood before the king of Surapur, and, joining his hands together in supplication, he performed obeisance. "Truly Râyinâyaka is a hero," said the king, who in his own presence saw him leap twelve fathoms at a stretch. Pleased and delighted was the king, and said, "No one is thy equal, my noble fellow; tell me, thou hero in war, what it is thou askest." "If thou art pleased with me," said the wily fellow, "give me a troop of three hundred Bêḍas,[23] and let me choose each man for myself; and I will take the force and raise a mutiny."

Quickly and speedily Râyinâyaka took the force, and led it to where all the ammunition was hidden among the trees.

Third verse.—Standing before them in a charming way, with plain purport he spoke a few words to the force that he had brought,—"Be you careful, keeping a good look-out all round, wherever you may go." And he brought up the Abyssinians,[24] who are ready to eat a man if he laughs, and placed them round, and thus made his precautions for all his army; and he made his arrangements complete, and quickly gave them the order to march.

Swords for cutting; hand-knives; daggers for stabbing; poniards; and pistols,—(*these were the weapons that they had*); fierce warriors were they all; (*and they had*) daggers, and bows, and spears, and arrows, and shields held up in bravery; and they wore armour on their bodies. With one accord, wearing in profusion sweet jasmine-flowers, and sounding their war-bugles in front, with great might, but hardly knowing what they were about, they came on, my brother! so that not one of them remained behind,—saying, "When shall we commence to fight and plunder?"

[20] Subhêdâr, or properly Sûbahdâr, is the term that is popularly used for Mâmlatdâr; see note 13 above.

[21] Haḷaba is 'an ancient man, an old servant, an old inhabitant.' It is often used, as here, to express contempt and disrespect.

[22] *Lit.* "from burning for you your pile of wood, grass, &c., arranged to be kindled at the close of the Hôḷi festival."

[23] Bêḍa is 'a fowler, one who lives by the chase.' The Bêḍas have played a conspicuous part in almost every disturbance that has occurred.

[24] In the original, Habaśas, for Habashîs. There are large numbers, of more or less pure descent, of these Abyssinians,—usually called Sidis or Śidis,—in the Western Ghauts.

Fourth verse.—He sent on in front the foot-soldiers, carrying their drums and bugles and long horns, and beating their excellent tabors. He made them fasten jingling ornaments to the charming long horns, and made them carry *chaurîs*[25] and strings of bells, and chain-bracelets on their fore-arms. Setting their teeth in firm resolve, stepping high with their feet, and drawing their swords, they leaped about in joy.

Channabasaṇṇa of the drawn sword went on in front to Śamsêrgaḍ, saying, "Come on, and we will strike a wondrous blow." And Gajavîra says, "Great is the disturbance that we will make to-day, so that nothing shall be left inside (*the town*)." And Bâlaṇṇa of Kaḍḍiguddi, and Bhîmaṇṇa of Doḍḍakili, and Yellaṇṇa of the Woḍḍas[26] of Belawaḍi, drew their swords, saying, "O wakeful Kâḷavva[27] of Śirsaṅgi, and Kariyavva of Kakkêri, give your blessings upon our weapons."

So all the people, leaving not one behind, went on together to Śamśêrgaḍ, and, scaling it, began the siege.

Fifth verse.—Entering into the fort, they created a great disturbance, my brother! and cut to pieces all the people that they could catch. Seizing them and striking them, slashing them and beating them, sportively they created such confusion that no one was left in the fort. Nothing does (*Râyaṇṇa*) fear; swift of foot, and carrying a sword, he goes about slaying them; and cannot be caught.

Hearing the news of this disturbance in the fort, the Subhêdâr rose in confusion and came there, (*saying to himself*)—"Here is Kâśi, and round me are the seven oceans; never before did such people come into my territory."

Quickly they carried off all the property that they had plundered, and left not the smallest thing in the fort. They looked round to see that no one was left anywhere. O my brother! a dense darkness enveloped everything.

Then, sitting down, the Subhêdâr wrote everything that had happened, and sent his letter off to Dhârwâḍ.

Sixth verse.—Quickly the messenger took the letter, my brother! along the road to Dhârwâḍ. There the Kachêrî was being held in a bungalow of (*bricks and*) mortar. Opening the paper, they took it to the Sâheb.[28] When he had read it, the Sâheb reflected, saying, "Why should we recur to a matter that is past and gone?;" and, straightway he left his seat, and rose; and then, throwing down his hat, and biting his wrist, and gnashing his teeth in wrath, he sat down and wrote a letter to Bombay.

Victoria, that mighty queen, saw it in person,[29] and took the whole matter into comprehension; and at once she sent five hundred (*white*) soldiers,[30] and two hundred black troops.[31]

All this force came in company to the districts of Belgaum and Dhârwâḍ, to display its bravery in war. And the Subhêdâr took it with him, saying, "Go, without any delay, to slay Râya by violence."

Seventh verse.—In wrath the Subhêdâr despatched this force, and then set out, and began seeking Râya, saying, "Where can all his forces be?" Searching the water-courses and streams, the hills and ravines, the woods and the forests, they set out and came to the hill of Haḷḷihâḷ.

Râyinâyika spied out from his place of hiding that the force had come.[32] His men had eaten a meal of fruits, and were sitting there. Eagerly getting ready, (*they rested their guns*) against the trees and prepared the matches, and then, coming far forward, they stood (*to await the attack*), sounding their war-bugles.

"Look now, here is Râyinâyika,"—so saying, (*the enemy*) fired all round. Without any intermission they discharged their shells, and bombs, and mortars, and guns, and match-

[25] *Chaurî* is the long bushy tail of the *Bos Grunniens*, used as a fly-flap or fan, and carried as a mark of distinction.

[26] Woḍḍa is a man of a caste the special occupation of which is the digging of tanks and wells, and other similar labour. See *Panjâb Notes and Queries*, Vol. I. notes 362, 546, 613, 614, 875, 876, and Vol. II. notes 50, 51, 52, 274, 916.

[27] Kâḷavva and Kariyavva are local goddesses,—forms of Durgâ.

[28] Sâheb, for Sâhib, means the English gentleman, *i.e.* the Collector and Magistrate.

[29] There is an anachronism here, as the events of the ballad took place in 1829, when George IV. was king. It is due, of course, to the ballad having been actually composed after 1858 (though by an eye-witness of the events, as stated at the end), when the East India Company's administration was superseded by the Queen's Government. H. M. Queen Victoria's name quickly became well-known throughout India, and is the only English Sovereign's name that is known to the masses of the people.

[30] The original has *sîdara-mandi*. *Sîdara* is a corruption of the English word 'soldier,' and is applied only to white troops.

[31] Here the original has *kariya-mandi*, lit. 'black men.' This term is applied only to native troops.

[32] From the subsequent context, it appears that the first attacking force was composed of native troops only.

locks, (*loaded with*) bullets and gunpowder. The crackling noise was like the parching of grain. They struck the trees in the ravine. The hill re-echoed the sound and thundered. For three hours they fought, till all their ammunition was exhausted. God was displeased with them!

Eighth verse.—When their ammunition was exhausted, they were in straits. Râyaṇṇa saw that the sound of the firing of bullets had ceased, and he came at them. Like wolves among sheep, (*he and his men*) sprang in and scattered and dispersed them, and, drawing their swords, cut them down. The swordsmen surrounded them, and cut them down, without letting one escape; and thus they hemmed in all the force. Drawing out their pistols and cannons, and throwing all their daggers and bows and spears, —there they slew four hundred men. They cut the throats of all whom they saw; innumerable heads fell down upon the ground. They cut one company into little bits. When this deed was done in the ravine, a torrent of blood flowed forth, my brother!; never had such a fight been fought before. Those that were left, fell down; and throwing away their swords, and chewing grass,[33] they placed stones upon their heads, my brother!

When this had been done, (*Râyaṇṇa*) blazed out (*more fiercely than ever*), and went to the neighbourhood of Kittûr, where the army of the pure-white foreigners[34] was,—saying, "I will destroy them, so that no one (*save myself*) shall rule the kingdom, and I will become pre-eminent in the world."

Ninth verse.—They cut down numbers that could not be counted of the army of the foreigners who wear round hats; and they forced them into confusion, so that they were all dispersed.

Becoming (*more*) mischievous (*then ever*), (*they said*), "We will plunder each village that we come across, and collect the gold, which shall be for our force and for all of us. They sacked Haḷḷihâḷ and Hanamangaṭṭi and Talewâḍî; and then, my brother! they went and pillaged Nandigaḍ. They besieged and plundered Agasaṇhaḷḷi, Ambaḍagaṭṭi, Kâdarôḷḷi, Huṇaśîkaṭṭi, and Beḷawaḍi, and Sôdaḷḷi, Gôdgêri, Bâḷgund, and Iṭṭigi; and then they entered Bâgiwâḍi. With dexterity Râyinayaka forced his way into the Kacherî at Sampgaum, which was given to the flames and entirely burnt. Then passing through the village of (Bail)-Hoṅgal, he came to the fort of Kittûr, and there he opened another device to them, saying —"Fear not; I see now, that it is only some woman who comes here (*against us*);" and his force sat there on guard, with their swords drawn.

What destruction he caused! Truly Râyinâyaka was indeed a hero; powerful was the star under which he was born!

Tenth verse.—"If you will seize him and give him up, I will give rewards,"—thus, in his wrath, the Sâheb caused proclamation to be made by beat of drum. O my brother! (*Rayaṇṇa*) had plundered everything; no one could withstand him; he was pre-eminent as a hero among all people.

In a sneaking way, three men came together, and talked with cunning, and conspired in secret. Then going into the presence of the noble gentleman,[35] they sent in word (*of their arrival*), and, confirming each other in their intention, they spoke out boldly; and they came there, having all together drawn up a document, of which the purport was, "We will catch Râyinâyaka, and bring him in and give him up to you."

Then they went to Râyinâyaka, and spoke words of (*apparently*) pure friendship, laying aside all anxiety about their lives. "We are on thy side, O brother; only do thou save us; we have come out (*with thee*), swearing (*to be true*),"—(*thus they spoke*), touching salt and the dung of cows, seated in front of a flaming torch; thus they promised, with rite upon rite. And taking the oath of the thousand gods, (*to all seeming*), O my brother! they were his firm friends; (*but*) he knew not the treachery that was in their thoughts

Eleventh verse.—"Let us go on," (*said*) Râyinâyaka; "we will plunder the whole country, and lay waste all the surrounding villages." They set out together, my brother! and quickly came to Hubbaḷḷi, and laid it waste, so that there was great lamentation.

Then said they, without hesitation, "Sending all the rest on in front, we four together

[33] A sign of defeat and submission; see *ante*, p. 74, note 25.

[34] *i.e.* the white troops.

[35] *i.e.* the Sâheb, the Collector and Magistrate.

will follow behind." Râyaṇṇa heard their words, and, losing his head, followed after them; falling into (*false*) confidence, he played the fool. They said, "Let us go to the stream and bathe, and go on when it is time to eat;" and Râyaṇṇa listened to their speech. He laid aside his sword, and was off his guard, and sat down to take off his drawers. Then they seized him firmly, so that he could not move; and they placed him on a stretcher, and bound him, and carried him away. O my brother! the time of delusion had come to him.

They carried him into the Kachêrî and set him down,—this mighty hero Râyinâyaka. The noble gentleman saw the beauty of his face, the sign that he was a brave and noble fellow; and, hearing all the matter, his bowels yearned for him, and he said that he ought not to be killed.

Hearing this, the three men spoke out boldly to the Sâheb,—"Great is the trouble that you have brought on us."

Twelfth verse.—Standing before the noble gentleman, and joining their hands in supplication, they say—"You are (*our*) father (*and the protector*) of our lives. If you let Râyinâyaka go, we cannot remain in the country; for he will cut us to pieces outright. First hang us, and then set him free;"—thus they spoke, standing in the presence of the Sâheb. Then the Sâheb, having listened, wrote to that purport to Bombay, and with good haste posted the letter.

When it arrived there and had been considered, they took counsel and sent (*orders*) that so famous a man should not be slain.

But before the written answer could arrive, O my brother! they made haste and hanged Râyinâyaka, while those (*traitors*) stood by. They fastened a noose round the neck of the brave Râyinâyaka, and left him to swing, while all men stood by weeping, and while the people around were lamenting, saying, "Such a hero as Râyinâyaka should not have been put to death."

Thirteenth verse.—When the noose had been fastened, the noble gentleman stood there in meditation, weeping saying—"Such a hero should not have been put to death." And, standing there, he quickly said, "Spend (*these*) ten rupees, and bury him."

In a befitting way the people assembled and buried Râyinâyaka; it was as if the daylight had departed then (*before its time*)! They quickly brought a tree and planted it over the place, and (*now*) the cradles swing all round (*the grave*); and to those who worship the outspoken Râyinâyaka, (*God*) has given offspring in abundance.

Veṅkanagauḍa, and Niṅganagauḍa, and Bâḷanâyaka,—these three men returned, laughing with joy (*at the success of their treachery*).

Channabasaṇṇa of the drawn sword, and the great hero Gajavîra, sat down and made a plan. And Bâḷaṇṇa of Kaḍḍiguḍḍi, and Bhîmaṇṇa of the fort, and Yellaṇṇa of the Woḍḍas of Beḷawaḍi, went with all the people to the Kachêrî; and, going to the noble gentleman, they said,—"Look now; you have deprived us of (*him who was*) our glory;[36] the very fibre of our lives has withered and died." Then, carrying their drawn swords in their hands, they turned, and went away to the jungles; and all the occurrence, my brother! passed into oblivion.

This is the song that was made by the brave Basava of Maṇḍala-Hebbaḷḷi; he, the poet, himself witnessed (*what occurred*), and composed (*this song*) and described it.

TEXT.

Pallâ.

Saṅgoḷḷi-Râyinâyikâ sarjyâ Sampagaṁvi-Subheyadârana myâga taḷḷi mâḍatâno puṇḍâ | wattaradinda suttina haḷḷi muttigi hâki baḍedâr=aṇṇâ gotta illada hâṅge hôtyo-baṇḍâ || Pallâ ||

1*ne nuḍi.*

Pûrvada mâta heḷateva nimaga | sarvaru kunta kêlari vistârâ || Garva bantu Saṅgoḷḷi-Kulakaṇṇige | chandadinda Râyinâyika hondi-konḍa idda | avara munda huṭṭit=alle kadanâ-byâgi || Kulakaṇṇi-Bâḷappa Râyaṇṇa jeḷakâ mâḍu-hotnyâga |

[36] *Birada*, for *birudu*, *biruda*, *lit.*: "badge of honour."

dhôtra śaḷa tâ anta koṭṭan=avara kaigi || Ishṭu mâtige śiṭṭa mâḍi dhiṭṭatâna hiḍidu Râyaṇṇa muṭṭâkill=and=aravî yendendigi || Yâkale haḷabâ jôkyâg=iddi sokka bant=îg=êno ninaga digar-âḍti ninta idarigi || Kêḷi Râyaṇṇa tâḷi siṭṭu hôḷi âḍ=ninna biḍuvên=endu hêḷi hoṇṭa hindaka tirigi | wolḷedo Bâḷaṇṇa nanna taḷḷi mâtara hiḍiyo inna dâḷi banta tiḷiyo suttin-haḷḷige || 1 ||

2ne nuḍi.

Wattara mâḍi Râyinâyikâ hetta tâyi pâdaka biddu | matta katti hiḍi-koṇḍ=oṇṭa dhîrâ || Magalâyara śimigi hôgi | Surapûr-arasara yidarigi nintu karava mugidu mâḍidâna namaskârâ || Dhîra haudo Râyinâyikâ | hâri hannerad=akkaḍi jigadâ | arasa nôḍid=ivana kaṇhârâ || Arasu mechchi harushav-âgi sarjyâ ninaga sariy=ill=endu | yêna bêḍti .bêḍ=anda raṇa-sûrâ || Yenaga walidâra nînu | munnuru byâḍiki koḍu | innu ârisi waitênô pûrâ | daṇḍan=ellâ tokoṇḍu bandu | bhaṇḍâyi mâḍun=ent=endu | avarig=hêḷidâno châturâ || Rawaḍa mâḍi Râyinâyikâ | dawaḍa mâḍi tanda daṇḍana | giḍadâga wôd-iṭṭa yellâ bârâ || 2 ||

3ne nuḍi.

Tanda daṇḍig=hêḷatâno hondikinda mâtagôḷu munda ninta mâḍi waḷe sistâ | yechcharadinda irari nîṁvu | suttu-kaḍaśi husiyâr-âgi yattara hôdiri nîṁvu mattu || Hastara manushyarana tinnu-hantâ | habaśarna tand=iṭṭân=âlle suttu-kaḍe mâḍi bandobastâ vistârâ daṇḍig-ellâ || Sista mâḍi taiyar-âgi | wattaradinda naḍir=enda mattâ || Kaḍawu katti kai-chûrigaḷu | irawu kañjira bâku pistula | śiṭṭina bhaṇṭaro samastâ | kaṭâri billu îṭi bâṇa | dhiṭṭatanal=hiḍawu ḍâlu maiga toṭṭaro chilkatâ || Dundagyâṁvi hondikinda | gandha-kasturiya dharisi | munda hûligâḷi hiḍisutâ | abbaradinda wobbara uḷiyada | kabara illada bandar=aṇṇâ raṇa-sûri yâvâga mâḍev=antâ || 3 ||

4ne nuḍi.

Bhêri kâḷi karni hiḍasi mîrida haligi hoḍasi | kâl-mandi mundaka kaḷavidâ || Raṅgav-âgi iruwuwa karnige jeṅgu jalli ghaṇṭi-sarapaḷi | muṅgaiyâga tôḍeva hâkshidâ || Halla tinta havaṇasta kâla kedari katti hiḍidu jigatâ mâḍatâra kusi bandu || Bichchagatti-Chanabasaṇṇa muñche Śamasaragaḍaka hôgi | vichitra hoḍavunu naḍir=yendâ | Gajavîra hêḷatânu bâḷa - gaddala mâḍuna yinda yêna uḷiyada waḷagindâ || Kaḍḍiguddi-Bâḷaṇṇâ | Doḍḍakiliyada Bhîmaṇṇâ | Bellodi-Waḍḍara-Yellaṇṇa katti hiradâ | sattyuḷḷa Śirasaṅgi-Kâḷavvâ matta Kakkeri-Kâriyavvâ namma kattige byâsana koḍar=endâ || Yellâ mandi kûḍi-koṇḍu nillâd=hôgi Śamasaragaḍâda | hullâ yêri muttigi hâkidâ || 4 ||

5ne nuḍi.

Gaḍâda-waḷaga hôgi tâṁvu bâḷa gaddala mâḍyâr=aṇṇâ | śikka mandi chaṇḍa kôdar=allâ || Hiḍadu hoḍadu | kaḍadu baḍadu | dandala mâḍyâra gamikinda | gaḍâdoḷu mand=yâru uḷiyalillâ || Yâtarad=avaga illo darakârâ | kâlil-hagaro kattigâra | kaḍada hôgatânu śigudillâ || Gaḍâda-waḷaga gaddala âdâ | suddi kêḷi Subheyadâra gâbary-âgi yedda bandan=allâ | hittala Kâsi sutt=yêḷa samadura | matta namma nâḍa-waḷaga | hintâvaru yâr-yâru bandiddilla || Lûṭi mâḍida badaku yellâ | rawada mâḍi wôdâr=allâ | îṭa gaḍâda-waḷaga biḍalillâ || Suttu-kaḍase nôḍidara | yâttu yâr-yâr=illad-âṅg-âgi || Kâttala gaṁvada hâkit=aṇṇâ jyâlâ || Âda rîti mâtagôḷanu | Subheyadâra kunta-koṇḍu Dhârawâḍaka barada hâkid=allâ || 5 ||

6ne nuḍi.

Barada pattara wattaradinda | wâlikâru wôdar=aṇṇâ | dâri kûḍi-koṇḍa Dhârawâḍaka || Gachchina bangaleda-woḷaga kacheriy=âgittu | kâgadâ bichchi, wôdâra Sâhebana hanteka || Ôdi-koṇḍa Sâhêba nôḍi | hôda mâtige inn=yâk=endu | gâḍi biṭṭa yeddan=â-kshaṇakâ || Ṭoppigi wogidu | muṅgai kaḍidu | śiṭṭilinda halla tindu |

kunta patra barada Mammâyakka || Viktôriya yembu hantâ śakti-wuḷḷa râṇiyavaru | moktâ nôḍi ṭilidâra tam-manaka || Aida-nûrâ sôdara mandi | yeraḍa-nûrâ kariya-mandi | kaḷavi koṭṭâl=âga ṭâko-ṭâkâ || Yeḷadu ashṭu daṇḍa bantu | kâḷaga-kastâ mâḍalikke | Beḷagâṁvi Dhârawâḍa jilhêkâ || Subheyadâra togoṇḍa yinna | sabara hiḍiyada hôga-bêk=antâna | jebaradinda Râyana kolludaka || 6 ||

7ne nuḍi.

Śiṭṭilinda Subheyadâra | ashṭu mandi hoṇḍisi-koṇḍ=hôgi | huḍakyâno Râyana mand=ell=ait=enta || Haḷḷâ koḷḷâ guḍḍa gaṁviyâ | giḍa kântârâ huḍakuta hoṇṭâra | Haḷḷyâla guḍḍaka hôdara mattâ || Ivara daṇḍì banta ambu suḷawu nôḍyânu Râyinâyikâ || Phaḷâra mâḍit=avana mandi kuntâ || Tavakadinda tayâr=âgi | giḍaka jyâṁvigi kaṭṭi dûra hôgi nintâro hûḷi-gâḷi hiḍisutâ || Ille adâna Râyinâyikâ | andu nôḍo avaru âga paira-gaṭṭi hoḍadârô suttâ || Guṇḍa maddu avaṭa guṇḍu | garanâlu ṭubâki karuli | hoḍawutâro illa purasottâ || Âwâja taḍapaḍa aḷḷa hurad-âṅga | koḷḷad-oḷagina giḍaka hoḍadâra | gudda nâd-hiḍadita gaddaṇisutâ || Mûra tâsa hoḍadâr=yellâ maddu guṇḍu tîri hôti | munadânu avarige Bagavantâ || 7 ||

8ne nuḍi.

Maddu tîri banda âdâra | guṇḍa hâku sappaḷa nintaddu | kaṇḍa Râyaṇṇa banda benna myâli || Kuri-woḷaga tôḷa hokka mura-murada woga-wogada hiri-hirida kaḍadâra kattîli || Sutta-gaṭṭi katti-mandi yattyet=hôga-goḍada kaḍadâra | muttigi hâkyâro daṇḍina myâli || Pistula piraṅga hiradu | bâka billu bâl-ell=ogadu | nâka-nûrâ mandi kondar=alli || Kaṇḍa mandi chaṇḍi kôdâra | ruṇḍa biddavu gotta illada | tuṇḍa tuṇḍa mâḍyâr=onda ṭôli || Koḷḷad-oḷaga katantra âgi nettara kâwali haradît=aṇṇâ hintâ śari sûri âgidillo yalli || Uḷada mandi teḷaga biddu | katti challi hulla kachchi | kalla hottâr=aṇṇâ teli myâli || Âdakaile urayaka yedda | hôda Kittûra taḷada myâli | têta-Piraṅgera dauḍ=itt=alli || Sûri mâḍi biḍawun=antâra yâru râjya âḷad-âṅga | mîri irawunu nâṁvu lôkadalli || 8 ||

9ne nuḍi.

Chakkara-ṭoppigi-Piraṅgeranâ | lekkav=illada kaḍada daṇḍina | dikka teppisi biṭṭâr=yellâ hôti || Puṇḍar-âgi tarawuna honna | kaṇḍa kaṇḍa ûra baḍidu | daṇḍigi namag=êllârigy=âgatati || Haḷḷyâla Hanamanagaṭṭi | taḷḷi mâḍi Tâḷâwâḍi | hôgi baḍadâr=aṇṇâ Gaḍâda-pyâṭi || Agasanhaḷḷi Ambaḍagaṭṭi | Kâdaroḷḷi Huṇachikaṭṭi Beḷawaḍi baḍadâra yellâru mutti || Sôdaḷḷi Gôdagêri Bâlagunda Iṭṭigi baḍada Bâgoḍûru mandi hokkati || Chamatadinda Râyinâyikâ Sampagâṁviya kacheri hokku | benki hôda suṭṭa hôti || Hoṅgalad=ûrâga hâsi-koṇḍa Kittûra kileyaka hôgi | matta avarige hêḷatâno igati | añja-byâḍ=yâr-yâvaḷ=inna baratâḷa nôḍun=ille | kâvala kunt=ati mandi hirada-katti || Yeshṭa dâḷi mâḍidâno | banṭa hando Râyinâyika | huṭṭida nakshatra sâmarthi || 9 ||

10ne nuḍi.

Avana hiḍada koṭṭara | nimaga inâmu koḍatev=anta | daṅgara Sâheba hoḍasidâna hatti śiṭṭâ || Sûri mâḍi biṭṭân=aṇṇâ yâru idara âgalill=âṁvaga | mîri kunta saravara-waḷaga bhaṇṭâ || Harudinda mûvara kûḍi | kuśâladinda mât-âḍi | masalatta mâḍyâro kuna-gaṇṭâ || Sardârana munda hôgi wardi koṭṭa | hêḷatâru kâyima mâḍi mâta-gaṭṭi muṭṭâ || Râyinâyikana hiḍada nimaga | tanda koḍatev=anta bandara | mûvara kûḍi kâgada bara-koṭṭâ || Râyinâyakanal=hôgi | bhâṁva-sudda mâtan=âḍyâra jîṁvad-oḷagina kâḷaji yallâ biṭṭâ || Ninna kaḍaśi iratev=aṇṇâ | nammana mâtara uḷavi-koḷḷo | âṇe mâḍi bandidêvo hoṇṭâ || Uppu gobbara muṭṭi | urawu dîvigi munda kuntu hêḷatâro kriyâ koṭṭa-koṭṭâ || Sâvira dêvara âṇi koṭṭu | sakâṭav-âgi iddar=aṇṇâ | tiḷiyallillo manasin=yâna śittâ || 10 ||

11*nę nuḍi.*

Naḍi hôguna Râyinâyikâ | nâḍan=yellâ baḍaḍa tarawuna kêḍa mâḍi suttina haḷḷigôḷâ || Kûḍi mandi honṭit=aṇṇâ | ḍavaḍa mâḍ=Hubbaḷḷige bandu | kêḍa mâḍi hôdara bâḷa gôḷâ || Mandin=ellâ munda kaḷavi | hoṇḍikkinda nâlvara nâṁvu | hinda hôgun=antara âti niwaḷâ || Mâta kêḷi Râyaṇṇa mana-sôta avara benna hattida | isawâsaka bidda âda maḷḷâ || Haḷḷaka hôgi jaḷakâ mâḍi uṇṇu-yâḷeka hôgun=andara | kêḷidæ Râyaṇṇâ mâtagôḷâ || Katti iṭṭa kabara biṭṭa | toṭṭa chaṇṇa tagiyâka kuntana | wotti hiḍidâra banda mâḍi bâḷâ || Mandi kûḍi horasina mêle tanda hâki bik-koṇḍ=hôdâra | avage wodagit=aṇṇâ mâyâ-kâḷâ || Kacheri-waḷaga wôda iḷavyâra | hechchina bhaṇṭa Râyinâyikannâ || Saradâra nôḍidana kaḷâ | dhîra ambu kûnâ saradâra | pûrâ tiḷadu ivana kola-bârad=anda maragyâva ivana karuḷâ || Ishṭu mâtu kêḷi mûra mandi | nishṭâdiṅda Sâhebaga hêlyâra | kashṭu taṇḍa iṭṭari namaga bâḷâ || 11 ||

12*ne nuḍi.*

Saradârana munda nintu | karava mugidu hêḷatâra yivaru | nîṁvu tandiri namma jîṁvada suttâ || Râyinâyikana biṭṭara nîṁvu | nâṁvu mâtara nâḍâg=irudilla | nammanna kaḍaḍa hâkatâna purtâ || Namaga muñche gallig=hyâki | summana biḍari nîṁvu ivana | antâr=ivaru Sâhebana munda nintâ || Idannu kêḷi Sâheba âga | adar-ante Mammâyaka baradâ | hâkiḍâno mâḍi waḷe chamatâ || Taḷaḍâg=hôgi chawakaśy-âgi | tiḷada vichyâra mâḍi kaḷavyâra | beḷada manushyana kolla-bârd=antâ || Uttara barada barawudar-oḷaga | wattara mâḍi Râyinâyikanna | gallig=hyâkâr=aṇṇâ avaru nintâ || Dhîra Râyinâyakana koraḷige | sawaka hâki tûga biṭṭâra | nintâro janar-ellâ maragutâ || Hintâ bhaṇṭa Râyinâyikana | matta kolla-bârd-itt=anta | suttina janaru dukhkhâ mâḍutâ || 12 ||

13*ne nuḍi.*

Pâśa koṭṭa Saradâr=âga dyâsâ âgi maraguta nintâna | hintâ bhaṇṭana kolla-bârd-itt=antâ || Hatta rûpâyi kharcha mâḍi | matta ivara maṇṇa koḍar=enta | wattara mâḍi hêḷida Sâheba nintâ || Chandadinda Râyinâyikana | mandi kûḍi maṇṇa koṭṭâra | indige muḷagid-âṅga âti hottâ || Âda jyâgâda mêli giḍâ | byâgadinda tanda hachyâra | tûgatâva toṭṭala sutta-muttâ || Satyavanta Râyinâyikaga | mattu janaru naḍa-koṇḍavarige | putra-santâna koṭṭudâna mastâ || Veṅkanagauḍâ Niṅganagauḍâ | Bâḷanâyikâ mûvara kûḍi | harushav-âgi bandara nakkontâ || Bichcha-gatti Chanabasaṇṇâ | hechchina bhaṇṭa Gajavîrâ | ivaru kunta hâkatâro masalattâ || Kaḍḍiguddi-Bâḷaṇṇâ killêda-Bhîmaṇṇâ Beḷawaḍi-woḍḍara-Yellaṇṇâ | kacherige hôdar=ella mandi sahitâ || Saradâraga hôgi antara yêna birada kaḷade namadu | hôte namma jîṁvada kaḍḍi sattâ || Hirada katti kaiga hiḍa-koṇḍu | tirigi guḍḍa bidda wôḍyâra | marata hôdit=aṇṇâ yalla mâtâ || Maṇḍala-Hebbaḷḷi punḍaru Basavaru mâḍida lâwaṇi | kaṇḍu hêlida kavi mâḍi swathâ || 13 ||

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ANIMALS AND PLANTS OF INDIA WHICH WERE KNOWN TO EARLY GREEK AUTHORS.

BY V. BALL, M.A. F.R.S., DIRECTOR OF THE SCIENCE AND ART MUSEUM, DUBLIN.

(*Continued from p.* 287.)

BIRDS.

18. THE EAGLE (Ἀετός).

Aquila chrysaetus, Linn.—Golden Eagle.

Called *Birgût* in E. Turkistân; *Qarâqûsh* in Kâshghar.

Ælian[45] writes, that "hares and foxes are hunted by the Indians in the manner following:—They do not require dogs for the purpose, but, taking the young of eagles, ravens, and of kites (or, as Lassen translates it, eagles, crows, and vultures), they rear and train them to pursue these animals, by subjecting them to a course of instruction, as follows," &c.

Lassen suggests that Ælian[46] by mistake

[45] *Ancient India*, p. 43.

[46] *Loc. cit.* p. 81.

substituted vultures for falcons. This is probable, since no true vulture could, by any amount of training, be taught to catch either a hare or a fox, the structure of their feet and claws being unadapted for the purpose. But the doubt expressed by the same author, as to whether eagles can be so taught, has been quite set at rest by a quotation from Sir Joseph Fayrer, made by M'Crindle,[47] to the effect that when the Prince of Wales visited Lâhor there were among the people collected about the Government House some Afghâns, with large eagles, trained to pull down deer and hares. They were perched on their wrists like hawks.

It may be added, that the members of Sir Douglas Forsyth's mission to Yârkand and Kâshghar, in 1872-3, brought back full accounts of the employment of golden eagles for the same purpose in those regions.

Further, Dr. Scully, in a Paper entitled, *A Contribution to the Ornithology of Eastern Turkistân*,[48] speaking of the golden eagle, says: "The trained bird is very common in Eastern Turkestan, every governor of a district usually having several. It is said to live and breed in the hills south of Yârkand, and near Khoten, where the young birds are caught, to be trained for purposes of falconry. . . . . The trained *qarâqûsh* is always kept hooded when it is indoors, except when about to be fed, and the method of carrying it to the chase is the following. The man who is to carry the eagle is mounted on a pony, and has his right hand and wrist protected by a thick gauntlet. A crutch, consisting of a straight piece of stick, carrying a curved piece of horn or wood—the concavity being directed upwards—is attached to the front of the saddle; the man grasps the cross piece of the crutch with his gloved hand, and the eagle then perches on his wrist," &c.

19. THE BITTAKOS OR PSITTAKOS

(Βίττακος, ψιττακός).

Palæornis eupatrius, Linn.—*P. Alexandri*, Auctorum.

Ktêsias[49] describes the βίττακος as a bird which "has a tongue and voice like the human, is of the size of a hawk, has a red bill, is adorned with a beard of a black colour, while the neck is red like cinnabar; it talks like a man, in Indian; but if taught Greek, can talk in Greek also." This description serves to distinguish it from among the five or six species of parroquets which occur in India, and it may confidently be identified with the above-named species, which is the largest and most commonly domesticated of them all.

Ælian[50] says he was informed that there were "three species of σιττακός or ψιττακός, all of which, if taught to speak as children are taught, become as talkative as children, and speak with a human voice; but in the woods they utter a bird-like scream, and neither send out any distinct and musical note, nor, being wild and untaught, are able to talk."

20. THE EPOPS (Ἔποψ).

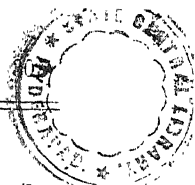
Eupupa epops, Linn.—The Indian Hoopoe.

The Indian hoopoe, according to Ælian,[51] "is reputed to be double the size of ours, and more beautiful in appearance; and while, as Homer says, the bridle and trappings of a horse are the delight of a Hellenic king, this hoopoe is the favourite plaything of the king of the Indians, who carries it on his hand, and toys with it, and never tires gazing in ecstasy on its splendour, and the beauty with which nature has adorned it. The Brakhmanes make this particular bird the subject of a mythic story," &c.

The common hoopoe of Northern India is identical with the European bird. In Southern India there is a nearly allied, but smaller bird, *E. nigripennis*. There is, therefore, no foundation for Ælian's statement that the Indian bird is double the size of the European, it being unlikely that any other bird could have been intended.

It may be added, from Jerdon's *Birds of India*, that "in captivity it is said to be readily tamed, and to show great intelligence and susceptibility of attachment. Musalmâns venerate the hoopoe on account of their supposing it to have been a favourite bird of Solomon (Sulaimân) who is said to have employed one as a messenger."

47 *Loc. cit.* p. 97.
48 *Stray Feathers*, Vol. VI. 1876, p. 123.
49 *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii. *Cf.* M'Crindle's *Ancient India*, p. 7.
50 *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 1, 15.
51 *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. *Cf. Megasthenês*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 159.



21. THE KERKION (Κερκίων).

Eulabes religiosa, Linn.; or *E. intermedia*, Hay.—The Hill *Mainá*.

By Ælian[52] we are told "there is another remarkable bird in India: it is the size of a starling, is parti-coloured, and is trained to utter the sounds of human speech. It is even more talkative than the parrot, and of greater natural cleverness. So far is it from submitting with pleasure to be fed by man, that it has rather such a pining for freedom, and such a longing to warble at will in the society of its mates, that it prefers starvation to slavery with sumptuous fare. It is called by the Makedonians, who settled among the Indians in the city of Boukephala and its neighbourhood, and in the city called Kyropolis, and others, which Alexander the son of Philip built, the *kerkiôn*. This name had, I believe, its origin in the fact that the bird wags its tail in the same way as the water-ousels (οἱ κίγκλοι)."

Jerdon states that the Hindustânî name of *E. religiosa* in Southern India is *kokin mainá*, which may be compared with *kerkiôn*. If this handsome and most accomplished musician and talker be not the bird referred to by Ælian, then I can only suggest some of the other less remarkable species of *mainás* (*Acridotheres*).[53]

Bâbar in his *Memoirs* describes several species of *shárak*, one of which with earlappets must have been a species of *Eulabes*.

22. GREEN-WINGED DOVE (Πελειὰς χλωρόπτιλος)

Crocopus chlorigaster, Blyth.—Green Pigeon.

The green pigeons of India, which fly in flocks, and feed upon fruit, are often a puzzle to strangers now, as they appear to have been to Megasthenês, or whatever other author it was from whom Ælian derived his information. He says:[54] "One who is not well versed in bird-lore, seeing these for the first time, would take them to be parrots and not pigeons. In the colour of the bill and legs they resemble Greek partridges."

There are several species of green pigeons in India; but the one mentioned above is the commonest, and has the widest distribution.

23. COCKS OF LARGEST SIZE

(Ἀλεκτρυόνες μέγιστοι).

Lophophorus impeyanus, Lath.—*Munál*.

The *munál* pheasant must, I think, have sat for the following descriptive portrait by Ælian:[55] "There are also cocks which are of extraordinary size, and have their crests, not red, as elsewhere, or, at least, in our country, but have the flower-like coronals, *of which the crest is formed*, variously coloured. Their rump feathers again are neither curved nor wreathed, but are of great breadth, and they trail them in the way peacocks trail their tails, when they neither strengthen nor erect them; the feathers of these Indian cocks are in colour golden, and also dark blue, like the *smaragdus*."

It is probable that *munál* pheasants, captured in the Himâlayas, were brought into India for sale, and thus became known to the Greeks. The same bird is, I believe, referred to under the name *katreus* by Strabo,[56] where he quotes from Kleitarkhos, and tells us that the bird was beautiful in appearance, had variegated plumage, and approached the peacock in shape. A suggestion that this was a bird of paradise is therefore absurd, and is otherwise most improbable, since birds of paradise are found not in India but in New Guinea. With this also I am inclined to identify "the partridge larger than a vulture," which, as related by Strabo,[57] on the authority of Nicolaus Damascenus, was sent by Porus, with other presents in charge of an embassy, to Augustus Cæsar.

24. THE KELAS (Κήλας).

Leptoptilos argala, Linn.—The Adjutant.

In the following passage from Ælian, we may, I think, recognise the adjutant:—"I learn further, that in India there is a bird which is thrice the size of the bustard, and has a bill of prodigious size, and long legs. It is furnished also with an immense crop, resembling a leather pouch. The cry which it utters is peculiarly discordant. The plumage is ash-coloured, except that the feathers, at their tips, are tinted with a pale yellow."[58]

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[52] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 1. *Cf.* J. W. M'Crindle's *Megasthenês*, p. 159.

[53] [Cf. *ante*, Vol. XI. pp, 291-3, where κερκίων is derived from the Skr. *śárikâ* and the bird supposed to be the modern *shârak* or *acridotheres tristis*.—ED.]

[54] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 1.

[55] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 2. *Cf.* J. W. M'Crindle's *Megasthenês*, p. 160; and *Ancient India*, p. 36.

[56] *Geôgraphika*, xv. c. 1, § 69.

[57] *Geôgraphika*, xv. c. 1, § 73.

[58] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 4.

The pouch and long legs sufficiently identify this bird with the well-known characteristics of the adjutant.

Bâbar describes the adjutant under the name *ding*. A tame one in his possession, he says, once swallowed a shoe well shod with iron, and on another occasion a good sized fowl, feathers and all!

REPTILES.

25. TORTOISE (Χελώνη).

Trionyx, Sp. ? if a true river Tortoise.

In reference to this animal, Ælian[59] tells us that "it is found in India, where it lives in the rivers. It is of immense size, and it has a shell not smaller than a full-sized skiff (σκάφη) which is capable of holding ten *medimnoi* (120 gallons) of pulse."

I have not been able to find any account of the maximum sizes to which the shells of the Indian species of *Trionyx* attain, but I believe they do exceed four feet. Ælian's account is too vague, and probably too much exaggerated, for any closer identification. There is a marine chelonian found in the Bay of Bengal, called *Dermatochelys coriacea*, the shell of which, according to Theobald, measures 66 inches over the curve.

It is difficult to suggest a name for the land tortoise, which Ælian describes as being the size of a clod of earth when turned by the plough in a yielding soil, as it might belong to several of the genera represented in Western India. He states that "they are *said* to cast their shells," which is of course an impossibility. He concludes by saying "they are fat things, and their flesh is sweet, having nothing of the sharp flavour of the sea-tortoise." An exact identification of this animal, so superior to the turtle, should prove of interest to aldermen!

Forbes in his *Oriental Memoirs* (Vol. I. p. 176) speaks with much approval of eating a species of land tortoise in Gujarât.

26. THE SERPENT A SPAN LONG

(Ὄφις σπιθαμιαῖος).

Eublepharis Sp.—Biskhuprâ of the natives.

Photios[60] and Ælian[61] describe, on the authority of Ktêsias, a snake, which I feel unable to identify with any degree of certainty. The account by the former is the more concise of the two, and is as follows:—"In India there is a serpent a span long, in appearance like the most beautiful purple, with a head perfectly white, but without any teeth. The creature is caught on those very hot mountains, whose rivers yield the sardine-stone. It does not sting, but on whatever part of the body it casts its vomit, that place invariably putrefies. If suspended by the tail, it emits two kinds of poison—one like amber, which oozes from it while living, and the other black, which oozes from its carcass. Should about a sesamum-seed's bulk of the former be administered to anyone, he dies the instant he swallows it, for his brain runs out through his nostrils. If the black sort be given it induces consumption, but operates so slowly that death scarcely ensues in less than a year's time."

The lizard named above, the *biskhuprâ* of the natives, though toothless, is regarded as being very poisonous, and on this account I suggest, but with hesitation, that it may be the animal. It may, however, have been a true snake.

27. THE SKOLEX (Σκώληξ).

Crocodilus, vel Gavialis.—The Crocodile, or *Ghariâl.*

Several authors who have derived their information from Ktêsias give accounts of the *skôlêx*. The most complete is that by Ælian[62] as follows:—"The river Indus has no living creature in it except, they say, the *skôlêx*, a kind of worm, which to appearance is very like the worms that are generated and nurtured in trees. It differs, however in size, being in general seven cubits in length, and of such a thickness that a child of ten could scarcely clasp it round in his arms. It has a single tooth in each of its jaws, quadrangular in shape, and above four feet long. These teeth are so strong that they tear in pieces with ease whatever they clutch, be it a stone or be it a beast, whether wild or tame. In the daytime these worms remain hidden at the bottom of the river, wallowing with delight in its mud and sediment, but by night they come ashore in search of prey, and whatever animal they

[59] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 14.
[60] *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii. 16.
[61] *Hist. Anim.*, iv. 36. *Cf. Anc. India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 48.
[62] *De Nat. An.*, v. 3. *Cf. Anc. India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, pp. 7, 23, 27, 56, 58.

pounce upon, horse, cow, or ass, they drag down to the bottom of the river, where they devour it limb by limb, all except the entrails. Should they be pressed by hunger they come ashore even in the daytime; and should a camel then, or a cow, come to the brink of the river to quench its thirst, they creep stealthily up to it, and with a violent spring, having secured their victim by fastening their fangs in its upper lip, they drag it by sheer force into the water, where they make a sumptuous repast of it. The hide of the *skôlêx* is two finger-breadths thick. The natives have devised the following methods for catching it: To a hook of great strength and thickness they attach an iron chain, which they bind with a rope made of a broad piece of cotton. Then they wrap wool round the hook and the rope, to prevent them being gnawed through by the worm, and having baited the hook with a kid, the line is thereupon lowered into the stream. As many as thirty men, each of whom is equipped with a sword, and a spear (harpoon), fitted with a thong, hold on to the rope, having also stout cudgels lying ready to hand, in case it should be necessary to kill the monster with blows. As soon as it is hooked and swallows the bait, it is hauled ashore, and despatched by the fishermen, who suspend its carcass till it has been exposed to the heat of the sun for thirty days. An oil all this time oozes out from it, and falls by drops into earthen vessels. A single worm yields ten *kotylai* (about five pints). The vessels having been sealed up, the oil is despatched to the king of the Indians, for no one else is allowed to have so much as one drop of it. The rest of the carcass is useless. Now, this oil possesses this singular virtue, that if you wish to burn to ashes a pile of any kind of wood, you have only to pour upon it half a pint of the oil, and it ignites without your applying a spark of fire to kindle it; while if it is a man or a beast you want to burn, you pour out the oil, and in an instant the victim is consumed. By means of this oil also the king of the Indians, it is said, captures hostile cities without the help of rams or *testudos*, or other siege apparatus, for he has merely to set them on fire with the oil and they fall into his hands. How he proceeds is this: having filled with the oil a certain number of earthen vessels, which hold each about half a pint, he closes up their mouths and aims them at the uppermost parts of the gates, and if they strike them and break, the oil runs down the woodwork, wrapping it in flames which cannot be put out, but with insatiable fury burn the enemy, arms and all. The only way to smother and extinguish this fire is to cast rubbish into it. This account is given by Ktêsias the Knidian."

As regards the *skôlêx*, I think we need not hesitate to identify it with the crocodile—the nature of the bait, a kid, used in its capture sufficiently proves that—in spite of the incorrect description of the animal itself; but although the oil of crocodiles is sometimes extracted and applied to various medicinal and other purposes by native fishermen, the substance here described, and to which this origin was ascribed, was probably petroleum, the true source of which was not well understood, although Ktêsias elsewhere refers to a lake upon the surface of which oil floated.

As is pointed out on a subsequent page the supposed product of the *dikaíron* was probably *charas*,[63] so I would suggest that the *skôlêx* oil was petroleum from the Pañjâb[64] oil springs, where it appears to have been well known and held in high esteem for its various properties since the earliest times. Ktêsias's account confers upon it characteristics which were probably somewhat exaggerated. They may be compared with those of substances not unknown at the present day to persons of the Nihilist and similar fraternities. We have it on record, however, that fire-balls, prepared with Pañjâb petroleum, were employed as missiles to frighten the war elephants of a Hindû king by a Muhammadan invader eight hundred years ago. In their accounts the Muhammadan historians make use of a word signifying naphtha, so that gunpowder was not intended, as has sometimes been supposed.[65]

When carried as far as Persia, away from its source, it probably acquired the mythical origin described by Ktêsias; and the account of the animal itself was so distorted that the Greeks

[63] [*Charas* is a preparation made from the resinous exudation of the flowers of the Indian hemp *(cannabis sativa)* and is used as an intoxicant.—ED.]

[64] *Cf. Economic Geol. of India*, p. 126.

[65] *See Jour. Soc. Arts*, April 28, 1882, p. 595.

did not recognize the same animal as the crocodile of the Nile, which was of course known to them. At the same time it should be remembered that the *gharíál* (not *gavial*, as it is incorrectly called in English works on Zoology) occurs in the Indus, and would, no doubt, seem a strange animal even to people well acquainted with the crocodile of the Nile.

It attracted the attention of Bâbar, who gives a description of it, as well as of the *sher âbî* (water tiger), which was apparently the common crocodile.

Sir A. Burnes (*Cabool*, p. 65.) mentions having eaten crocodile's flesh, and adds that "The gall bladder of the animal is carefully preserved by the natives and used as a medicine in cases of obstinate wounds and defluxions."

Another mention of Indian crocodiles is to be found in the *Periplus*, where it is said that, when approaching the Sinthus (*i.e.* Indus) River, "the sign by which voyagers, before sighting land, know that it is near, is their meeting with serpents (sea snakes) floating on the water; but higher up, and on the coasts of Persia the first sign of land is seeing them of a different kind, called *graai*" (Sansk., *graha*, a crocodile).[66]

28. SERPENT (Ὄφις).

Python molurus, Linn.—The Python.

Pliny[67] tells us that, according to Megasthenês, "serpents in India grow to such a size that they swallow stags and bulls whole."

This is a somewhat exaggerated account of the capabilities of the Indian python, which is, however, sometimes thirty feet long, and three feet, or even more, in circumference. That it can kill and eat deer seems to be a well-attested fact, though how it would dispose of one with horns I cannot say. I know of one story recorded by an Englishman,[68] where in Sambhalpûr the natives were in the habit of tethering goats near some rocks occupied by a monster snake, as an offering, which he very freely accepted and disposed of.

There is an account by Capt. E. A. Langley[69] of an encounter between one of these snakes of the above dimensions and a sportsman, whose dog was first killed by the snake. After it had been shot, a dead deer was found, which it had been about to swallow when disturbed by the dog.

The stories of monster snakes killing and *eating* horned cattle seem more than doubtful.

29. (Ὄφις θαλάσσιος).

Hydrophis, *Sp.* (?)—Sea-snakes.

The sea-snakes of the Indian seas are thus referred to by Ælian:[70] "The Indian sea breeds sea-snakes, which have broad tails, and the lakes breed *hydras* (crocodiles ?) of immense size; but these sea-snakes appear to inflict a bite more sharp than poisonous."

The species of *Hydrophis* have broad tails, as described by Ælian; but he underrates the effects of their bite; for although, as Mr. Theobald[71] states, "their fangs are small, their venom is extremely potent."

They may be seen swimming in numbers near some parts of the coast of the peninsula of India and the islands of the Bay of Bengal. I have taken them in a net towed from the deck of a steamer; and on one occasion, on the island of Preparis, I came upon an eagle (*Cuncuma lecoogaster*) in the act of eating one, quite a pile of snake-bones being at the foot of what was evidently his favourite perch.

Ælian's *hydras* I cannot identify, unless they be crocodiles; but these he elsewhere describes, under the name *skôlêx*. (See preceding page.

Although I am not yet prepared to identify the fish, crustaceans and mollusca, which are mentioned by our Greek authors, owing to the vagueness of the descriptions, I anticipate some success with them hereafter, but am compelled to reserve that part of the subject for the present, and therefore pass now to the insects.

INSECTS.

30. HONEY (Μέλι).

Apis dorsata (?)—Bees. *Bhauṅrâ*, Hin.

Photios tells us, on the authority of Ktêsias,[72] that "there is a certain river flowing with honey out of a rock, like the one we have in our own country."

[66] *Cf. Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 107.
[67] *Hist. Nat.*, viii. 14, 1.
[68] Motte in *Asiatic Annual Register*, London, 1766.
[69] *Narrative of a Residence at the Court of Meer Ali Moorad.*

[70] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 2, 8. *Cf. Megasthenês*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 163.
[71] *Catalogue of Reptiles of British India*, Appendix, p. 2.
[72] *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii. 13 (καὶ ποταμόν φήσιν ἐκ πέτρας ῥέοντα μέλι).

I venture to think that this story may have possibly originated in the fact that the rocky gorges of many Indian rivers are the favourite haunts of wild bees. To those who know India, the famous marble rocks on the Narbadâ will suggest themselves; and all who have actually visited that remarkable gorge where the river is bounded by lofty cliffs of pure white marble, will remember the ladders which hang suspended from the summits, by which the honey seekers descend to rob the combs. What more natural than that honey brought from such a spot should be made the object of a story like that related by Ktêsias.[73]

Perhaps we may venture a step further, and suggest that the following statement, by Strabo,[74] quoting from Megasthenês, had the same origin:—"Stones are dug up in India which are of the colour of frankincense, and sweeter than figs or honey." But the probability of some form of sugar-candy, the true origin of which was then unknown, having given rise to this story, should not be forgotten.

31. The Indian Myrmex (Μύρμηξ ὁ Ινδός).

Termes, Sp. (?)—Termites, or White Ants.

The termites, or white ants, as distinguished from the gold-digging ants, receive special attention at the hands of Ælian, whose account appears to have been derived from an author named Iobas. He says: "Nor must we forget the Indian ant, which is so noted for its wisdom. The ants of our country do, no doubt, dig for themselves subterranean holes and burrows, and by boring provide themselves with lurking places, and wear out all their strength in what may be called mining operations, which are indescribably toilsome, and conducted with secrecy; but the Indian ants construct for themselves a cluster of tiny dwelling-houses, seated, not on sloping or level grounds, where they could easily be inundated, but on steep and lofty eminences,"[75] &c. &c.

The above with its context affords a good description of Indian white ants, or termites, which unlike true ants, have soft defenceless bodies, and have therefore to protect themselves by their earthworks. Besides constructing the well-known so-called ant-hills, they, when extending the range of their foraging grounds, protect every step of their progress by covered passages, built up of minute pellets of moistened clay.

32. Elektron (Ἤλεκτρον) Θηρία τὸ μέγεθος ὅσοι γίνοιντο ἂν οἱ κάνθαροι.

Coccus lacca.—The Lac Insect, and its Products, Shell-Lac and Lac Dye.

None of the commentators on the ancient accounts of India appear to have suggested that the *êlektron*, to which reference is not unfrequently made, can be identified with a known production of India. Lassen, however, suggested that it was a gum exuding from trees. There are several points in the following descriptions which point with certainty to the fact that it was crude shell-lac, which is a secretion formed by the female lac insect, whose body affords the material of lac dye.

From Photios's extracts, as given by Mr. M'Crindle,[76] we learn that, "Through India there flows a certain river, not of any great size, but only about two *stadia* in breadth, called in the Indian tongue, Hyparkhos (Ὕπαρχος), which means in Greek, φέρων πάντα τὰ ἀγαθά (*i.e.* the bearer of all good things). This river, for thirty days in every year, floats down amber, for in the upper part of its course, where it flows among the mountains, there are said to be trees overhanging its current which for thirty days, at a particular season in every year, continue dropping tears like the almond-tree, and the pine-tree, and other trees. These tears, on dropping into the water, harden into gum. The Indian name for the tree is *síptakhoras* (σιπτάχορας),[77] which means, when rendered into Greek, γλυκύς (*i.e.* sweet). These trees, then, supply the Indians with their amber. And not only so, but they are said to yield berries, which grow in clusters like the grapes of the vine, and have stones as large as the filbert nuts of Pontos."

Further on we read: "In the same parts there is a wild insect, about the size of a beetle, red like cinnabar, with legs excessively long.

[73] This explanation may I think be extended to the Biblical references such as "the brooks of honey and butter" (*ghî?*) mentioned by Zophar in the *Book of Job*, and the following: "He should have fed them also with the finest of the wheat, and with honey out of the stony rock should I have satisfied thee." *Psalm* lxxxi. 16.

[74] *Geôgraphika*, xv. c. 1, § 37.

[75] *Hist. Anim.*, xvi. 15. *Cf. Megasthenês*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 167.

[76] *Ancient India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, pp. 20, 21.

[77] *Aphytacora*, according to Pliny, Nat. Hist. xxxvii. 11.

It is soft as the worm called *skôlêx*, and is found on the trees which produce amber, eating the fruits of those trees, as in Greece the woodlouse ravages the vine-trees. The Indians grind these insects to a powder, and therewith dye such robes, tunics, and other vestments as they want to be of a purple hue." Speaking of the race Kynokephaloi, they are said to "eat the fruit of the *siptakhoras*, the tree which produces amber, for it is sweet. They also dry this fruit, and pack it in hampers, as the Greeks do raisins. The same people construct rafts, freight them with the hampers as well as with the flowers of the purple plant, after cleansing it, and with 260 talents weight of the dried fruits, and a like weight of the pigment which dyes purple, and 1,000 talents of amber. All this cargo, which is the season's produce, they convey annually as tribute to the king of the Indians."

In spite of exaggeration, in the account above given of the red insects, I think they may be safely identified with the so-called lac insects, *Coccus lacca*. They cannot have been cochineal insects, as has been suggested, since they do not occur in India. The *êlektron* was certainly shell-lac, as above stated. The *Periplus* mentions Λάκκος χρωμάτινος, coloured lac, as an export to Adouki from Ariakê, which, whether it means the dye itself, or garments coloured by it, as has been suggested, sufficiently proves that the substance was known at that early time. The *siptakhoras* tree presents some difficulty, owing to its combining attributes belonging to two distinct trees, which, however, grow in the same region. The tree which most abundantly yields lac is the *khusum*—*Schleichera trijuga*. It is found on others too, as *Zizyphus jujuba*, *Ficus Indica* and *Ficus religiosa*; but not, so far as my experience goes, on the *mahwwá* (*Bassia latifolia*), the dried flowers of which are brought down from the mountainous regions in baskets for sale in the plains. The flowers are used both as food and in the manufacture of a spirit, the well-known *mahwwá* spirit.[78] It is possible that some of the confusion may have arisen from the fact that the *mahwwá*, like other trees belonging to the same natural order, does exude a gum. The fruit of the *khusum*, though edible, is not so treated. The *fruits* of the *mahwwá* include stones, and grow in clusters.

These identifications, taken together with the statement of Pliny, that the Hyparkhos, or Hypobaros river flows into the Eastern Sea enable us, I think, so far to localise it as to say, that it was one of those which rise in Western Bengal (or Orissa), and among them it may have been either the Damûdâ, the Dalkissar, Kossai, Brâhmiṇî, or Mahânadî. Possibly the old native names of these, which I cannot at the moment refer to, may help to elucidate the identification.

As for the people called Kynokephaloi, they are subjects fit for separate examination, it being here sufficient to suggest that they belonged to a Kolarian race.

33. THE DIKAIRON (Δίκαιρον).

Scarabœus sacer, Linn.—The Dung Beetle.

Under the name *Dikairon*, Ktêsias described, according to Photios[79] and Ælian,[80] a bird! of the size of a partridge's egg, which buried its dung in the earth. To this dung, which was said to be an object of search, the properties of an opiate and poison were attributed. It was so precious that it was included among the costly presents sent by the king of the Indians to the Persian monarch, and no one in Persia possessed any of it except the king and his mother.

By the Greeks it was called δίκαιον (*i.e.* just) that being probably the nearest approximation of a known word to the Indian or Persian name. An Arabic word *zikairon* [?] meaning concealer may perhaps, it has been suggested to me, be the original form of this name. This so-called bird! was, I believe, one of the *Coprophagi* of Latreille, namely, the common dung beetle called *gobarandá* in Hindustânî, which buries pellets of cattle droppings as a receptacle for its eggs and food for the larvæ when hatched.

I do not know whether these pellets are used medicinally, though it is not improbable that they are, but I strongly suspect that the substance, described by Ktêsias, to which he has attributed this origin was *charas*, a resinous product of Indian hemp (*Cannabis sativa*). It cannot have been opium, as it was not introduced into India till a later period.

[78] *Cf. Jungle Life in India* (*passim*).
[79] *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii. 17.
[80] *De Nat. An.* iv. 41.

I remember when in the valley of the Indus being very much struck with the rapidity with which these *scarabæi* formed pellets from cattle droppings and rolled them across the sand to suitable spots for burying. The pellets are often larger than the beetles themselves, and the method of rolling them is curious, as the beetle goes backwards, guiding the ball with his long hind legs and walking on the two pairs of fore-legs.

It would not be difficult to give examples of almost as extravagant ideas of the origin of many of our drugs which were till recently accepted. There are some even to the present day the true source of which is unknown.

The above may be compared with the suggestion on p. 307 that the oil of the *skôlêx* was in reality rock oil or petroleum from the Pañjâb.

FOLKLORE IN WESTERN INDIA.

BY PUTLIBAI D. H. WADIA.

No. 1.—*The King's Lesson.*[1]

Once upon a time there lived a king who was very avaricious, and spent nothing in charity, but had a very sensible minister who would occasionally reason with him and forcibly point out the sin of leading such a selfish life, exhorting him at the same time to do something towards alleviating the sufferings of his subjects. The king's miserly disposition, however, never altered.

One day the minister, who was a very outspoken man, freely expressed himself to his royal master thus:—"Your Majesty will excuse me for saying that you are getting old, and in course of time will be joined to your forefathers; and what have you done to please Îśwar (God) and to recommend yourself to his mercy? But it is not yet too late to mend, and so let me beg your Majesty to try and win the favour of Îśwar by doing some charitable and benevolent acts."

"I think," replied the king, "that it is useless to waste money in that way, for I have no faith in charity, and do not believe that the charitable are blessed."

"Will your Majesty listen to me?" returned the minister, "I have a plan to propose to you, which, if you follow it, will convince you that deeds of charity and benevolence are not without their reward. My humble advice to your Majesty is to go abroad and see a little more of life as it really is: but if you wish to see it properly you must give up your state for a time and go into the world as an ordinary man, and then I can assure you, you will see for yourself whether the charitable are blessed or not. If you travel as a king you will be shown nothing but the bright side of things; whereas, if you go about as an ordinary man, you will be able to mix with the people and learn how mankind really lives in this world."

To this the king consented, and getting ready a ship set sail in it. He gave orders that the ship's course should be left to the winds, that it might be carried where it should please Îśwar to take it. After some time the ship reached a strange land where the king left it and went on shore all by himself. He found that he had arrived at a large city, and on inquiry learned that it was governed by a king who was of an uncharitable disposition, and had never in his life done any good thing, and had, moreover, mismanaged his state affairs.

The king went on till he came to a hut in which lived a cowherd and his wife. Going up to it he begged admittance and a night's shelter. They stared at him a while, but being reassured by his honest looks, they took him in. On his inquiring of them as to how they managed to live, they replied that they were in the service of the king of the country, whose cattle they tended and milked, taking the milk to the palace, and being in return allowed a *sîdhâ* (pittance) of rice enough for two, and some *guḷ* (coarse sugar) out of the royal stores.

That evening when the woman went to the palace with the milk, her husband said to her: "When they give you our *sîdhâ* at the palace this evening, ask for a handful more for our guest."

The woman did accordingly, but the servants were rude to her and refused to give her any-

[1] Told by a relative of the narrator: a Pârsî lady.

thing more than the usual allowance. The queen, hearing an altercation, came up, and demanded of the poor woman what she wanted.

"I was asking for a little more rice than usual, your Majesty," said she, "that we might feed a stranger we have taken in for the night."

The queen, who was as uncharitable as her husband, fell into a rage at this, and ordered her servants not only to give the poor woman nothing more than her daily allowance, but to curtail even that by a handful or two by way of punishing her for her impudence.

The cowherd's wife meekly took what was given her and went home, and when the rice was cooked she divided it and the *guḷ* between the stranger, her husband and herself. After serving the stranger with his share of the food, the poor couple retired into an inner room and sat down to theirs.

While they were at their meal the husband said: "Why did you not ask for a little more rice, wife, when you were given our daily pittance at the palace this evening, as I had told you, so that both we and our guest might have fared better to night?"

"I did ask," said the woman, "but the queen came up, and instead of adding a little more to our usual supply, ordered her servants to curtail it by a handful or two, and so I was obliged to be content with what was given me, and to do the best I could with it."

Their royal guest overheard this conversation, and thus found confirmation of the report he had heard about the miserly habits of the king and queen of the country he found himself in.

After finishing what was placed before him the king lay down on the floor to sleep, and his host and hostess did the same in the next room. Before the king had composed himself to sleep, the cowherd arose, and coming up to him said:

"Awake! I have something for your ears only, and listen attentively, for I have a prophecy to tell you."

The king stared at him in astonishment, but the cowherd proceeded:—

"Before daybreak to-morrow the palace yonder will be in flames. Do not be concerned or frightened at this, for the decrees of fate are immutable, but take a knife and hasten to the stalls where the cattle are kept, cut the strings with which they are tied and let them loose. You must then return to this cottage, where you will find my wife and myself dead in our beds. Do not be overcome with grief, but open the box in that corner there and you will find in it some money that I have saved up. Take some of it, run to the *bâzâr* and buy such articles as may be required for our obsequies. This done, lose no time in having our bodies burnt with due ceremony, defraying the cost of that also out of the contents of the box, and you will find two gold coins still left in it. I shall tell you, presently, what use you are to make of them. When returning from the outskirts of the city after burning our bodies you will hear a *dheḍ* (scavenger) quarrelling with his wife, and presently you will see him coming down a hill with two new-born babes placed in a winnowing fan. He will be abusing his wife for having given birth to twins this year, when he could not find bread enough for those she had already borne him, and saying that he will not bear it any longer, but will consign the unwelcome little ones to the sea. You must walk up to him, beg him to have mercy on the poor little things, give him the two gold coins, and tell him to have patience, for Îśwar will provide for his babes. When he hears this he will return home again with the infants, who will be no other than the wicked king and queen of this country, burnt in the fire by which their palace is to be destroyed, because their souls will have transmigrated into the bodies of the scavengers' twins.

"You must proceed towards the city after this and you will hear great rejoicings going on in a certain part of it, and on inquiry will learn that the two great ministers of the State are celebrating the birth, one of a boy and the other of a girl, just born to them. You will be told further that the two ministers, not being blessed with any progeny, had constantly been praying to Îśwar to bless them with children, and that as they were very righteous and pious, he had heard their prayers, so that both their wives had borne them children at the same time, upon which, as they were great friends, they had vowed that if one had a boy and the other a girl they would marry them to each other; and that this is why both the families

have equal[2] cause for rejoicing. In one of them, however, you will hear that there is a cause of regret, *viz.*, that the newlyborn boy refuses his mother's breast. The boy will be myself, come back into the world a second time, whilst the girl will be no other than my wife. You must, therefore, ask the people to take you to the house of the minister, my father, and there you will see me lying in my mother's lap. As soon as I see you I shall speak to you and then commence to suck my mother."

The king, who had followed his host throughout most attentively, was at a loss to know what to think of all he had heard. He tried to go to sleep again after the cowherd had retired, but in vain. Meanwhile he could hear his friend snoring away in the adjoining room.

Before the day had broken, the disguised king, who had been tossing about in his bed, pondering upon what had been so strangely related to him, heard people shouting that the king's palace was on fire. He instantly got up and began to look about for a knife. He soon found one, and hurrying to where the cattle were kept, cut the ropes with which they were tied up and set them at liberty. He then returned to the hut, and there, sure enough, he found the poor cowherd and his good wife dead in their beds. He forthwith proceeded to do as he had been bidden over-night. He got everything ready and burnt the bodies with all due ceremony, defraying the cost out of the poor man's savings, which he found in the box in the corner, as had been pointed out to him. While returning from the burning-ground, he saw the *dhed* coming down a hill with his two new-born babes, proclaiming in a loud voice that he was going to throw them into the sea. Remembering what his deceased host had told him he went up to him, and after a good deal of persuasion succeeded in getting him to promise to spare the lives of the infants, giving him, at the same time, the two gold coins still remaining in hand out of the cowherd's box. The scavenger returned home with the infants and the two gold coins, to his wife's great delight, and the king went on his way.

When he reached the city he heard the sound of music and singing, and on inquiring into the cause of the rejoicings was told just what the cowherd had predicted. When he approached the house of the Minister to whom had been born a son and heir he remarked that some of the people around looked sad and dejected, because, he was told, the newlyborn boy refused the breast.

"Take me to the child," said the king to some of the servants whom he found loitering about the house, "and I shall work a charm that will make him suck his mother fast enough."

The men looked at him for a while in astonishment, but at last, with the permission of the master of the house, they took him to the chamber where sat the mother with the baby in her arms, wondering how the boy she was so pleased to have would live without the nourishment he refused. The king went up to her, and as soon as the child saw him he began to speak, to the great surprise of his mother. They were quite alone, for every one else had been sent out of the room, and what the child said was:

"Have all my words been verified? Have you learnt the lesson you came to learn?"

The king had scarcely answered "Yes," when the baby put his mouth to his mother's breast and drank his fill. The gratified mother requested the stranger to explain the meaning of her baby's questions, but the king wisely refrained from giving her any explanation and left the house amidst many expressions of gratitude from the parents of the boy, as well as from their friends, for the wonderful change he had produced in him.

Immediately after this he set sail for his native country, and when he arrived there, he was greeted by his Minister, to whom he related all that he had seen and heard, and assured him that he was now fully convinced that there was nothing in this world like charity and benevolence.

From that day he devised every means in his power to enhance the welfare and happiness of his subjects, and died regretted and respected by all for his numerous virtues, prominent among which were benevolence and charity.[3]

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[2] Ordinarily there would be no rejoicings at the birth of a girl, but many at the birth of a boy.

[3] The point of this tale, which must be of purely Hindû origin, lies in the doctrine of the transmigration of souls. The wicked king and queen are *punished* by being born again as the children of a scavenger, and the virtuous cowherd and his wife *rewarded* by becoming the children of ministers, who in India are not only people of very high position and great wealth, but are also usually high-caste Brâhmans. The cowherds are everywhere a low caste. 'Charity' in India usually means almsgiving to Brâhmaṇs.

SANSKRIT AND OLD-KANARESE INSCRIPTIONS.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

(*Continued from p. 291.*)

No. CLIX.

PAITHAN PLATES OF RAMACHANDRA.—SAKA 1193.

This inscription is from some copper-plates which were found at Paiṭhan in the Nizâm's Dominions.[1] I obtained them, for examination, from the Bombay Secretariat.

The plates, which are very massive, are three in number, each measuring about 1′ 3″ by 1′ 8½″. The edges of them are fashioned thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation almost throughout. The ring, on which the plates were strung, consists of a rod of copper about ⅞″ thick, bent into a circle about 6⅝″ in diameter, and fastened with a rivet through the two flattened ends; it had not been cut,—nor, apparently, opened by removing the rivet,—when the grant came under my notice. On this ring there slides freely another ring, about ¾″ thick, which is let into the back of an image of Garuḍa, about 8½″ high. The weight of the three plates is 2300 tolas, and of the two rings and the image, 457 tolas; total weight, 2757 tolas. The characters are Nâgarî, of the period to which the inscription refers itself; the character *ba* is sometimes represented by an ordinary Nâgarî *ba*, and sometimes by a double *va*. The language is Sanskṛit throughout.

The inscription commences with an invocation of Vârâha or the Boar (Vishṇu),—followed by the usual verse in praise of Vishṇu, in the same form, when he lifted the earth on his right-hand tusk from the depths of the great ocean.

It then continues;—From the lotus that grew from the navel of Vishṇu, there was produced Viriñchi (line 2). From him was born Atri (l. 3); and from him, Chandra, or the Moon. In the lineage of the moon, there was Purûravas (l. 4), who married Urvaśî (l. 6). From him was born Yayâti; and from him Yadu (l. 8), through whom the race attained pre-eminence in the world.

In this family of Yadu (l. 10), the lineage of the moon,[2] there was born Siṅghaṇa (l. 15), who subdued the king of Karṇâṭa (l. 13), and punished the Pâṇḍya, and repulsed with his arrows the leader of the Gûrjaras (l. 14). From him there was born Mallugi (l. 16). After him there was Bhillama (l. 19). From him there was born Jaitugi (l. 22), who slew the king of the three Kaliṅgas in battle (l. 20), and seized the whole of his kingdom, and who took king Gaṇapati (l. 23) from prison and caused him to smile. From him there was born Siṅghaṇa (l. 25), who was a very sun to dispel the darkness which was the Hammîras (l. 24), and who overthrew Ballâḷa,[3] and the Andhra king (l. 26), and Kakkalla, and the lord of Bhambhâgiri, and king Bhôja[4] (l. 27), and Arjuna. From him there was born Jaitugi (l. 32). His son was Kṛishṇa (l. 34), a very Nârâyaṇa among kings,[5] who bathed his fame in the ocean which was filled with the rivers of the blood of the Gûrjaras (l. 35). His younger brother[6] was one who supported the burden of the earth on his own arm, and thus delighted the king of serpents[7] by relieving him of his duties and setting him free to roam about as he pleased,—and who overthrew Vîsala[8] in battle (l. 43). And his son was Âmaṇa (l. 44), from whom Râma the son of Kṛishṇa (l. 46), took away the kingdom by violence.

And he, king Râma (l. 58), a very Nârâyaṇa among kings,[9]—when the Śaka (*year*) eleven hundred and ninety-three (l. 62), or in figures 1193, had expired; on Budha, or Wednesday, the twelfth day of the bright fortnight of Mâgha of the Prajâpati *saṁvatsara* which was then current,—gave (l. 63), as an *agrahâra*, to fifty-seven Brâhmaṇs of many *gôtras* (l. 64), the village of Vâdâṭhâṇagrâma (l. 59),

[1] In *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, pp. 73, 74, I have referred to this grant as the Auraṅgâbâd grant; I have now ascertained from Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji that it came from Paiṭhan.

[2] *Tuhinakara-kula*; line 15.

[3] The Hoysaḷa king Vîra-Ballâḷa or Ballâḷa II.

[4] Bhôja II. of the Śilâhâra *Mahâmaṇḍalêśvaras* of Kôlhâpur.

[5] *Râya-Nârâyaṇa*.

[6] Mahâdêva, who for some reason or other is not mentioned by name in this grant. I had previously (*Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, p. 74) interpreted this verse as giving Mahâdêva the name of the universal emperor Uraga; but its correct meaning is as now given.

[7] The thousand-headed Śêsha, who bears the world on one of his heads.

[8] Vîsaladêva of the Vyâghrapalli branch of the Chaulukyas of Aṇhilwâḍ.

[9] *Râya-Nârâyaṇa*.

which was situated on the north bank of the Gôdâvarî, and was the ornament of the S ê u ṇ a *dêśa* (l. 58), and, with it, the villages of Pâṭâra-pimpalagrâma and Vaidyaghôgharagrâma.

Lines 65 to 93 contain the names of the grantees, who belonged to the *gôtras* of Vâsishṭha, Mudgala, Vishṇuvṛiddha, Bhâradvâja, Kauṇḍinya, Viśvâmitra, Garga, Harita, Gârgya, Jâmadagnya-Vatsa, Gautama, Kauśika, Vâdhryaśva, Âtrêya, Kâśyapa, and Dêvarâta,—and who were some of the Bahvṛicha *śâkhâ*, and some of the Taittiṛîya.

Lines 93 to 96 define the boundaries of the villages that were granted,—mentioning, in this connection, the villages of Vâhagâṁvu, Nêuragâṁvu, Dôigâṁvu, Khâṭigâṁvu, Âluemgâṁvu, Nâgamaṭhâṇa, Jântegâṁvu, Pâniva, and Vaḍakhala, and the river Gaṅgâ, which must denote either the Gôdâvarî or some tributary of that river.

Lines 96 to 100 record the conditions of the grant; *viz.*,—that there were to be no fines on the king's servants, either for staying at the villages granted, or for setting out on journeys from them,—that harlots were not to be allowed to reside there, and gambling was to be prevented,—and that weapons were not to be carried.

Lines 100 to 117 contain twelve of the usual benedictive and imprecatory verses. And, finally, line 117 records that the charter was written by the *Paṇḍit* Dhanêśvara; and the inscription ends with some of the usual invocations of prosperity and auspiciousness.

TEXT.[10]

First plate.

[1] Ôṁ namô Vârâhâya || Jayaty[11]=âvishkṛitaṁ Vishṇôr=vârâhaṁ kshôbhit-ârṇṇavaṁ | dakshiṇ-ônnata-daṁshṭr-âgra-viśrâṁta-bhu-

[2] vanaṁ vapuḥ || Vishṇôr[12]=nâbhî-kamala-kuharâd=âvirâsîd=Viriṁchir=nyañchan-mauli-skhalita-kusumaṁ vaṁditô

[3] dêva-daityaiḥ | tasmâd=Atriḥ samajani jagaj-jâta-jaitra-prakâśaś=Chaṁdras=tasmâd=abhavad=amṛit-ôdgâra-śṛiṁgâri-

[4] t-âśaḥ || Vaṁśe[13] tasya Purûravâḥ samabhavad=yach-châpam=âpad-gatô dêvânâm=adhipaḥ smaraty=aviratam vyâlu-

[5] pta-vajra-grahaḥ | â-brahmâṁḍam=akhaṁḍa-tâṁḍava-ratha-prasthâna-lîlâṁ vahan=yaś=ch=aikô bubhujê bhujêna viji-

[6] tâm=urvîṁ tath=aiv=Ôrvaśîṁ || Tasminn=êva Yayâtir=âvirabhavad=bhûmaṁḍal-Âkhaṁḍalaḥ sarvaḥ svar-vani-

[7] tâ-nitâṁta-subhaga-prôdgîta-dôr-vikramaḥ | yasy=âdyâpi makh-âhit-âhuti-śata-prôddâna-dhû-

[8] m-ôtkarair=âkîrṇaṁ paritaḥ sphuraty=aviratam tâpichchha-nîlaṁ nabhaḥ || Tasmâd[14]=ajâyata Yadu-

[9] r=yad-upagrahôṇa vaṁśas=tataḥ param=agâj=jagati pratishṭhâṁ | tasminn=ath=âyam=abhavat=prabhavaḥ pra-

[10] jânâṁ lîlâmayaṁ ta(va)pur=amaṁda-balaṁ dadhânaḥ |(||) Yadôr[15]=tasmin=vaṁśê samajani sa nirvâpi-

[11] ta-ripu-pratâpas=tâpa-[ch*]chhin=nikhila-jagatô râja-nṛipatiḥ | yadîya-prôdaṁchach-charaṇa-nakha-ra-

[12] nn(tn)-âṁśu-jaladhau nimajjaṁtaś=chitraṁ jagad=upari vṛitti-praṇayinaḥ |(||) Khêlat[16]-khaḍg-âvataṁsô

[13] raṇa-śirasi vaśîkṛitya Karnnâ(rṇṇâ)ṭa-râjaṁ yaḥ Pâṁḍyaṁ daṁḍayitvâ nyadhita jalanidhê[ḥ*] staṁbha-

[14] m=abhyarṇṇa-bhûmau | yad-vrâ(vâ)ṇa-vrâta-pâtair=nna samaram=abhajaj=jarjjarô Gûrjjar-êṁdraḥ sa śrîmâ-

[15] n=âvirâsît=tuhinakara-kulê Siṁghaṇaḥ sâhas-âṁkaḥ || Tasmâd[17]=abhût=prabhur=aśêsha-mahî-

[10] From the original plates.
[11] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).
[12] Metre, Mandâkrântâ.
[13] Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse
[14] Metre, Vasantatilâka. [15] Metre, Śikhariṇî.
[16] Metre, Sragdharâ. [17] Metre, Vasantatilaka.

[16] patînâṁ śrî-Mallugir=vijaya-kârmaṇa-kârmuka-śrîḥ | yasya pratâpa-taraṇau taruṇê tarûṇâṁ
[17] chhây=êva dairghyam=ajahâd=(ś)ri-bhûbhṛitâṁ śrîḥ || Yasmin[18]=bhrûbhaṁga-bhîmê chalati vasumatî-maṁḍa-
[18] laṁ chaṁḍa-bhânôr=biṁbaṁ[19] śailêṁdra-saṁdhês=tribhir=abhita imê saṁbhriyaṁt sma sarvê | valgadbhir=vâ-
[19] ji-vṛiṁdais=turaga-khura-hataiḥ pâṁsubhir=bhîti-bhittaiḥ kshôṇîṁdraiḥ sa pravîras=tad=amu(nu) samabhavad=Bhi-
[20] llamaḥ sâvaṁ[20]bhaumaḥ || Yaḥ[21] sa[ṁ*]khyê tri-Kaliṁga-râjam=avadhîd=vidvêshi-sîmaṁtinî-nêtrâṁbhaḥ-
[21] prasarat-pragalbha-laharî-nirvâṇa-vair-ânalaḥ | yaś=ch=aitasya samasta-rajyam=aharan=matt-ê-
[22] bha-kuṁbhasthalî- | kûjat[22]-shaṭpada-gîta-vaibhava-bharaṁ jâtas=tatô Jaitugiḥ || Kârâgârâ-
[23] t[23]=samânîya karuṇâ-varuṇ-âlayaḥ | priyaṁvad-âsyam=akarôt=kshitêr=Gaṇapati[ṁ*] pa-
[24] tiṁ || Hammîra[24]-timira-taraṇiḥ saraṇir=ddharmmasya saṁkramaḥ kîrt[t*]êḥ [|*] tasmâd=ayam=a-
[25] jani śrî-Siṁghaṇadêva-bhûpâlaḥ || Ballâlô[25] vijitaḥ parâbhava-bhuvaṁ saṁbhâ-
[26] vitô=Dhr(ṁdhr)-âdhipaḥ | Kakkallô dalitaḥ kshaṇêna gilitô Bhaṁbhâgi-
[27] rêśvar[26]=îśvaraḥ | durgg-âgrê vinibadhya Bhôja-nṛipati[ṁ*] nyastô=Rjunô ni-
[28] rjitas=tên=êti prati[pa*]dya kê bhuvi bhayaṁ bhêjur=na bhûmîbhujaḥ || Kṛishyaṁtê
[29] Yad[u*]-râja-ratna bhavatâ vakshâṁsi vidvêshiṇâm=upyaṁtê samara-sthalîshu
[30] kariṇâṁ muktâvaliḥ[27]-śrêṇayaḥ | va[r*]shaṁti stana-maṁḍalêshu taruṇî-nêtrâṇi bâshp-ô-

Second plate ; first side.

[31] tkarair=udbhêdô bhuvana-trayê=pi yaśasâm=âścharyam=uj[j*]ṛiṁbhatê || Tasmâd[28]=ajâyata ja-
[32] gat-[t*]râya-gîyamâna-prauḍha-pratâpa-tapan-ôdaya-durnivâraḥ | śrî-Jaitu-
[33] gir=vasumatî-valay-âdhinâthas=tûḍâ[29]maṇi-prakara-Śaṁkara-bhu-(chu)ṁbit-âṁghriḥ
[34] || Tasmât[30]=Kṛishṇa iti prasiddha-charitaḥ śrî-râya-Nârâyaṇô jâtaḥ Kâ-
[35] rt[t*]ika-chaṁdra-kâṁti-jayinîṁ kîrt[t*]iṁ ri(chi)raṁ narttayan | garjad-Gûrjara-vîra-śô-
[36] śôṇita[31]-sarit-saṁga-tvarê Śrîpatiḥ | pâthôdhau saghṛiṇô yadîya-hṛidayê nirdûsha-
[37] ṇê nidritaḥ || Âdâya dvishatâṁ karaṁka-nivahân kṛitvâ hal-âdîni taiḥ kṛishṭê Kṛi-
[38] shṇa-mahîbhṛitâ kṛishimatâ kshêtrê mahî-maṁḍalê | yên=ârâti-vadhû-vilôchana-galat-sâṁ-
[39] dr-âṁjalai(nai)r=aśrubhiḥ klinnê sau(śau)rya-subîjam=uptam=abhitaḥ prâptâ yaśô râraśayaḥ[32] || Sa-
[40] t[t*]vaṁ yad=Ghanavâhanê Ravisutê vairôchanaṁ śrî-Śibau dânê(naṁ) yach=cha Dadhîchi-nâmni sakalaṁ saṁ-
[41] gṛihya sṛishṭô=dbhutaḥ ||(|) rû(nû)naṁ krishṇa-ghaṭ-ôdbhavô=khila-kṛitâ dâridrya-pâthônidhiḥ pîta-
[42] s=tyâga-kara-pravṛiddha-chulukên=ôddhṛitya yên=ârthinâṁ || Tasy[33]=ânujô nija-bhuj-ârpita-bhû-
[43] mi-bhâraḥ sva[ch*]chhaṁda-châra-mudit-ôragasârvabhaumaḥ | yô Vîsalaṁ samara-kautukinâṁ surâ-

18 Metre, Sragdharâ.

19 The original has rather an anomalous character here, probably owing to the engraver's tool having slipped; but it cannot be meant for anything except *baṁ*.

20 Read *sârva*. 21 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

22 Read *sthalî-kujat*.

23 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

24 Metre, Âryâ; two short syllables are wanting in the third *pâda*.

25 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next verse.

26 Read *girêr*.

27 Read *muktâvali*.

28 Metre, Vasantatilaka.

29 Read *nâtha=chûḍâ*.

30 Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita; and in the next two verses.

31 Read *śôṇita*. 32 Read *râśayaḥ*.

33 Metre, Vasanta ilaka.

[44] ṇâm=agrê sa-mûla-vibhavaṁ dalayâṁ-chakâra || Tasmâd[34]=abhûd=Âmaṇa-bhûmipâlaḥ samasta-

[45] mâhêśvara-mauliratnaṁ | alikhyô(khya)t=ôchchaiḥ khura-lêkhanîbhir=yad-vâjibhir=dikshu jaya-pra-

[46] śastiḥ || Prasahya tasmâd=apahṛitya bhuṁktê Krishṇ-âtmâjaḥ svâm=avaniṁ sa Râmaḥ | yasy=âsi-

[47] r=uj[j*]riṁbhita-kairav-âbhair=diśô yaśôbhiḥ surabhîkarôti || Mahâmâhêśvaraḥ[35] śrîmân=Râma[ḥ*]

[48] kshôṇîbhṛitâṁ guruḥ ||(|) yaśaḥ-kshîrôṇa yaḥ Śaṁbhôr=mûrttîr=ashṭ=abhishiṁchati || Yat-puṇya-giri-

[49] garbh-ôttha-yaśô-mâruta-maṁḍalô | brahmâṁḍa-param-âṇûnâm=abhavad=bahulaṁ rajaḥ || Prâptaḥ[36] śrî-

[50] Râma-bhûpô=pasarata ripavaḥ saṁgarâd=âśu hitvâ râjyaṁ sapt-âṁgam=êtat=pibata bhuvi jalaṁ

[51] śîtalaṁ kvâpi yâtâḥ | nô chêd=asy=âsi-dhârâ-vidalita-vapushas=tat-kshaṇâd=êva divyaṁ dê-

[52] haṁ prâpy=âmara-strîjana-nayana-nava-prêma-saṁpat-sudhâ[ṁ*] vâ || Âsaṁśaṁti[37] cha vaṁśa-jâḥ kati-ka-

[53] ti-prâjñâ bhavishyaṁti cha sphîtâḥ śastra-bhṛitaḥ kalâsu kuśalâ dhûrttâ viṭâḥ karmaṭhâḥ | va-

[54] rṇnyô=yaṁ punar=êva Râma-nṛipatiḥ pratyarthinâm=arthinâṁ yô na kvâpi parâshmu-(ṅmu)khaḥ kshitital-â-

[55] laṁkâra-chûḍâmaṇiḥ || Vâk[38]-prapaṁcha-pravahaṇai ritka(kta)ṁ yad-guṇa-sâgaraṁ [|*] apârayaṁta n=â-pâraṁ tari-

[56] tuṁ kavi-nâvikâḥ || Sa khalv=êvaṁvidha-guṇa-gaṇ-âlaṁkṛita-tanur=anârata-draviṇaa vitaraṇa-

[57] kṛitârthîkṛit-ârthi-sârthaḥ | sakala-paripaṁthi-pârthivân vinirjjitya nija-kula-kra-

[58] m-âgata-sâṁmrâjya[39]-padam=uddhṛitya dadhânô râya-Nârâyaṇô Râma-nṛipatiḥ Sêuṇa-dêś-â-

[59] laṁkâra-bhûtaṁ Gôdâvary-uttara-kûla-sthitaṁ Vâdâṭhâṇagrâma[ṁ*] Pâṭârapiṁpalagrâma-Vaidyaghôgharagrâma-dva-

[60] ya-sahitam=agrahârîkṛitya nidhi-nikshêpa-jala-pâshâṇa-śulka-mô(mau)lika-śrônadâṇa[40]-daṁḍa-kâruk-â-

[61] di-samast-âdâya-sahitaṁ râja-râjapurushair=apy=an-aṁguli-nirdêśya[ṁ*] pravishṭa-grâma-dvaya-sahitaṁ chatur-âghâ-

[62] ṭa-viśuddhaṁ bhakti-śraddh-âtiśaya-hiraṇy-âkshat-ôdaka-sahitaṁ Sa(śa)kê cha êkâdaśasu tri-navaty-adhi-

Second plate; second side.

[63] kêshv=atîtêshu 1193 varttamâra-Prajâpati-saṁvatsar-âṁtargata-Mâgha-śuddha-dvâdaśyâṁ Vu(bu)dhê âtma-

[64] naḥ śrî-Śâraṁga[41]pâṇi-prîty-arthaṁ nânâ-gôtrêbhyaḥ sapta-paṁchâśat-saṁkhyâkêbhyô vrâ(brâ)hmaṇêbhyaḥ

[65] prâdât [||*] Tê cha vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâ nâmatô likhyaṁtê [|*] Tatra Bahvṛichâḥ Vâśishṭhagôtra-Gôviṁda-suta-Vishṇu [|*]

[66] Mudgalagôtra-Padmanâbha-suta-Jânû | Vâśishṭhagôtra-Dâmôdara-suta-Ravaladêvâ(va |) Vishṇuvṛiddha-

[67] gôtra-Dâmôdara-suta-Vishṇu | Bhâradvâjê(ja)gôtra-Ravaladêva-suta-Jânû | Kauṁḍinya-gôtra-Dhara- ||

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[34] Metre, Upajâti of Indravajrâ and Upêndravajrâ; and in the next verse.

[35] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the next verse.

[36] Metre, Sragdharâ.

[37] Read *âśaṁsaṁti*.—Metre, Śârdûlavikrîḍita.

[38] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh.)

[39] Read *sâṁrâjya*.

[40] Read *śrôṇadâna*?

[41] Read *śârṅga*.

[65] ṇû[42]-suta-Prabhâkara | Viśvâmitragôtra-Gôvimda-suta-Mâïâ | Gargagôtra-Nâgadêva-suta-Vâmana |

[69] Haritagôtra-Âpadêva-suta-Śrîdhara | Gârgyagôtra-Râghava-suta-Kêśava | Kaumḍinya-gôtra-Gau-

[70] tama-suta-Mahâdêva | JâmadagnyaVatsagôtra-Mâmyadêva-suta-Narasimha | Harita-gôtra-Anamta-suta- |

[71] Sâramga[43] | Bhâradvâjagôtra-Vinâyaka-suta-Jasamamta | Bhâradvâjagôtra-Vinâyaka-suta-Âï-

[72] dêva | Bhâradvâjagôtra-Vâmidêva-suta-Kṛishṇa | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Îśvara-suta-Kṛishṇa |

[73] Kaumḍinyagôtra-Kṛishṇa-suta-Purushô(sha) | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Kṛishṇa-suta-Râma | Bhâradvâ-

[74] jagôtra-Mallinâtha-suta-Bhânô(nu) | Haritagôtra-Haridêva-suta-Lakshmîdhara | Vâśi-

[75] shṭhagôtra-Gôvimda-suta-Nâgadêva | Vâśishṭhagôtra-Gôvimda-suta-Kêśava | Viśvâmi-

[76] tragôtra-Śrîpati-suta-Elhugi | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Nâgadêva-suta-Îśvara | Gauta-

[77] magôtra-Dhanêśvara-suta-Vâmana | Bhâradvâjagôtra-Gadâdhara-suta-Brahmadêva | Gautama-

[78] gôtra-Dâmôdara-suta-Dhanêśvara | Mudgalagôtra-Mâdhava-suta-Gôvimda | Bhâradvâja-gôtra-

[79] Nârâyaṇa-suta-Gamgâdhara | Bhâradvâjagôtra-Gamgâdhara-suta-Jagannâtha || Atha Taittirî-

[80] yâḥ ||(|) Kaumḍinyagôtra-Sômanâtha-suta-Padamanâtha(bha)bhaṭṭa | Kaumḍinya-gôtra-Padmanâbha-suta-Na-

[81] rasimha | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Padmanâbha-suta-Sômanâtha | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Padmanâbha-suta-Sâ-

[82] ramga | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Padmanâbha-suta-Gaṇêśvara | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Padmanâbha-suta-Hari-

[83] hara | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Padmanâbha-suta-Trivikrama | Kâśyapagôtra-Mahâdêva-suta-Kûchishṭha(?) |

[84] Gârgyagôtra-Dêvaṇṇa-suta-Divâkara | Kauśikagôtra-Mallidêva-suta-Vishṇu | Vâdhryaśva-

[85] gôtra-Nâgadêva-suta-Vishṇu | Âtrêyagôtra-Râma-suta-Sâramga | Kâśyapagôtra-Kâma-

[86] dêva-suta-Sômanâtha | Gautamagôtra-Vishṇu-suta-Chauvêri | Gârgyagôtra-Nârâyaṇa-su-

[87] ta-Vishṇu | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Sâramgabhaṭṭa-suta-Ṛishidêva | Dêvarâtagôtra-Tîlûâpâ-suta-Trâïd[ê*]-

[88] va | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Nâgadêva-suta-Âditya | Kaumḍinyagôtra-Narasimha-suta-Vishṇu | Dêvarâta-

[89] gôtra-Nârâyaṇa-suta-Bôpadêva | Dêvarâtagôtra-Bôpadêva-suta-Râma | Dêvarâtagô-

[90] tra-Nârâyaṇa-suta-Vishṇu | Bhâradvâjagôtra-Janârdana-suta-Kṛishṇa | Dêvarâtagôtra-Nârâ-

[91] yaṇa-suta-Anamta || Atha Bahvṛichô(chaḥ) ||(|) Bhâradvâjagôtra-Vishṇu-suta=Râmapamḍi-

[92] ta | Bhâradvâjagôtra-Râmapamḍita-suta-Mâïmdêva-pamḍita || Êvam=amka-

[93] tô=pi 57 [||*] Ath=âghâṭâḥ [|*] pûrvataḥ Vâhagâmvu âgnêy[ê*] Nêüragâmvu dakshi-

[94] ṇê Dêïgâmvu tathâ Gamgâ paśchimê Gamgâ tathâ Khâtigâmvu tathâ Âluëm-

[95] gâ[m*]vu tathâ Nâgamaṭhâṇa vâyavyêm[44] Jâmtegâmvu uttarêm[45] Pâniva îśânyê. Vâḍa-

[96] khala [|*] Êvam sarv-âghâṭa-viśśu(śu)ddhâḥ sa-pravishṭa-khêṭaka-sahitâs=trayô grâmâḥ | (||) Atra ch=ai-

Third plate.

[97] vam samayaḥ ||(|) Râja-sêvakânâm vasatidamḍa-prayâṇadamḍau na staḥ | (||) Tathâ [|*] Â[46]-chamdr-ârka-

[42] Read *Dharaṇû.*
[43] Read *suta-Sâramga.*
[44] Read *vâyavyê.*
[45] Read *uttarê.*
[46] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh).

[98] m=idaṁ bhôjyam=êbhir=êshâṁ cha vaṁśajaiḥ | vasadbhir=êva bhôktavyaṁ na ch=âdhêyaṁ kadâ-

[99] chana || Paṇy[47]-âṁganânâṁ sadanaṁ na dêyaṁ dyûta-prachârô=pi nivâraṇiyaḥ | śastr-âdi-

[100] kaṁ ch=âpi na dhâraṇiyaṁ sat-karma-nishṭhair=bhavitavyam=êbhiḥ || Asya dharmasya saṁraksha-

[101] ṇô phalam=iti sm=âhuḥ prâṁchô maharshayaḥ || Gaṇyaṁtê[48] pâṁsavô=bhûmêr= gaṇyaṁtê vrishṭi-

[102] viṁdavaḥ | na gaṇyatê vidhâtr=âpi dharma-saṁrakshaṇê phalaṁ || Bahubhir= vasudhâ dattâ râjabhiḥ

[103] Sagar-âdibhiḥ | yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya tadâ phalaṁ || Ata êv= âha Râmabha-

[104] draḥ ||(|) Sâmânyô[49]=yaṁ dharma-sêtur=nṛipâṇâṁ kâlê kâlê pâlanîyô bhavadbhiḥ | sârvân=ê-

[105] tân bhâvinaḥ pârthivêṁdrân rû(bhû)yô bhûyô yâchatê Râmabhadraḥ || Mad[50]-vaṁśa-jâḥ para-mahîpa-

[106] ti-vaṁśa-jâ vâ pâpâd=apêta-manasô bhuvi bhâvi-bhûpâḥ | yê pâlayaṁti mama dharmam=i-

[107] maṁ samagraṁ têbhyô mayâ virachitô=ṁjalir=êsha mûrdhni || N[51]=âsti bhûmi samaṁ dânaṁ n=âsti râ-

[108] jñaḥ samô guruḥ | n=âsti satya-samô dharmô n=âsti dâna-samô nidhiḥ || Agnishṭôma-pra-

[109] bhṛitibhir=ishṭvâ yajñaiḥ sa-dakshinaiḥ | na , tat=phalam=avâpnôti bhûmi-dânâd= yad=aśnutê ||

[110] Apaharataḥ samarthasy=âpy=upêkshakasya t[u*] êva viparîtaṁ phalam=âhuḥ || Gâm=êkâṁ ratni-

[111] kâm=êkâṁ bhûmêr=apy=êkam=aṁgulam | haran=narakam=âpnôti yâvad=â-bhûta-saṁplavaṁ || Dâtâ daś=â-

[112] nugṛiphnâ(hṇâ)ti daśa da(ha)ṁti tath=âkshipan | pûrva-dattâṁ haran bhûmiṁ narakây=ôpagachchhati ||

[113] Na dadâti prali(ti)śruta[ṁ*] | dattâṁ v=âharatê tu yaḥ | tau cha dvau vâruṇaiḥ pâśais=tapyêtê Mṛityu-

[114] śâsanât || Viṁdhy-âṭavîshv=a-tôyâsu śushka-kôṭara-śâyinaḥ | krishṇa-sarṇaḥ[52] prajâ-

[115] yaṁtê vra(bra)hma-bhûmy-apahârakâḥ || Pataṁty=aśrûṇi rudatâṁ dînânâm=avasîda- tâṁ | vrâ(brâ)hmaṇâ-

[116] nâṁ hatê kshêtrê haṁti traipurushaṁ kulaṁ || Sva-dattâṁ para-dattâṁ vâ yô harêta vasu[ṁ*]dharâṁ | shashṭi-

[117] rva(va)rsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭayâṁ jâyatê krimiḥ || Chha || Likhitaṁ paṁhi(ḍi)ta-Dhanêśvarêṇa || Chha ||

[118] Maṁgalaṁ mahâ-śrîḥ || Ôṁ śivam=astu || Chha ||

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF PLACES IN THE SANSKRIT GEOGRAPHY OF INDIA.

BY J. BURGESS, LL.D., C.I.E.

In the first volume of this Journal (p. 21), Professor Râmkṛishṇa Gopâl Bhândârkar called attention to the importance of Pâṇini and his commentators for occasional elucidations of the ancient Sanskṛit Geography of India,—and an index of the names in Pâṇini together with the epithets applied to any of them in the scholia would be most valuable. But if we are to

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[47] Metre, Indravajrâ.

[48] Metre, Śloka (Anushṭubh); and in the next two verses.

[49] Metre, Śâlinî.

[50] Vasantatilaka.

[51] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following seven verses.

[52] Read *sarpâḥ*.

make much progress in this branch of research it will be necessary also to analyse the geographical lists in the *Itihâsas*, *Purâṇas*, *Kôshas*, and every other available source of information. And of late years so many Sanskṛit works have been edited with indexes that this task is not at all so formidable as it was not very long since, if only a few scholars would collect and arrange the passages relating to the same places and places of the same name, a great deal of light would be thrown upon the localities of many ancient geographical names.

Thus, for the identification of Malaya, discussed by Mr. Keshav H. Dhruva (*ante*, p. 105f.):—before trying to find some name resembling Malaya in the pages of Hiuen Tsiang, it would be well to see first whether any help can be derived from other Sanskṛit writings. There is a special difficulty in this case, in the fact that the Southern Malaya is so very well known that copyists and commentators, if not original writers themselves, may have mistaken the northern for the southern district of the name. The references we do find are also very vague. In *Mahâbhârata*, vi. 353, we have a list of peoples:—"Vidêhas, Mâgadhas, Svakshas, Malayas[1] and Vijayas." In the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa* (Hall's ed.) vol. II. pp. 165-6, the same names occur in the same order; and in the *Râmâyana*, iv. 40, 25, we have—"Sumbhas, Mânyas, Vidêhas, Malayas, and Kâśikôśalas." The Vidêhas, Mâgadhas and Kâśikôśalas, at least are well known northern races, and the Malayas being associated with them, is in favour of the latter also being a northern people. In the *Ratnakôsha* (Aufrecht's *Catalogue*, p. 352*b*) Malayadêśa is merely named as one of the forty-eight *dêsas*, which are not there arranged in any intelligible order. In the colophon of the Berlin MS. (Chambers' Coll. No. 215) of the *Śânkhâyanasûtrapaddhita* (Weber's *Catal*. p. 28, No. 110), the author, Ashṭâkshara, is called a native of Malayadêśa.[2] Lastly in Nepâl, on the upper waters of the Gaṇḍaka and Râptî, is a district still known as Malayabhûmi, whose chief town Deorâ or Malêbhum is in lat. 28°33′ N., long. 83°6′ E. On referring to Lassen (*Ind. Alt*., 2d. ed., Vol. I. p. 75) we find that he calls this district also Pârvata,—apparently on the authority of Fr. Hamilton (*Acc. of Nepal*, p. 270) and in a footnote he remarks that Malaya is a non-Sanskṛitic name for 'hill,' but is old; and cites the *Mudrârâkshasa* 'where king Malayakêtu appears as son of the mountain-king Pârvata, and his confederates are called Malaya and Kaulûbha or Kaulûta.'[3] This is more satisfactory than the identification proposed by Mr. K. H. Dhruva with Hiuen Tsiang's Mo-lo-so, otherwise called San-po-ho. The supposed reading Mo-lo-pho, moreover, which General Cunningham prefers, is expressly cancelled by Julien as an *erratum*; and the other name seems to connect the district with Champâka (*hodie* Chambâ)[4] near the sources of the Râvî. Malayabhûmi or Pârvata, with its capital on the Gaṇḍaka, would seem to answer best to the Malaya of the *Mudrârâkshasa*, *Mahâbhârata*, &c., and its chief city, unless we force our texts, which should, if possible, be always avoided.

Again, in Lassen's note just referred to, the Little Gaṇḍakî river is identified with the Ajitavatî which is Julien's reading of 'O-shi-to-fa-ti, explained by Hiuen Tsiang as meaning *wu-shing*—'invincible.' 'Formerly,' the Chinese editor says, 'it was incorrectly called 'O-li-lo-po-ti-ho; in old times it was also called Hi-laï-na-fa-ti—in Chinese *Yeu-kin-ho*' (Hiraṇyavatî). From this statement Lassen (*Ind. Alterthum*. Vol. IV. p. 686n) concludes that Hiraṇyavatî was *not* the correct name of the river on which was Râmagrâma, and which flowed 3 or 4 li to the north-west of Kuśinagara.[5] Klaproth (*Foe-koue-kie*, p. 236) had conjectured the name to be Hiraṇyavatî or Svarṇavatî. Now though the names Hiraṇyavatî and Ajitavatî have been accepted

[1] The Bombay edition has Malaja here.

[2] Among the references usually supposed to apply to the Southern Malaya, which are very numerous, there may be some which really apply only to the Northern.

[3] Lassen prefers the reading of the Paris MS. which is Kaulûbha, and would identify the Kulûbhas with the Colubae of Pliny (*H. Nat*., lib. iv. c. 22); see *Ind. Alterthum*., 2nd ed. Vol. II. p. 215. The Kulûtas are mentioned in the *Bṛihat-Saṁhitâ*, xiv. 22, as a people in the north-west,—"Madras, Aśmakas, Kulûtas, Lahaḍa (*or* Laḍaha)," &c. and again (śl. 29) in the north-east,—"Abhisâras, Daradas, Tanganas, Kulûtas, Sairindhas," &c., also in the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*. In *Râmâyaṇa*, iv. 43, 8, we have Kôlûka, with the variants Kôlûta and Śailûta; conf. V. de Saint-Martin's *Mem. Analyt*., pp. 81-84, and *Étude sur la Geog. Gr*. pp. 300-303.

[4] Julien also suggests Sampaha as an equivalent of the Chinese syllables.

[5] *Vie de Hiouen Thsang*, p. 130; conf. Burnouf, *Introd*. (2nd ed.) p. 76n.

by Cunningham and others, the latter does not occur,[6] so far as we know, in Sanskrit literature. Hi-lian occurs in Fa-hian (ch. xxiv.), and in the *Fo-su-hing-tsang-king* of Aśvaghôsha, we are told that after Buddha had partaken of Chunda's repast, he went onwards to the town of Kuśi crossing the rivers Tsae-kieuh and Hi-lian; and when the Mallas went to his cremation they passed through the Lung-tsiang (Nâga) gate of Kuśinârâ and crossed over the Hi-lian river (*Sacred Books*, Vol. XIX. pp. 286, 323). Here Hi-lian is explained by *Yeu-kin*, as equivalent to Hiraṇya,—the old name, according to the Chinese editor of the *Si-yu-ki*. I know of no other mention of it, except that in the *Dul-va* the same river is called Dvyigdañ, which is also equivalent to Hiraṇya.

Unknown to Sanskrit writers as Ajitavatî is, Pâṇini (vi. 3, 119 and vi. 1, 220 schol.) has Ajiravatî, and the Pali texts make frequent mention of the Achiravatî,—*e.g.* Buddhaghosha's *Parables*, p. 103; *Abhidhanappadipikâ*, 682; Oldenberg's *Vinayapitakam*, Vol. I. pp. 191, 293; Vol. II. pp. 237, 239; Vol. III. p. 63; Vol. IV. pp. 111, 161, 259, 278; and Rhys Davids' *Buddhist Suttas*, pp. 161, 178. The Tibetan *Dul-va* also mentions it.[7]

It was on this river that Śrâvasti was situated, and General Cunningham agrees with Burnouf[8] and others in placing this city on the Râptî, and he calls it, after Hamilton (Martin's *Eastern India*, Vol. II. p. 306), the ancient Airâvatî;[9] and the Chôtî Gaṇḍakî he identifies with the Hiraṇyavatî or Ajitavatî, and Mr. Carlleyle agrees with him (*Arch. Surv. Ind.* Vol. XVIII. p. 98). Besides the mistake of a fictitious Ajitavatî for Ajiravatî, is it at all certain that Hiraṇyavatî was the name of the same river as the Ajiravatî? Prof. H. H. Wilson, simply following the Buddhist records, placed Kapilavastu on the Rôhiṇî, north of Gorakhpur, but General Cunningham places it about 39 miles due west, on the Manurama,—on his map 16 miles west of the Kôhâna, though he says only "about 6 miles" from that stream, which he tries to identify with the Rôhiṇî. Oldenberg (*Buddha sein Leben*, p. 94) takes objection to this, and it must be evident that the forcing of names like Rôhiṇî and Kôhâna into unison must be fatal to any scientific system of identification.

These two cases may show how careful it is necessary to be in arriving at a conclusion on points of this kind.

I now give a specimen of an alphabetical list such as might be formed of geographical names, but without giving many of the texts in full, which ought to be done at least in every case where the identification is liable to any doubt.

Abdas,—a mountain: Hêmachandra's *Anêkârthasaṅgraha*, iv. 223.

Abdhinagarî,—another name for Dvârakâ: *Trikâṇḍaśêsha*, ii. 1, 15.

Abhikâla,—a town: *Râmâyaṇa*, ii. 68, 17; Lassen, *Ind. Alterthum.* 2nd ed. Vol. II. p. 530.

Âbhîra or incorrectly Abhîra,—a people: *Brihat-Saṁhitâ*, v. 38—"Âbhîras, Śabaras, Pahlavas," &c.; 42,—"Âbhîras, Daradas," &c.; ix. 19,—"Abhîras, Dravidas, Ambashthas," &c.; xiv. 12, 18; xvi. 31,—"Surâshtrans, Âbhîras, Śûdras, Raivatakas," &c.; *Mahâbhârata*, ii. 1192, 1832; iii. 12840; xiv. 837; xvi. 223, 270; *Râmây.* iv. 43, 5, 19; *Vishṇu-Pur.* (Hall's ed.) Vol. II. pp. 133-4, 167-8, 184-5; Vol. IV. pp. 202, 205-208, 224; Vol. V. pp. 157-159, 162, 164; *Pañchatantra*, i. 88; *Prabôdhachandrôdaya* (Brockhaus), 88, 1; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* Vol. I. pp. 652, 947; Vol. II. pp. 597f.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 230; Vol. VI. pp. 123, 184 (Âhir); Vol. VIII. p. 140 (Abêria of the *Periplus*); Vol. X. pp. 157-8; Vol. XII. p. 6; Vol. XIII. pp. 188, 324 (Abiria of Ptolemy); inscriptions in *Reports Arch. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. pp. 103-4.

Abhisâras or Abhisara,—a people, frequently mentioned in connexion with Dârva; probably the same as the district of which the Greek writers describe Abisarês, Abissaros or Embisaros as king; Arrian, *Anab.*, v. 8, 20, 29; Curtius, viii. 12, 13, 14; ix. 1; x. 1; Diodorus, xvii. 90; Wilson, *Ariana Ant.* p. 190; *Asiat. Res.* Vol. XV. p. 115; *Brih. Saṁh.* xiv. 29; xxxii. 19,—"Kirâtas, Kîras, Abhisâras, Halas, Madras," &c.; *Vishṇu-Pur.* Vol. II. p.

[6] The rivers in the kingdom of Bharata from west to east were, according to Gorresio's text of the *Râmâyaṇa*, (ii. 73, 8f),—the Hiraṇyavatî, Uttârikâ, Kuṭilâ, Kapîvatî and Gomatî. In Schlegel's text the Kuṭikôshṭikâ takes the place of the Hiraṇyavatî. A river of this name is also mentioned in *Mahâbh.* xiii. 7651; and a Hiraṇvati in *Mahâbh.* vi. 333; and *Vishṇu-Pur.* Vol. II. p. 149; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* Vol. II p. 140 n.

[7] *Asiat. Res.* Vol. XX. p. 59, where it is, however, misprinted Ajirapatî.

[8] *Lotus de la bonne Loi*, p. 491.

[9] See *Mahâbhârata*, viii. 2055, where a river of this name is mentioned.

174,—"Darśakas (? Darvakas), Abhisâras, Utûlas (*or* Ulûṭas, Kulûṭas), Śaivalas," &c.; *Mahâbhâr.* vii. 3380; viii. 3652; *Râjataraṁg.* i. 180; iv. 711; v. 141; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* Vol. II. pp. 146n, 147, 163. The city Abhisârî is named, *Mahâbh.* ii. 1027; conf. Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* Vol. II. 175n.

Achchhôdâ,—a river in the Himâlaya which is said to form the lake Achchhôda; *Harivaṁśa,* 955. The lake is near the Chandraprabha mountain and gives rise to the Mandâkinî river; conf. *Vishṇu-Pur.* Vol. III. p. 160n.

Âchyutadanti or Achyutanti,—a warrior tribe: Pâṇ. v. 3. 116.

Achyutasthala,—a place in the Pañjâb: *Mahâbh.* viii. 2062.

Adhishṭhâna,—(the capital), a city: *Amarakôsha,* iii. 4, 128; Hêmachandra's *Abhidhânachintâmaṇi,* 972; *Anekârtha.* iv. 156; *Mêdinîkôsha,* n. 163.

Âdarśa,—a district: *Bṛih. Saṁ.* xiv. 25,—"in the north lie...and those who live near the sources of the Yamuna...the Âgnîdhras (*or* Agnîtyas), Âdarśa, Antardvîpa, Trigarta," &c.; Pâṇ. iv. 2, 124.

Adhṛishyâ,—river: *Vishṇu-Pur.* Vol. II. p. 149,—"Kâpî, Sadânîrâ, Adhṛishyâ, the great river Kuśadhârâ," &c.

Âgnêyas,—people of Âgnêyam: *Mahâbh.* iii. 15256.

Âgnîdhras,—a people: *Bṛih. Saṁ.* xiv. 25.

Ahichchhattra, Ahikshêtra, Ahikshatra, or Chhatravatî, and its capital Ahichchhattrâ, in the north of Pañchâla; the 'O-hi-shi-ta-lo of Hiuen Tsiang (Beal's *Trans.*) Vol. I. pp. 199-201; *Mahâbh.* i. 5515-6, 6348; iii. 15244; *Hariv.* 1114; Hêmachandra's *Abhidh.* 960; Pâṇ. iii. 1, 7; *Vishṇu-Pur.* Vol. II. p. 161; Vol. IV. p. 145; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* Vol. II. p. 747; Vol. IV. p. 677n.; H. H. Wilson's *Essays,* Vol. I. pp. 48, 291; *J. R. As. S.* Vol. IV. p. 36; Vol. V. p. 295; *J. As. S. Ben.* Vol. XXX. pp. 197, 198. The Adisathras of Ptolemy, *Ind. Ant.,* Vol. XIII. pp. 336-7, 344, 352-3, 361-363; Vol. I. p. 115; Vol. VI. pp. 50, 53; Vol. VII. p. 281; Vol. IX. p. 252; Vol. X. pp. 250, 253; *J. R. As. S.* Vol. IV. p. 36; Vol. V. p. 295; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 255; *Geog.,* pp. 359-60, 363.

Âhukâs,—a people: *Mahâbh.* v. 5351; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* Vol. I. p. 758.

Ahvara,—a fortress of the Uśînaras: Pâṇ. ii. 4, 20, sch.; vi. 2, 124, sch.

Ailadhâna,—a town: *Râmâyana,* ii. 71, 3. &c. &c.

MISCELLANEA.

THE PROBABLE INDIAN ORIGIN OF THE NAMES OF THE DAYS OF THE WEEK.

General Cunningham, in his paper on "The Probable Indian origin of the Names of the Week-days" (*ante* pp. 1ff.), contradicts the statement of Dion Cassius[1] that these names are of Egyptian origin, while he accepts it as to the relation between the hours and the planets. E. Meyer, of Posen had, not long previously, contributed a short paper on the same subject to the *Zeitschrift der Deut. Morgenl. Gesellschaft* for 1883 (Vol. XXXVII. p. 453ff.) in which he accepts the Egyptian origin of the custom, for astrological purposes, of dividing the day and night from sunrise to sunrise, each into 12 hours, and assigning to each hour in succession a planetary regent,[2] and to the day the regent of its first hour.

The General's arrangement for the 24 hour regents, "in which," he says, "the progression is retrograde, or contrary to the motion of the sun." is entirely arbitrary: he first arranges the names of the planets in *retrograde* order, and then he must count round his circle in the *same* order. Had he arranged the planets round the circle in his diagram in the "direct" order, he would have come to exactly the same result by counting the hours in *that* order.

It may also be noted that any number of the form $7n+3$, where n is an integer (or 0), will give the same planets in the same succession as 24 does; so that, if the day had been divided into 3, 10, 17, 31, 38, 45, 52, or 59 hours, the first of each day in the week would fall in succession on the planets in the same order as with 24. It is by using the first of these numbers, 3, that the *Sûrya-Siddhânta* (xii. 78) says the regents of the days are to be found. General Cunningham must have overlooked this passage, when he says the author "gives no instructions as to how these 'lords of the day' are to be found;" yet he refers in his next sentence to the *ślôka* immediately following it.

[1] Lib. xxxvii. c. 18; see also, for other references, Ideler, *Handb. d. Chronologie,* Vol. I. pp. 178ff.

[2] He cites the misconception of G. Seyffarth, *Beitr. zur Kenntn. der Literatur, Kunst, Mythol. u. Gesch. d. alten Aegypter,* Vol. II. p. 45, on this point.

Further, any number—which, added to 24 (or to any of those just given) makes a total divisible exactly by 7,—if used to count round the circle in the *opposite* direction, will also fall on the planet-names in the same order. Thus, 60, the number of *ghaṭîs*, added to 24 (the hours) gives an exact multiple of 7, and hence every 60th counted in the reverse order of the planets will give the same as every 24th in the direct order. The same result will be found by using 4, 11, 18, 25, 32 . . . 60, &c.[3]

Few, if any, who have read Philostratus's *Life of Apollonius*, will allow that "the Assyrian Damis actually accompanied Apollonius" to India. The ablest scholars have seriously doubted whether the hero of the romance with his Sancho Panza ever was in India at all; and no one credits the accuracy of the author's assertions,[4]" though in his time (A.D. 210—250) much might have been learnt for the purposes of his story about India from Alexandrian merchants, or even from Indians who visited Alexandria. It will not do, then, to push back the reference to the 7 rings presented by the Hindu Iarchas (not a Hindu name) who spoke Greek, to the earlier half of the first century, in order to support an argument.

Then the very fact that the *Sûrya Siddhânta*, in the only places where it refers to this point, speaks of the planets as regents of the "hours" (*hôrâ*)—a Greek term—not of the *ghaṭîs*, and arranges them "in downward order from Saturn," just as Dion Cassius says,—is strongly suggestive that the names which the planets gave to the days were derived from the Western division[5] into *horæ*, and not from the Indian one into *ghaṭîs*. It seems, therefore, that there is no force whatever in the arguments of General Cunningham for the probable Indian origin of the names of the days.

August, 1885. JAS. BURGESS.

CURIOSITIES OF INDIAN LITERATURE.

THE RESULT OF GOOD AND EVIL COMPANY.

सन्तप्तायसि संस्थितस्य पयसो नामापि न श्रूयते
मुक्ताकारतया तदेव नलिनीपत्रस्थितं जायते ।
स्वात्यां सागरशुक्तिमध्यपतितं तन्मौक्तिकं जायते
प्रायेणाधममध्यमोत्तमगुणः संसर्गतो भूयते ॥

'If a drop of water fall on heated iron it is utterly destroyed, not even its name remains, and yet the same drop on a lotus leaf takes the resemblance of a pearl, while if it fall during the asterism of Arcturus, into a pearl oyster, it becomes a pearl itself. Always a man's qualities, whether bad, medium, or excellent, arise from his associations.'

Compare, 'Evil communications corrupt good manners' and the Irish proverb, 'Tell me whom you're with, and I'll tell you who you are.'

G. A. GRIERSON.

BOOK NOTICES.

TAGORE LAW LECTURES, 1883. Outlines of a History of the Hindu Law of Partition, Inheritance, and Adoption . . . by J. JOLLY, &c., Calcutta, Thacker, Spink & Co., 1885 [pp. XI. 347].

First Notice.

Though the Tagore Lectures of former years have furnished very valuable contributions to our knowledge of the Hindu law, it is undeniable that Professor Jolly's volume, which is equally instructive for the practical lawyer and for the general student of Sanskrit, far surpasses the earlier ones in importance. It is, indeed, an attempt, and the first, to trace in a comprehensive manner the historical development of some of the most interesting topics of the Hindu law. Professor Jolly's researches are based on the careful study of a large body of published and unpublished materials, of which the first three lectures give a condensed account.

In the first lecture the description of the little-known commentaries of Asahâya on Nârada, of Mêdhâtithi, Gôvindarâja, Nârâyaṇa, Râghavânanda and Nandana on Manu, and of the newly discovered *Nrisiṁhaprasâda*, as well as the remarks on the rise of the different law-schools and on the general character of the medieval Indian law-books are original and most interesting. As lately I have had to go over a portion of the same ground, I feel particularly called upon to bear witness to the correctness of Professor Jolly's views regarding Asahâya and the commentaries on Manu. Mêdhâtithi's *Manubhâshya* is undoubtedly a mine of valuable information concerning the views of the early commentators and on other matters, and it has exercised a strong influence on all the later expositions of Bhrigu's *Saṁhitâ*. Professor Jolly is also right in denying the supposed restoration of a portion of Mêdhâtithi's work by Madanapâla's Paṇḍit, Viśvêśvarabhaṭṭa. All that Madanapâla did, was that he got his defective MS. completed with the help of a new copy brought from 'another country.' Equally important and just are the vindication of Gôvindarâja from the adverse criticism of Sir W. Jones,

[3] These numbers are expressed also by $7n + 3$, when n is negative for the retrograde order.

[4] See for example, Priaulx's *Indian Travels of Apollonius, &c.*

[5] Burgess insists on this in his translation of the *Sûrya-Siddhânta*, i. 52; xii. 6, 79.

who seems to have merely copied Kullûka's spiteful remarks at the end of the *Manvarthamuktâvali*, and the exposure of the true character of the latter. Nobody who has compared the commentaries of Gôvindarâja and of Kullûka, can deny that the latter author was an impudent plagiary, who appropriated without a word of acknowledgment a very large portion of the work of his predecessor, and took good care to point out every slip of the latter in malicious prose or verse. There are only two points in this section on which I differ from Professor Jolly. Mêdhâtithi was not a Southerner, but a Kaśmîrian. For he shows an intimate acquaintance with Kaśmîr and its Vedic *Śâkhâ* the Kâṭhaka, and he once gives a vernacular Kaśmîrian word. Secondly Gôvindarâja, the son of Bhaṭṭa-Mâdhava, cannot have been a royal author. The son of a *Bhaṭṭa* must have been a Brâhmaṇ. In Professor Jolly's remarks on the modern law-schools I am glad to find fresh clear evidence showing that under native rule the *Mitâksharâ* was considered a work of the highest authority even in Central India. This is so much the more valuable because Rao Saheb V. N. Mandlik a short time ago denied the high position of Vijñânêśvara's work. Very important, finally, is the clear exposition of the true character of the majority of the medieval Digests and Commentaries. Those which were written at the command of kings were certainly intended for practical use in the law-courts. They might, I think, be fitly compared with the edicts of the Roman praetors, because, like the latter, they lay down the principles on which lawsuits were to be decided during a particular period, and in a particular territory.

The chief novelty in Lecture II. is the explanation of the origin of the oldest metrical *Smṛitis*. I can, of course, only agree with the view that they must be considered the manuals of certain, as yet nameless, special law-schools, which arose on the disruption of the ancient Vedic *Charaṇas*. Further details regarding this theory the outline of which I first gave in my unpublished Vienna Lectures on Hindu law (Jolly, p. v. and 347) will be found in my forthcoming introduction to Manu. The remainder of this lecture contains a clear summary of the views held at present regarding the history of the *Dharmasûtras* and of the most ancient metrical *Smṛitis*. With respect to the *Vishṇusmṛiti*, the modern representative of the *Kâṭhaka-Dharmasûtra*, it ought to be noted that one aphorism from the latter work is preserved in Gôvindarâja's *Smṛitimañjarî*. The evidence adduced for the antiquity of our Manu requires sifting, and additional arguments may be found by a further exploration of the classical literature and of the inscriptions, as well as by an examination of the relation of our Manu to the *Mahâbhârata*. The latter undertaking will solve various questions which at present appear puzzling. An incomplete investigation of the *Mahâbhârata*, which I have lately made, has shown that about *one-tenth* of Manu's verses occurs in the epic, either entire or in part, sometimes literally and sometimes with more or less important various readings. The peculiar character of the resemblances and of the differences makes the conclusion inevitable that the authors of both works drew on the same source, and that this source probably was the oral tradition of the law-schools. If the existence of a large floating body of metrical maxims on the sacred law is once established, it is no longer difficult to understand why the secondary *Smṛitis* are written throughout in epic verse.

Lecture III., which treats of the minor *Smṛitis* and of the fragments of lost law-books, gives us the important results of Professor Jolly's extensive and patient researches regarding this hitherto unduly neglected branch of legal literature. We receive here for the first time detailed accounts of the larger *Nârada* and of the works of Bṛihaspati, Kâtyâyana, Dêvala, Vyâsa, Śaṅkha, Uśanas, and other authors. The larger *Nârada* turns out to be the older version. This discovery will perhaps help to correct the view expressed by some scholars, according to which the Indian law-books always grew in extent and never lost in bulk. The remarks on Bṛihaspati and Kâtyâyana show that both authors knew and used a law-book of Manu closely resembling or perhaps identical with the existing text. With respect to Bṛihaspati's work—it is, I think, permissible to assert confidently that it was a *Vârttika* on our *Manusaṁhitâ*, written in order to explain and to supplement the rules of the latter. The only discrepancy between Bṛihaspati and Manu noted by Professor Jolly at page 158 disappears, if it is borne in mind that Manu does not reckon the *putrikâ* among the subsidiary sons. The relation of the *Kâtyâyanasmṛiti* to Manu is more doubtful. The quotation of a prose passage from a *Kâtyâyana*, which is made by Mêdhâtithi on *Manu*, VIII. 215, indicates the former existence of a Kâtyâyanîya *Dharmasûtra*, from which the metrical *Smṛiti* was probably derived. Professor Jolly's discovery, which I can only confirm, that the so-called *Bṛihat-* or *Vṛiddha-Manu* was a later recension of Bhṛigu's *Saṁhitâ*, deprives Professor Max Müller's opinion (according to which our *Manu* must be later than the fifth century, because *its predecessor*, the *Vṛiddha-Manu*, enumerated the signs of the zodiac) of its foundation.

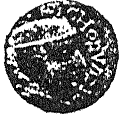
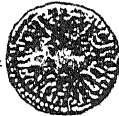
G. BÜHLER.

A SILVER COIN OF RUDRASIMHA.

BY J. F. FLEET, BO.C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

I OWE the original coin, of which a lithograph is published herewith, to the kindness of Major F. H. Jackson, of the Staff Corps. It was obtained by him in Kâṭhiâwâḍ, and, with three others of the same class, was utilised to form sleeve-links, from which he detached this one at my request.

Obverse. *Reverse.*

The coin seems to be of fairly good silver, and weighs as nearly as possible 34 grains.

The obverse has a very well executed king's head,—of the type customary in the class of coins to which this specimen belongs,—looking to the proper left; with a moustache; with the hair either bound round with a fillet, or confined under a close-fitting and bordered cap on the top of the head, and then hanging down loosely behind the neck; and with a necklet or collar round the throat. In front of the face, there is an unintelligible and probably meaningless legend in what are usually considered to be an imitation of Greek characters; eleven of them are entire; and there are parts of three more, which fell partially beyond the edge of the coin when it was struck. Behind the head,—in the place where the coins of this class usually have the word *varshê*, "in the year," followed by numerical symbols,—there are traces of a legend; but almost the whole of it fell beyond the edge of the coin; so that it is quite impossible to say what the date may have been.

The reverse had in the centre the usual *chaitya* symbol; but this, together with either a cluster of stars or the sun, slightly to the proper left above it, was destroyed in adapting the coin to the sleeve-link. The crescent moon, however, remained uninjured, slightly to the proper right above the *chaitya*. Round these central emblems, and inside a circle of dots, there is a marginal legend, in the usual characters of the coins of this class, and in a state of excellent preservation, except that, from the third to the ninth *aksharas*, the upper parts of the letters fell beyond the edge of the coin. The legend, which reads from the inside, and commences just above the crescent moon, is—

Rajñâ mahakshatrapasa Rudradamna putrasa rajñâ mahakshatrapasa R[u]drasîhasa,

which represents—

Râjñô mahâkshatrapasya Rudradâmnaḥ putrasya râjñô mahâkshatrapasya Rudrasîhasya;—"Of the *Râja*, the *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudrasîha, the son of the *Râja*, the *Mahâkshatrapa* Rudradâman."

The chief interest of this coin lies in the exceptional and also very clear way in which the vowel *î* of *sîha*, i.e. *siṁha*, is expressed,—running right up into the surrounding circle of dots. The usual rule in coins of this class is to omit such vowels as fall on or above the tops of the letters. In accordance with this custom, we have, in the present legend,—*maha* twice for *mahâ*, the *â* of the second syllable being omitted altogether;—and *rajñâ* twice for *râjñô*; in this latter word, the *â* of the first syllable is omitted altogether; in the second syllable, the *â* occurs because it is attached to a *ja*, and is formed by an upward continuation of the centre stroke of the consonant, instead of a forward continuation of the top of it; the *jñâ* would have been converted into *jñô* by a backward continuation of the top of the *ja*; but this stroke was omitted according to custom.

It is this custom of omitting such vowels as, if engraved, would fall on or above the tops of the letters, that has led to the reading of *saha* or *sâha* (instead of *sîha* for *siṁha*) and *sêna*, as the termination of the names of several of the Kshatrapas, and to the Kshatrapas being so frequently called the 'Sâh' kings.

Two other instances in which the name of the present Kshatrapa Rudrasîha occurs very distinctly, are—lines 2-3 of the Gûnda inscription, published by Dr. Bühler in this Journal, Vol. X. p. 157; and the Jasdan inscription, re-edited by Dr. Hoernle in this Journal, Vol. XII. p. 32.

QUOTATIONS IN THE MAHABHASHYA AND THE KASIKA-VRITTI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN; GOTTINGEN.

Professor Peterson's discovery (announced in his remarks on the *Auchityâlaṁkâra* of Kshêmêndra, p. 22) that a certain Sanskrit verse, of which a part is quoted by Patañjali, is ascribed to the poet Kumâradâsa, is, to say the least, very interesting; and I hope that similar discoveries may be made regarding some of the other quotations which occur in the *Mahâbhâshya*. To render in this matter such assistance as it is in my power to give, I have, for the sake of ready reference, collected from the *Mahâbhâshya* all those passages which may appear to be quotations from poetical works composed in classical Sanskrit. Many of those passages have been already cited by Professor Weber in his article on the *Mahâbhâshya*; but others are given here for the first time. I still consider the *Mahâbhâshya* an old work, and am inclined to believe that the occurrence in it of such verses or fragments of verses as we do find in it, tends to show that the so-called classical poetry is older than it has lately been represented to be. I have added similar quotations occurring in the *Kâśikâ-Vṛitti*, which I have noted down during my study of that work.

MAHABHASHYA.

Vol. I. p. 3. यदुदुम्बरवर्णानां घटीनां मण्डलं महत् ।
पीतं न गमयेत्स्वर्गं किं तत्क्रतुगतं नयेत् ॥

I. 277 and II. 59.
एति जीवन्तमानन्दः ।[1]

I. 283. वरतनु संप्रवदन्ति कुक्कुटाः ।[2]
(*Metre, Varatanu or Mâlatî.*)

I. 283. उभौ लोकौ संचरसि इमं चामुं च देवल ।

I. 313. यस्मिन्दश सहस्राणि पुत्रे जाते गवां ददौ ।
ब्राह्मणेभ्यः प्रियाख्येभ्यः सोऽयमुञ्छेन जीवति ॥

I. 340. आ वनान्तादोदकान्तात्प्रियं पान्थमनुव्रजेत्।

I. 382 and 392. सर्वमेकनदीतरे ।

I. 384. षण्मुहूर्ताश्चराचराः ।

I. 411 and II. 363. तपः श्रुतं च योनिश्चेत्येतद्ब्राह्मणकारकम्।
तपःश्रुताभ्यां यो हीनो जातिब्राह्मण एव सः॥

I. 426. असिद्वितीयोऽनुससार पाण्डवम् ।

I. 426. संकर्षणद्वितीयस्य बलं कृष्णस्य वर्धताम् ।

I. 430. उपास्नातं स्थूलसिक्तं तूष्णींगङ्गं महाह्रदम्।
द्रोणं चेदशको गन्तुं मा त्वा तासां कृताकृते ।

I. 431. अहरहर्नयमानो गामश्वं पुरुषं पशुम् ।
वैवस्वतो न तृप्यति सुराया इव दुर्मदी ॥

I. 435. शङ्खदुन्दुभिवीणानाम् ।

I. 435. मृदङ्गशङ्खतूणवाः पृथङ्नदन्ति संसदि ।

I. 436. प्रासाद धनपतिरामकेशवानाम् ।
(*Metre, Praharshiṇî*).

I. 444. बुभुक्षितं न प्रतिभाति किंचित् ।

I. 449. वाताय कपिला विद्युदातपायातिलोहिनी ।
पीता भवति सस्याय दुर्भिक्षाय सिता भवेत्॥

I. 457. दूरादावसथान्मूत्रं दूरात्पादावसेचनम् ।[3]
दूराच्च भाव्यं दस्युभ्यो दूराच्च कुपिताद्गुरोः॥

I. 458. चर्मणि द्वीपिनं हन्ति दन्तयोर्हन्ति कुञ्जरम्।
केशेषु चमरीं हन्ति सीम्नि पुष्कलको हतः ॥

II. 25. तपस्यते लोकाञ्जिगीषुरग्रेः ।

II. 102. आत्मंभरिश्चरति यूथमसेवमानः ।
(*Metre, Vasantatilakâ*).

II. 119. जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः ।

II. 147. गौरिवाकृतनीशारः प्रायेण शिशिरे कृशः।

II. 167. कालः पचति भूतानि कालः संहरति प्रजाः।

II. 213. रात्रिं रात्रिं स्मरिष्यन्तः। रात्रिं रात्रिमजानतः। सर्वां रात्रिं सहोषित्वा। वृत्त्यामेकान्तरात्रिम्॥ (?)

II. 213. प्रथते त्वया पतिमती पृथिवी ।
(*Metre, Pramitâksharâ*).

II. 220. त्रीणि यस्यावदातानि विद्या योनिश्च कर्म च ।
एतच्छिवं विजानीहि ब्राह्मणाग्र्यस्य लक्षणम् ॥

II. 280. आह्राय धूतपाप्मानो भास्करा जातमृत्यवः।

II. 422. आसितव्यं किल तूष्णीकामेतत्पश्यत चिन्तितम् ॥

II. 438. क्षेमे सुभिक्षे कृतसंचयानि
पुराणि राज्ञां विनयन्ति कोपम् ।

III. 28. श्लक्ष्णपीनमुखी कन्या ।

III. 58. ऊर्ध्वं प्राणा ह्युत्क्रामन्ति यूनः स्थविर आयति ।
प्रत्युत्थानाभिवादाभ्यां पुनस्तान्प्रतिपद्यते॥[4]

III. 75. इहैव भव मा स्म गाः ।

III. 143. जनार्दनस्त्वात्मचतुर्थ एव ।

III. 175. पुना रूपाणि कल्पयेत् ।

III. 288. महीपालवचः श्रुत्वा जुघुषुः पुष्यमाणवाः।

III. 338. प्रियां मयूरः प्रतिनर्नृतीति ।

[1] See *ante*, Vol. III. p. 124.

[2] See Prof. Peterson, on the *Auchityâlaṁkâra* of Kshêmêndra, p. 22.

[3] See *Manu* IV. 151.

[4] See *Manu* II. 120.

III. 338. यद्वत्त्वं नरवर नर्नृतीषि हृष्टः ।
(*Metre, Praharshiṇî*)

III. 367. साम्रृतैः पाणिभिर्घ्नन्ति गुरवो न विषोक्षितैः ।
लाडनाश्रयिणो दोषास्ताडनाश्रयिणो गुणाः॥

III. 402 and 403. चकाद्धि पलितं शिरः ।

KASIKA-VRITTI.

On Pâṇini I. 1, 11. मणीवोष्ट्रस्य लम्बेते प्रियौ वत्सतरौ मम । [5]

P. I. 1, 35. धूमायन्त इवाश्लिष्टाः प्रज्वलन्तीव संहताः ।
उल्मुकानीव मेऽमी स्वा ज्ञातयो भरतर्षभ ॥

P. I. 3, 23. संशय्य कर्णादिषु तिष्ठते यः ।[6]

P. II. 2, 28. सहैव दशभिः पुत्रैर्भारं वहति गर्दभी ।

P. II. 3, 32. विना वातं विना वर्षं विद्युत्प्रपतनं विना ।
विना हस्तिकृतान्दोषान्केनेमौ पातितौ द्रुमौ॥[7]

P. II. 4, 28. दुःखे हेमन्तशिशिरे ।

P. II. 4, 28. अहोरात्राविमौ पुण्यौ ।

P. III. 2,138. भ्राजिष्णुना लोहितचन्दनेन ।

P. III. 3, 49. पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः ।[8]

P. IV. 1. 31. तिमिरपटलैरवगुण्ठिताश्च रात्रयः ।(?)

P. IV. 1, 39. गतो गणस्तूर्णमसिक्निकानाम् ।

P. IV. 1, 50. सा हि तस्य धनक्रीता प्राणेभ्यो ऽपि गरीयसी ।

P. IV. 1, 95. प्रदीयतां दाशरथाय मैथिली ।

P. IV. 2, 103. तथा हि जातं हिमवत्सु कान्थकम् ।[9]

P. IV. 3, 10. द्वैप्यं भवन्तोऽनुचरन्ति चक्रम् । [10]

P. IV. 3, 56. आहेयमजरं विषम् ।

P. V. 3, 115. कामक्रोधौ मनुष्याणां खादितारौ वृकाविव । [11]

P. V. 4,122. श्रोत्रियस्येव ते राजन्मन्दकस्याल्पमेधसः।
अनुवाकहता बुद्धिर्नैषा तत्त्वार्थदर्शिनी ॥

P VI. 1, 63. व्यायामक्षुण्णगात्रस्य पद्भ्यामुद्वर्तितस्य च ।
व्याधयो नोपसर्पन्ति वैनतेयमिवोरगाः॥[12]

P. VI. 1, 98. घटदिति गम्भीरमम्बुदैर्नदितम् ।

P. VI. 1,134. सैष दाशरथी रामः सैष राजा युधिष्ठिरः।[13]

P. VI. 1,150. सर्वे शकुनयो भक्ष्या विष्किराः कुक्कुटादृते ।

P. VI. 1,152. भाममद्य प्रवेक्ष्यामि भव मे त्वं प्रतिष्कशः।

P. VI. 2,14. समुद्रमात्रं न सरोऽस्ति किंचन ।

P. VII. 3, 34. सूर्यविश्रामभूमिः ।[14]

P. VII. 3, 35. भक्षकश्चेन्न विद्येत वधकोऽपि न विद्यते।

P. VIII. 1, 18. रुद्रो विश्वेश्वरो देवो युष्माकं कुलदेवता ।
स एव नाथो भगवानस्माकं शत्रुमर्दनः ॥

P. VIII. 4, 6. फली वनस्पतिर्ज्ञेयो वृक्षाः पुष्पफलोपगाः ।
ओषध्यः फलपाकान्ता लता गुल्माश्च वीरुधः ॥[15]

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF SILADITYA I. OF VALABHI.

BY PROFESSOR F. KIELHORN; GOTTINGEN.

This inscription is from some copper-plates which were found at Walâ,—the ancient Valabhî,—the chief town of the Native State of the same name in the Gôhilwâḍ Prânt in Kâṭhiâwâḍ. They are now in the Library of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The plates are two in number, each measuring about $11\frac{7}{8}''$ by $8\frac{1}{2}.''$ The edges of them are fashioned thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing. The inscription has suffered a good deal from rust; but, with the help of other grants of the same dynasty, drafted from the same form, it is sufficiently legible almost throughout. A few passages, however, are entirely lost, through the breaking away of the copper at the bottom of the first plate and the top of the second. The plates have holes for two rings; but the rings and the seal are not forthcoming. The weight of the two plates is 2 lbs. $10\frac{3}{4}$ oz. The language is Sanskrit throughout.

This inscription was originally published by the Honble V. N. Mandlik, in the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 359ff. At the request of the Editors of this Journal, I now re-edit it, to accompany the lithograph published herewith. My reading of the text is from the lithograph. Not having seen the original plates, I am unable to say how far the lithograph may be a faithful representation of them; but I am bound to state that the facsimile which

[5] According to Böhtlingck and Roth from the *Mahâbhârata.*

[6] See *Kirâtârjunîya*, III. 14.

[7] The Kaśmîr MS. reads विना हस्तिकृतं दोषं, and adds :—
विना वातं विना पित्तं वैद्योपकरणं विना ।
विना वैद्यकृतं दोषं केनेमौ मारितौ नरौ ॥

[8] See *Indische Sprüche*, 6948.

[9] Some MSS. have यथा for तथा.

[10] Some MSS. have द्वैप्या.

[11] See *Indische Sprüche*, 2350.

[12] See *Suśruta* II. 139, 12, where the verse ends सिंहं क्षुद्रमृगा इव.

[13] The Kaśmîr MS. adds in the margin सैष दुर्योधनो राजा सैष पार्थो धनञ्जयः ।

[14] This appears to be the reading of Haradatta, for he adds विश्रान्तिभूमिरिति पठितव्यमित्यर्थः; the printed text has सूर्यविश्रामा भूमिः.

[15] Compare *Charaka*, Calc. Ed. p. 7.

accompanies Mr. Mandlik's paper, shows several *aksharas* which are not given in the lithograph, and furnishes in one or two cases correct readings, where those of the lithograph are faulty.[1] On the whole, however, I feel no hesitation in saying, that the lithograph is far superior to that published with Mr. Mandlik's paper.

The inscription is of the time of Śîlâditya I., and is dated, in numerical symbols, on the sixth day of the dark fortnight of the month Jyêshṭha, and in the year 286.

The historical information, furnished by this grant, is precisely the same as that given in the grant of the same ruler, dated in the year 290, which has been published in this Journal, Vol. IX. p. 237ff. The genealogy commences, as usual, with Bhaṭârka (line 2). Omitting some intervening names, in unbroken lineal succession from him there was Guhasêna (l. 8). His son was Dharasêna II. (l. 13). And his son was Śîlâditya I., who also had the name of Dharmâditya (l. 18), and who issued the charter from Valabhî (l. 1).

The donee is the Buddhist monastery, founded at Valabhî by the royal lady Duḍḍâ (l. 20), which is mentioned in other Valabhî grants.[2] And the purpose for which the grant is made is the usual one, *viz.* to provide for the religious service and for the comfort of the inmates of the monastery and for the keeping in repair of the buildings.

The objects granted are—the village of Paṇḍarakûpikâ (?) (l. 23);—a field held by the *Kuṭumbin* Sûryaka and one held by . . . (?) at Uchchâpadraka;—an irrigated field[3] held by Arddhika and one held by Kumbhâra at the village of Kakkijja;—and a field held by . . . (?) at Indrâṇipadraka,—all, it appears, in the Pushyânaka *Sthalî*; and also four flower-gardens and wells on the outskirts of Valabhî.

The officers named in the grant are the *Dûtaka* Bhaṭṭâdityayaśas (l. 34), who is also mentioned *ante*, Vol. I. p. 46, l. 15, and the *Saṁdhivigrahâdhikṛita* and *Divirapati* Vatrabhaṭṭi (l. 35). The name of the latter officer occurs in several grants and has been variously transcribed,—by Dr. Bhandarkar (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. X. p. 80, l. 58, and *ante*, Vol. I. p. 17, col. 1,) *Vaśa*(?)*bhaṭa*;—by the same (*ante*, Vol. I. p. 46, col. 2) *Vatra*(?)-*bhaṭṭi*;—by Dr. Bühler (*ante*, Vol. VI. p. 16, l. 16) *Vaśabhaṭṭi*;—and by the same (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 75, l. 26, and Vol. IX. p. 239, Plate II. l. 19) *Chandrabhaṭṭi*;—by Mr. Mandlik (*Jour. Bo. Br. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 362) *Chandrabhaṭṭi*, and (*id.* p. 363) *Chandrabhûti*. I believe that the second of Dr. Bhandarkar's renderings must be accepted as the correct one; for, on some of the plates in which the name occurs, the second *akshara* is distinctly *tra*; whereas in none can it by any possibility be read as *ndra*.

I would wish to put before those who have a wider knowledge of the phraseology of inscriptions than I can pretend to, my doubts regarding the translation of the words प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहार[4]शतलब्धप्रतापात् ... श्रीभटार्कात् (or °प्रतापः ... भटार्कः), with which the Valabhî inscriptions open. It was, I believe, Mr. Mandlik (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XI. p. 346) who first suggested that the word मैत्रक should be taken as a proper name; and according to him Bhaṭârka "had achieved success in hundreds of battles occurring in the wide extent of territories of Maitrakas who were endowed with incomparable courage, and who had forcibly reduced their enemies to submission."[5] Mr. Fleet, who has been the last to render the words into English (*ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 303), has also taken मैत्रक as a proper name, but has given the following different translation :—"(*In the lineage*) of the Maitrakas, who by force compelled their enemies to bow down before them, there was ... Bhaṭârka, who was possessed of glory acquired in a hundred battles fought within the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength." As regards the former translation, I would

[1] Compare particularly the beginnings of lines 1-5 of Plate II.—This lithograph was not prepared by the present Editors.

[2] See the passages quoted in note 22 below.

[3] For *kshêtra* and *vâpî*, compare, for instance, the grant published by Dr. Bhandarkar (*Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, Vol. X. p. 80); and compare also *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 80, note 43.

[4] And sometimes संप्रहार.

[5] Dr. Bhandarkar's translation was—"(Bhaṭârka), who obtained greatness by a hundred wounds received in the midst of a circle of friends of matchless might, who with main force had subjugated their enemies" (*ante*, Vol. I. p. 14). And Dr. Bühler's was—"Bhaṭârka, who obtained an empire through the matchless power of his friends that humbled his enemies by main force;—who gained glory in a hundred battles fought at close-quarters" (*ante*, Vol. IV. p. 106).—These two translations were published before Mr. Mandlik's.

VALABHI GRANT OF SILADITYA I. DATED SAMVAT 286. PLATE I.

point out that अतुलबलसंपन्न does not qualify मैत्रकाणाम्. And, as regards the latter, I should, in the first instance, wish its correctness to be fortified by the quotation of parallel passages in which a simple genitive like मैत्रकाणाम्, without the addition of some such word as वंशे or कुले, conveys the meaning "(*in the lineage*) of;" for, in the absence of such passages, I would maintain that the genitive ought (*gamakatvât*) to be made dependent on the word मण्डल in the following compound. Besides, it would appear that the obvious meaning of अतुलबलसंपन्न is,—not "obtained by means of unequalled strength,"—but "endowed with or possessed of unequalled strength," a qualification more appropriate for soldiers or armies than for territories. Lastly, the employment of the word संसक्त seems to suggest that the word मण्डलाभोग preceding it must be taken to denote that or those *with which* or *with whom* the battles were fought, not the place *where* they were fought. Taking all this together, I would say that Bhaṭârka obtained glory in hundreds of battles which he fought *with* (*i.e.* against) the mighty large armies[6] *of* the Maitrakas, who by force had subdued their enemies.

TEXT.

First Plate.

[1] ओं स्वस्त[7] वलभित:[8] प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणां मै[त्रकाणाम]तुलबलसंपन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारशतलब्ध-प्रतापात्प्रतापो-

[2] पनतदानमाना[र्ज्ज]वोपा[र्ज्जि]तानुरागादनुरक्तमौलभृतश्रे[णी]बलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहेश्वरश्रीभटार्क्कादं-

[3] व्यवच्छिन्नरज[9]वंशान्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीय[10]बाहुरेव

[4] समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस[त्व]निकषस्तत्प्रभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मि-

[5] संघतिस्सरल[11]स्मृतिप्रणीतमर्ग्ग[12]सम्यकपरिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्वर्त्थराजशब्दः रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्य[धै]र्य्य-

[6] गाम्भीर्य्यबुद्धिसंपद्भिः स्मरशाशाङ्कद्रि[13]राजोदधित्रदश[14]गुरुधनेशानतिशयानः शरणागताभयप्रदान-

[7] परतया तृणवदपास्ताशे[ष]स्वका[र्य्य]फल[:*] प्रार्त्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पाद-

[8] चारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूख[15][स]न्तान-

[9] विसृतजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्मषः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवा[श्रि]त[:*]

[10] सरभसमाभिगामिकैर्ग्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षाविशेषविस्मापिताखिलबल[16]धनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृ-

[11] ष्टानामनुपालयिता धर्म्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेका-

[12] धिवासस्य संघता[17]रातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्त्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्व-

[13] रः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातस्सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्थगितसमग्रदिग्मण्ड-

[14] लस्समरशतविजयशोभासनाथमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरान्स[18]पीठोदूढगुरुमनोरथमहाभारस्सर्व्व-

[15] विद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्वतस्सुभाषितलवेनापि सुखोपपाद[नी]यपरितोषस्स-

[16] मग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृ-

[17] पतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्त्तिर्द्धर्म्मानुप[रो]धोज्वल[19]तरीकृतार्त्थसुखसंपदुपसेवानिरू[ढध*][र्म्मा]दि[त्य]

[18] द्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशिला[20]दित्य×कुशली सर्व्वानेवायु[क्त]कविनि[यु] . . . .

[19] ह[त्त]रचाटभटकुमारामात्यदीन[21]न्यांश्च यथाभिसंबद्धयमानका[न्स]माज्ञाप . . . .

[20] यि[तं] यथा मया [म][तापित्रो*]: पुण्याप्या[यना]य वलभी[प्रतिष्ठितराज्ञीदुड्डाकारितवि][22] . . . .

Second Plate.

[21] . . . . पिण्डपातशयनासन[ग्ला]नप्रत्ययभैषज्यपरिष्कारार्त्थ[23] [बु]द्धाना . . . .

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[6] For this meaning of *maṇḍala* see the St. Petersburg Dictionary,—" मण्डलः स महाव्यूहो दुर्भेद्योऽमित्रघातिनाम्."

[7] Read स्वस्ति. [8] Read वलभीतः.

[9] Read °राज°. [10] Read °द्वितीय°.

[11] Read °संहतिस्सकल°; compare संघत for संहत below.

[12] Read °मार्ग्ग°. [13] Read °शशाङ्काद्रि°.

[14] Read °त्रिदश°. [15] Read °मयूख°.

[16] This बल before धनुर्द्धरः occurs again, so far as I know, only *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 230, Plate I. l. 11.

[17] Read संहता°. [18] Read °रांस°.

[19] Read °धोज्ज्वल°. [20] Read श्रीशीला°.

[21] Read °त्यादीन°.

[22] Compare *ante*, Vol. I. p. 46, l. 4, °विहारनिवासिचतुर्दिगभ्यागतार्यभिक्षुसंघस्य चीवरपिण्डपातशयनासन......... परिष्कारार्थं बुद्धानाञ्च भगवतां गन्धधूपपुष्पमाल्यदीपतैलाद्युपयोगार्थं विहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रतिसंस्काराय; also Vol. IV. p. 105, Plate II. l. 5, वलभ्यां स्वभागिनेयीपरमोपासिकादुड्डाकारितविहार°; p. 175, l. 8, °दुड्डापादकारितदुड्डामहाविहारे°; Vol. VI. p. 15, l. 11, वलभीस्वतलसन्निविष्टराज्ञीदुड्डाकारितविहार°; Vol. VII. p. 67, Plate II. l. 2, पूज्यदुड्डाकारितविहारस्य; also Vol. V. p. 207, l. 7, and Vol. VI. p. 12, l. 3.

[23] Read °र्त्थं.

[22] . . . . ष्पमाल्यदीपतैलाद्युपयोगार्त्थं विहारस्य च खण्डस्फुटितप्रति[सं]
[23] . . . . पण्ड(?)रकूपिका । पुष्यानकस्थल्यन्तर्ग्गत उच्चापद्रक[24] कुटुम्बिसूर्य्यकप्रत्ययक्षेत्रं [तथा]
[24] . . . [प्रत्य]यक्षे[त्रं] तथा कक्किज्जग्रामे अर्द्धिकप्रत्ययवापि[25] । तथा कुम्भारप्रत्ययवापि तथेन्द्राणिपद्रके
[25] . . रप्रत्ययक्षेत्रं तथा वलभीस्वतलसीम्नि पुंप्प[26]वाटिकाकूपकचतुष्टयमेवमयं क्षेत्रत्रयवापि-
[26] द्वयपुप्पवटिका[27]कूपकचतुष्टयसमेतो ग्रामस्सोद्रङ्गस्सोपरिकरस्सवातभूतप्रत्यायस्सधान्याहिरण्या-
[27] देयस्सदशापराधस्सोत्पद्यमन[28]विष्टिस्सर्व्वराजकीयानाम[ह]स्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्व्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेय-
[28] वर्ज्जितः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वतसमकालीनोऽव्यवच्छित्तिभोग्यः धर्म्मदय[29]त-
[29] या प्रतिपादितः यत उ[च्चित]या [च] देवाग्रहारस्थित्या भुज्यमनकः[30] न कैश्चित्परिपन्थनीयः आगा-
[30] मिभद्रनृपतिभिरण्यस्मद्वंश[जै]रन्यर्व्वा[31] अनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्यस्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यं च भूमिदानफलम-
[31] वगच्छद्भिरयमस्मद्दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेति ॥ बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिस्सगरादि-
[32] भिः यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ यानीह दारिद्रयभयान्नरन्द्रैर्द्धननि[32] धर्म्मायतनी-
[33] कृतानि निर्भ्भुक्तमाल्यप्रति[मा]नि तानि को नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसह[स्रा]णि स्वर्ग्गे मो-
[34] दत भूमिदः आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकश्चात्र भट्टादित्ययशाः लिखित[33]
[35] सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवत्सभट्टिना ॥ सं २००.८० ६ ज्येष्ठ ब ६ ॥
[36] स्वहस्तो मम ॥

A COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF PULIKESIN II.

BY THE HONBLE K. T. TELANG, C.I.E.

This inscription is from some copper-plates which belong to a goldsmith of Kândalgâm, in the Mâlwaṇ Tâlukâ of the Ratnâgiri District, and were found at the bottom of a well in his lands at that village. The original plates were procured by Mr. Kasinath Pandurang Parab, and were handed over by him to me, for publication.

The plates are three in number, each measuring about $8\frac{5}{16}''$ by $3\frac{7}{8}''$. The edges of them appear to be here and there fashioned slightly thicker, so as to serve as rims to protect the writing; and the inscription is in a state of excellent preservation throughout. The plates are strung on a ring, the seal of which bears the usual representation of the Western Chalukya boar, standing to the proper right.

The inscription purports to be one of the Western Chalukya king Pulikêśin II., and to record that,—on the seventh lunar day of month Mâgha, in the fifth year of his reign, *i.e.* in Śaka 536 (A.D. 614-15),—the village of Pirigipa, on the north bank of the river Mahânadî in the island of Rêvatîdvîpa,[1] was granted to a Dravida Brâhmaṇ named Nârâyaṇasvâmin, for the purpose of maintaining the *bali, charu,* and *vaiśvadêva* sacrifices.

The seal attached to the plates appears to be a genuine one. But in the opinion of Mr. Fleet the very irregular formation of the characters, and the great inaccuracy of the language of the inscription, show the plates themselves to be spurious.

TEXT.[2]

First Plate.

[1] Svasti [||*] Jayaty[3]=âvishkriti[4] Vishṇôr=vvarâha[ṁ*] kshôbhit-ârṇava[ṁ*] dakshi-
[2] ṇ-ôn[n*]ata-da[ṁ*]shṭr-âgra-viśrânta-bhuvana[ṁ*] vapu[ḥ*] [||*] Śrîmatâ[ṁ*] saka[5]la-bhu-
[3] vana-sa[ṁ*]stûyamâna-Mânavya-sagôtrâṇ[âṁ*] Hâriti-putrâṇâ[ṁ*]
[4] sapta-lôkamâtribhi[6] sapta-mâtri(tṛi)bhir=abhivardhitânâ[ṁ*] Kârt[t*]i-
[5] kêya-parirakshaṇa-prâpta-kalyâṇa-paramparâṇâ[ṁ*] bhagavan-[N*]ârâ-

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[24] Read उच्चापद्रके.

[25] Read वापी here and below.

[26] Read पुष्प°.

[27] Read °पुष्पवाटिका°.

[28] Read °त्पद्यमान°.

[29] Read °दाय°.

[30] Read भुज्यमानकः.

[31] Read °रन्यैर्व्वा.

[32] Read रेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि.

[33] Read लिखितं.

[1] Prof. R. G. Bhandarkar has suggested that Rêvatî is probably the modern Rêḍî, a few miles to the south of Veṅgurlêṁ in the Ratnâgiri District (*Early History of the Dekkan*, p. 37 f.)

[2] From the lithograph.

[3] Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh.)

[4] Read *kṛitaṁ.*

[5] This *ka* was at first omitted, and was then inserted below the line.

[6] Read *mâtṛibhiḥ.*

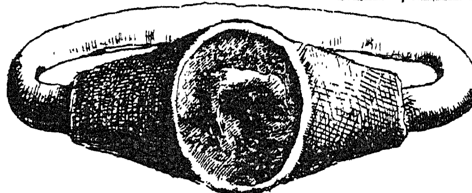
I.

IIa

J. BURGESS

IIb.

III



[6] yaṇa-prasâda-samâsâdita-vâ(va)râhalâchchha(ñchha)n-êkshaṇa-kshaṇa-vaśi(śî)-
[7] kri(kṛi)t-âśêsha-mahîbhri(bhṛi)tâṁ Chalukyânâ[ṁ*] kulam=ala[ṁ*]karishṇâ(shṇô)r=aśvamê-
[8] dh-âva-

Second Plate; First Side.

[9] bhri(bhṛi)tha-snâna-pavitrîkri(kṛi)ta-gâtrasya Satyâśraya-śri(śrî)pri(pṛi)thiviva-
[10] l[l*]abha-mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśvara-śri-Pulakêśival[l*]abha-
[11] mahârâjâdhirâja-paramêśva[ra*][7]-bhaṭṭâraka-samadhigatapañcha-
[12] mahâśarbda(bda) avâpta[8]-paramapaurush-[â*]para-nâmadhêya-saka-
[13] lôrta(tta)râpath-âdhipati-śri(śrî)-Harshavardhana-parâjay-ôpa-
[14] larbdh(bdh)-[â*]para-nâmadhêyasya vijaya-râjya-saṁva[t*]sarê pa-
[15] ñchamê Mâgha-mâsa-saptamyâṁ [|*] Mâkôṭ-âvagâhana-kṛita-

Second Plate; Second Side.

[16] śari(rî)rêṇa[9] Dravidavishayavâstavya-Kâśyapasagôtrâya Sômasvâ-
[17] mi-pu[trâ*]ya Kumârasvâ[mi*]-pautrâya Pô(?pau)masvâmi-naptâya[10] Nârâyaṇasvâmi-
[18] nô brâhmaṇasya[11] sôdaka-pûrva[ṁ*] dat[t*]aḥ Rêvati(tî)-dvi(dvî)pê Mahânady-ô(u)ttara-kûlô Vi-
[19] ndiri-purastâ[t*] Khuddikâ-dakshiṇataḥ Chhurâvaṇasya paśchimêna
[20] Pirigipa-nâma-grâm[ô*] rba(ba)li-charu-vaiśvadêv-ârttha[ṁ*] mâtâpi-
[21] trôr=âtmanaś=cha[12] a-châṭa-bhaṭa-pravêśya[ḥ*] sarva-parihâraḥ
[22] sarva-nirâdôyaḥ sa[13]rva-si(sî)mâ-pari[ch*]chhinna[ḥ*] samast[ô*]

Third Plate.

[23] yê(yô)=smad-vaṁśyair=anyair=vâ abhipratipâlani(nî)yô mânani(nî)yaś=cha [|*]
[24] yas=tasya vikri(kṛi)tiṁ vujatô[14] sa pañchabhir=mahâpâtakair=upa-
[25] pâtakaiś=cha saṁyuktô narakô maj[j*]ati [||*] Uktañ=cha bhagavatâ vêda-vyâsê-
[26] na Vyâsêna [|*] Sva[15]-dat[t*]âṁ paradat[t*]âṁ vâ yô harêta vasundharâ[ṁ*] shashṭi-
[27] varsha-sahasrâṇi vishṭhâyâṁ [jâyatê*] krimiḥ [||] Rba(ba)hubhir=vasudhâ bhuktâ
[28] râjabhi[ḥ*] Sagar-âdibhiḥ yasya yasya yadâ bhûmis=tasya tasya
[29] tadâ phalaṁ iti [||*] Likhitaṁ cha Guṇadêvôna lêkhakêna [||*]

THE BANAWASI INSCRIPTION OF HARITIPUTA-SATAKAMNI.

BY DR. G. BÜHLER, C.I.E.

The subjoined inscription, which has already been published, in text and translation, by Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji,[1] is re-edited here from the two lithographs on the accompanying plate, prepared by its discoverer, Dr. J. Burgess.

According to Dr. Burgess' account, as accompanying Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's version, it is carved on the two edges of a large slate slab, bearing the representation of a five-hooded cobra. "The first line is on the left margin of the slab from top to bottom; and the second line and the half are on the right-side margin—a letter being broken away at the beginning of the full line, perhaps two more a little way down, and some at the end." From the appearance of the lithographs, however, I conclude that only one letter has been lost at the end of the second line. It must also be added that several letters of the first line, plainly the seventh, eighth, and ninth from the end, and possibly others, have been damaged by abrasions or scratches, and that the preservation of some of the first ten signs of line 2 is clearly imperfect.

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7 These two titles are repeated unnecessarily,—unless the Satyâśraya of line 8 denotes Pulikêśin I.; in which case, there is then an omission of Kîrttivarman I. between him and Pulikêśin II., who is mentioned in line 9.

8 Read *śabd-âvâpta.*

9 We have to supply *têna* here, if the grant is supposed to be made by Pulikêśin II.

10 Read *naptrê*, or perhaps *praṇaptrê.*

11 Read *brâhmaṇâya.*

12 We have to supply *puṇy-âbhivṛiddhayê* here.

13 The engraver first formed *rva* here, and then corrected it into *sa.*

14 Read *bhuṁjatô.*—We must supply *vyâghâtaṁ kuryât*, or some similar expression, here.

15 Metre, Ślôka (Anushṭubh); and in the following verse.

1 No. 10, p. 100 f., of the separate publications of the Archæological Survey of Western India.

The alphabet resembles, as Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji has stated, that of the Nâsik inscription of Siriyaña-Sâtakaṁni.[2] Remarkable are the total absence of the distinction between short and long *i*, and the frequent neglect of the *anusvâra*, which latter may be owing to dialectic pronunciation. In the *ña* of *rañô*, the hook on the right has been accidentally detached from the vertical stroke.

My interpretation of the inscription differs from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's in several more or less important particulars; and I trust he will take it not as a mark of disrespect, but of respect, if I state in full the reasons for my dissent. First, I think his reading of the fifth word *vasasatâya* improbable, and his translation "in the century" impossible. The lithographs, especially that of the rubbing, show at the top of *va* a short stroke turning upwards, and thus indicate that it originally had a superscribed vowel. But, even if we had to read *vasasatâya*, this word could not mean "in the century." A century might be called in Sanskrit *varshaśatî*, and in Prâkṛit *vasasatî*; not *varshaśatâ* or *vasasatâ*. The gen., dat., and loc. of *vasasatî* would be *vasasatiya*, not *vasasatâya*. Moreover, a phrase like "in the century of such and such king, in the year," &c., does not occur in any known inscription, and would be meaningless. In his remarks Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji tries to connect it with the Kaśmîrian Lôkakâla or Saptarshi-era; and Dr. Burgess adds in a note, that the year of the Lôkakâla is called by Albîrûnî "the Saṁvatsara of the century." Against this it must be stated, that none of the inscriptions and MSS., dated according to the Kaśmîrian era, shows anything but *Saptarshi-saṁvat* * *, or simply *Saṁvat* * *; and that Kalhaṇa uses occasionally *Lôkakâlasya varshê*, *saṁvatsarê*, &c., or simply *Abdê*, *Varshê*. Moreover Albîrûnî's passage, I think, has not the meaning assigned to it by Dr. Burgess. M. Reinaud's translation[3] runs as follows,—"Le vulgaire dans l'Inde compte par siècles, et les siècles se placent l'un après l'autre. *On appelle cela le Saṁvatsara du cent.*" Hence it would seem that, not the *year* of the Lôkakâla, but the Lôkakâla *itself* was called "Saṁvatsara du cent." The Sanskrit equivalent probably was *śatasaṁvatsara*, formed according to the analogy of *shashṭyabda*, one of the names of the sixty-year cycle of Jupiter.

But, however that may be, my learned friend's explanation seems to me inadmissible on grammatical and philological grounds. In looking for another interpretation, we should, it seems to me, first ascertain what phrases do occur between king's names and dates, according to regnal years on other inscriptions. The ancient Prâkṛit inscriptions afford no help. But the Sanskrit land-grants of the early Kadambas, Pallavas, and Chalukyas, almost invariably show before the word *saṁvatsara* 'year' an expression like "of the reign," or, "of the victorious reign," or, "of the prosperous and victorious reign"; and the ways in which this idea is expressed vary very much.[4]

If we now pay attention to the upward stroke above the *va* of the doubtful word, and take it for the remnant of an *i*, we obtain the reading *visasatâya*, which, as the legitimate representative of *viśva-sattâyâḥ*, may mean "of the rule over the universe." For *sattâ*, which in classical Sanskrit means 'existence,' is used in all the modern Prâkṛits in the sense of 'power, authority, rule,' see, *e.g.* Molesworth's *Marâṭhî Dictionary*, *s.v.*; and, hence, it probably had the same meaning in the older dialects. With this explanation, the beginning of our inscription has to be rendered, "The year 12 of the universal rule of king...," &c.[5]

The second point on which I differ from Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji is the restoration of the beginning of line 2. He changes the letters *jaya* to *jâya*, supplies *bha*, and combines this with the last word of line 1. He thus obtains

[2] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. Pl. lv.

[3] *Fragments Arabes*, p. 145.

[4] The commonest phrase is, *pravardhamâna-vijaya-râjya-saṁvatsara*, see the Chalukya grants, *ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 86, 89, 92; VII. pp. 107, 112, 189, 302; VIII. p. 27; IX. pp. 128, 131; the Pallava grant, *ante*, Vol. VIII. p. 168. Variations are,—1, *pravardhamâna-râjy-âbhishêka-saṁvatsara* in the Chalukya grant, *ante*, Vol. VI. p. 73;—2, *samêdhamâna-vijaya-râjya* ... *saṁvatsara* in the Pallava grant, *ante*, Vol. V. p. 156;—3, *pâdapadma-pravardhamâna-vijaya-rajyê* ... *saṁvatsara* in the Orissa grant, *ante*, Vol. V. p. 57;—4, *vijayarâjyasaṁbachchhara*, Chalukya grant, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 220;—5, *vijayâyurârôgyaiśvaryapravardhanakara* ... *saṁvatsara*, Pallava grant, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 37;—6, *svavaijayika* ..... *saṁvatsara*, Kadamba grant, *ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 23, 24;—7, *vijaya-saṁvatsara*, Pallava grant, *ante*, Vol. V. pp. 52;—8, *vijayapañchamê saṁvatsarê*, Chalukya grant, *ante*, Vol. VII. p. 192, etc. The simple expression *âtmanô râjyasya varshê* (*ante*, Vol. VII. p. 35), or *svarâjya-saṁvatsarê* (*ante*, Vol. VI. pp. 30, 32; VII. p. 164), is comparatively speaking rare.

[5] As the existence of the *i* is doubtful, I will mention that even *vasasatâya* may have a similar meaning, as it can stand for *vaśa-sattâyâḥ* "of the existence of the rule."

PALI INSCRIPTION AT BANAVÂSI.

1. FROM A RUBBING.

2. FROM AN IMPRESSION.

the compound *jivaputabhajâya* "of the wife of Jivaputa." With respect to the first change I agree, as the *ja* is mutilated, and the numerous scratches in other letters make it probable that the *u*-stroke of *yu* is accidental. But I supply *pa* (not *bha*), and take the whole compound to be *jivaputapajâya* "of her whose son and (*other*) descendants are alive." My reasons are that the existence of a name *Jîvaputra* is doubtful, and that in the Nâsik inscription No. 14[6] we have a similar epitheton of queen Gôtamî,—*jivasutâya râjamâtuya.*

The fourth and fifth points of difference occur in the interpretation of the sentence *ètha kamamtikô amachô khadasâti.* Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji reads *kamatikô* with the lithograph of the impression, and *khadasâtisa,* combining the following *sa* with this name. His Sanskrit translation, *atra karma-trikam amâtya-Skandasvâtisa,* shows that he corrects *amachô* to *amacha* against the plain reading of both lithographs. This change is unnecessary. Whether we read *kamamtikô* or *kamatikô,* the word must be taken as a nom. sing. of the masc. gender which refers to *amachô.* If we stop with *khadasâti,* interpreting it likewise as a nom. sing., the sentence becomes idiomatic Prâkrit and corresponds to the Sanskrit *atra kârmântikô 'mâtyaḥ Skandasvâtiḥ,* which may be translated, "Here, or with respect to these (*donations*), the minister Skandasvâti (*was*) the superintendent of the work." *Kammanta,* in Sanskrit *karmânta,* is a common word for 'business, work,' and *kammamtikô* is a regular derivative from it, which can only mean 'superintendent of, or charged with, a work.' A royal lady, of course, required and had a *Kârbhârî,* as the modern phrase is. The correctness of this explanation is further confirmed by the sentence which follows. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji, who gets two proper names in the last sentence before and after *achariyasa,* is forced to assume the loss of the word *putasa* at the end of line 2, and to translate, "The *Nâga* has been made by Naṭaka, the disciple of Dâmôraka, and" (?) "son of the *Âchârya* Jayantaka." It is, however, plain from the lithograph that only one letter can have been lost; and it is equally plain that the name *dâmôrakasa* or *damôrakasa* is mutilated. If, on the other hand, we read *sajayatakasa,* it is not doubtful that this adjective, like *kaliyâṇakasa, chèmulakasa, &c.,* in the Kaṇheri and other inscriptions, refers to the residence of the *Âchârya...damôraka,* and characterises him as an inhabitant of the ancient town of Saṁjayantî. The latter is mentioned in the *Digvijayaparvan* of the *Mahâbhârata,* II. 31, 70;—[7]

Nagarîṁ saṁjayantîṁ cha pâshaṇḍaṁ Karahâṭakam |
dûtairêva vaśê chakrê karaṁ ch=ainân adâpayat ||

"The town of Saṁjayantî and the heretical (*prince of*) Karahâṭa, he subjected to his authority through envoys, and made them pay a tribute."—The fact that Karahâṭa, the modern Karâḍ (*recte* Karhâḍ) in the Southern Marâṭhâ country, is mentioned together with Saṁjayantî, while the preceding verse speaks of the *Kêralâ vana-vâsinaḥ,* proves that the town was situated in the Dekhaṇ.

Regarding king Hâritiputa-Sâtâkaṁṇi, the joy of the Viṇhukaḍaḍuṭu family, I am not able to say anything more than Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji. The first part of his family-name may correspond to the Sanskrit *vishṇukaṭa.* But *ḍuṭu* remains inexplicable. Sâtâkaṁṇi, usually Sâtakaṁṇi (with the vowel in the second syllable short), is probably a title or a *biruda,* which several Andhra kings bear, but which may have been adopted by princes of other races. The reign of this Sâtâkaṁṇi falls, according to the epigraphical evidence of the inscription, probably in the end of the first or the beginning of the second century. Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji thinks that it may be placed somewhat later.

TEXT.

[1] Sidhaṁ Raññô Hâriti-putasa Vi[8]ṇhu-kaḍa-ḍuṭu-kul-ânaṁda-Sâtâkaṁnisa vasa[vi[9]sa]-satâya savachharaṁ 10 2 hêmaṁtâna pakhô[10] 7 divasa 1 mahâbhuviya mahârâja-bâlikâya[11] jiva-puta-

[6] *Archæol. Surv. West. Ind.* Vol. IV. p. 106.

[7] See the St. Petersburg Dictionary, *s. v.*

[8] The bottom-line of the *va* has been lost with the exception of a small piece on the right, visible in the facsimile of the rubbing.

[9] The facsimile of the rubbing makes it probable that the vowel *i* was attached to the top of the *va*; see also the introductory remarks above.

[10] The vowel *ô* is expressed by two small strokes attached to the lower end of the right-hand curve of the *kha.*

[11] The letters *bâlikâ* are much damaged, but just recognisable.

[2] . . jayu[pajâya][12] saûmâ . . [sakumârâya[13]] saḍa[Siva[14]]khadanâgasiriya dêyadhammaṁ[15] nâgô taḍigaṁ[16] vihârô cha [|] ôtha kamaṁtikô[17] amachô Khadasâti [|] Sajayatakasa achariyasa . .

[3] damôrakasa[18] sisêna Naṭakêna nâgo katô [||].

TRANSLATION.

Success! The year twelve of the universal sovereignty of king Sâtâkaṁṇi, the son of the queen of the Hârita (Hârîta) *gôtra*,[19] the joy of the Viṇhukaḍaḍuṭu race;—the seventh fortnight, the first day;—(*the image of*) a *Nâga*,[20] a tank, and a monastery (*are*) the meritorious gift of the Mahâbhôjî[21] Sivakhadanâgasiri (Śivaskandanâgaśrî), the daughter of the great king,—of her whose son and (*other*) progeny is living, (*and*) who is associated (*in this donation*) with her son.[22] With respect to these (*gifts*) the minister Khadasâti (Skandasvâti) (*was*) the superintendent of the work. The *Nâga* has been made by Naṭaka (Nartaka), the pupil of the *Âchârya*[23] [I]damôraka (Indramayûra) of the town of Saṁjayantî.

ON THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ANIMALS AND PLANTS OF INDIA WHICH WERE KNOWN TO EARLY GREEK AUTHORS.

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(*Continued from p.* 311.)

PLANTS.

It would be going beyond the special limits of this paper to attempt any discussion as to the identity of plants mentioned by our authors, but not belonging to India. I should not possess in such an analysis the qualification which has been of so much aid to me with reference to the productions of India, namely, a, so to speak, personal acquaintance with them as they appear, and are regarded by the natives in the country itself.

1. Rice (Ὄρυζα).

Oriza sativa, Linn.—Rice.—(Sansk. *Vrîhi*).

In the *Periplus*, we are told that *oriza*, which all agree was rice, was produced in Oraia and Araikê, and was exported from Barygaza to the Barbarine markets and the Island of Dioskoridês, *i.e.* Socotra.

2. HONEY FROM CANES CALLED SUGAR (Μέλι τὸ καλάμινον τὸ λεγόμενον σαχαρ).

Saccharum officinarum, Linn.—Sugar Cane, its product called *Śarkarâ* in Sanskrit, and *Shakar* by the Persians.

According to the *Periplus* it was exported from Barygaza (*i.e.* Bharoch), to the markets of Barbaria.

Mr. M'Crindle's[1] *résumé* of the writings of the ancients with regard to this substance is of such interest that I quote it *verbatim* here:—"The first western writer who mentions this substance is Theophrastos, who continued the labours of Aristotle in Natural History. He called it a sort of honey extracted from reeds. Strabo states, on the authority of Nearkhos, that reeds in India yield honey without bees. Ælian (*Hist. Anim.*) speaks of a kind of honey pressed from reeds which grew among the Prasii. Seneca (*Epist.* 84) speaks of sugar as a kind of honey found in India on the leaves of reeds, which had either been dropped on them from the sky as dew, or had exuded from the reeds themselves. This was a prevalent error in ancient times, *e.g.* Disko-

[12] Regarding the restoration see the introductory remarks above.

[13] The evidently mutilated letters may also be read *saômâ*. But Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's restoration is highly probable.

[14] The rubbing seems to show that a vowel stood originally over the initial *sa*, and the second letter looks imperfect. I accept Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's restoration, because the combination *śivaskanda* occurs also in Sanskrit names.

[15] The final *anusvâra* is distinct in the lithograph of the impression.

[16] As a small hook or line is attached to the end of the *ḍa*, the correct reading may possibly be *taṭâgaṁ*, a vicarious form for *taḍâgaṁ* which is common in Southern India.

[17] The *anusvâra* above the *ma* is visible on the lithograph of the rubbing.

[18] This may be read *dâmôrakasa*, according to the lithograph of the impression. But I prefer the form with short *a* and propose tentatively the restoration of *Idamôrakasa*, i.e. *Indramayûraka*.

[19] Regarding the translation of *Hâritiputa*, see my remarks, published by General Cunningham, *Bharhut Stûpa*, p. 102. I think it probable that the queen's father's *Purôhita* belonged to the Hârita *gôtra*, which his royal *Yajamâna* naturally assumed. The possibility of a connexion of *Hâritiputa* with the epitheton (*Hâritîputrâṇâm*) of the Kadambas and Chalukyas is, however, not excluded. If that existed the compound would mean "(remotely) descended from Hâritî."

[20] A *Nâga*, *i.e.* probably the cobra on the slab on which the inscription is incised.

[21] The explanation of *Mahâbhuvi* by Mahâbhôjî belongs to Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji.

[22] The association of sons and other relatives in the merit of a gift, is exceedingly common, especially in the Kaṇheri inscriptions.

[23] *Achariya*, i.e. *âchârya*, probably means here 'master-(mason).'

[1] *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 23.

ridês says that sugar is a kind of concreted honey found upon canes in India and Arabia Felix; and Pliny, that it is collected from canes like a gum. He describes it as white, and brittle between the teeth, of the size of hazel-nut at most, and used in medicine only. So also Lucian, alluding to the Indians near the Ganges, says that they quaff sweet gums from tender reeds."

It has been conjectured that the sugar described by Pliny and Dioskoridês was sugar-candy obtained from China, see *supra*, p. 309, where I have suggested that this was the origin of the "stones sweeter than figs or honey," which were supposed to have been dug out of the earth.

It would be easy to quote references to shew that sugar-candy, as well as sugar in other forms, was an article of export to Afghânistân from India, in the time of Bâbar and subsequently.

3. Φλοιός.

Papyrus pangorei, Nees. (?)—Papyrus Reed.

According to Hêrodotos[2]—"The Indians wear garments (ἐσθῆτης φλόϊναι) made from a plant which grows in the rivers. Having collected and beaten it, they interweave it in the form of a mat, and they clothe themselves with it after the manner of a cuirass."

The above-named species of papyrus is commonly used for weaving into mats, and is sometimes used by fishermen as a protection for their bodies from wet and cold. In some respects the description would suit either hemp (*Cannabis sativa*, Linn.) or jute (*Corchorus capsularis*, Linn.); but on the whole I cannot accept that it was the fibre of either of these to which Hêrodotos refers, especially as regards hemp, since he elsewhere[3] describes its use by the Skythians, and compares its qualities with those of flax.

If not the papyrus, it was probably one of the other species of marsh plants[4] of which mats are made in India at the present day. "The luxuriance of the grasses and reeds in Sind," says Captain Langley,[5] "especially near the Indus, surpasses anything I ever saw elsewhere. The reed known as *kanâ* grows to an immense height, is notched like the bamboo, and has a beautiful feathery head. This reed is invaluable to the Sindians for huts, mats, baskets, chairs, &c. It grows in large tufts, and vast tracts are covered with it between Khairpûr and the river." This *kanâ* (*Typha elephantina*, Roxb.) could certainly not have been the plant from which canoes were made, as has been suggested by some of the critics.

For purposes of mere flotation it is used by fishermen and others when dried and tied in bundles, but the suggestion that the boats capable of holding several persons, mentioned by Hêrodotos, were made of it, is obviously absurd.

4. THE INDIAN REED (Κάλαμος Ἰνδικός.)

Borassus flabelliformis, Linn.—The Palmyra Palm.

It appears to have been calmly accepted by commentators that "the Indian reed," referred to by Grecian and Latin authors, was the same as the plant to which we give the name bamboo. So far as I have read their writings, excepting the alternatives mentioned below, I have not met with any suggestion that this identification is incorrect.[6] To show in the first place that it is so, and secondly to name a plant which fulfils the required conditions, is however not difficult.

The facts that the bamboo does not attain more than about one-third of the size of the so-called reed; that it could not, therefore, have been used for the purposes for which the Indian reed is said to have been employed, and the absence of the larger kinds of bamboo from the region of the Lower Indus Valley, all combine to prove that the above identification of the commentators must be rejected.

The more important among the numerous references to the Indian reed are the following:—Hêrodotos[7] speaks of the inhabitants of the marshes, which are formed by the flooding of rivers in India, as fishing from canoes formed of canes, which are cut from node to node, each segment forming a boat. Pliny[8] gives a similar account, and says that these

[2] *Thalia*, III. cap. xcviii.
[3] *Thalia*, III. cap. ccii. and IV. caps. lxxiv. lxxv.
[4] *Saccharum sara*, Roxb., and *S. spontaneum*, Linn. &c. &c.
[5] *Narrative of a Residence at the Court of Meer Ali Moorad*, Vol. I. p. 275.

[6] Sprengel includes the rattan, *Calamus rotang*, in his identification. This is, if possible, a plant still more unsuited to the requirements of the case.
[7] *Thalia*, Book III. xcviii.
[8] *Hist. Nat.* lib. VII. cap. ii. tom. i. p. 372, line 22; and lib. XVI. cap. xxxvii. tom. II., p. 27, line 32.

boats traverse the Akesinês (*i.e.* Chenâb river). So also Diodorus Siculus,[9] who has written to the following effect:—"In India the lands bordering rivers and marshes yield reeds of prodigious size. It is all that a man can do to embrace one. Canoes are made from them."

Ktêsias's account, as given by Photios,[10] is that the Indian reed grows along the course of the Indus, and that it is "so thick that two men could scarcely encompass its stem with their arms, and of a height equal to that of a mast of a merchant ship of the heaviest burden. Some are of a greater size even than this, though some are of less, as might be expected, since the mountain it grows on is of vast range. The reeds are distinguished by sex, some being male and others female. The male reed has no pith and is exceedingly strong, but the female has a pith."[11] Tzetzês,[12] Theophrastos,[13] and Strabo[14] are other authors who treat of this subject. I have in the preceding note given an account of the *kanâ* reed (*Typha elephantina*, Roxb.), which has been suggested as an alternative with the bamboo by Lassen; but although, as stated, bundles of its slender stalks, when dried, are used for mere purposes of flotation on the Indus, it cannot have been made into canoes.

Statements made by Lassen and Sprengel, that the bamboo sometimes has a diameter of two feet, are quite incorrect. Nine inches is an extreme and very exceptional limit,[15] and as the larger species of bamboo do not occur near the Indus, on account of their only flourishing in moist tropical climates, we must look to some other tree as having furnished, when the stem was split, almost ready-made boats capable of holding several people. At the present day, excluding timber dug-outs made of *Bombax*, &c., the only trees so employed are palms; and among the species so used, namely, the cocoanut, the date-palm, and the palmyra (*Borassus flabelliformis*, Linn.), I should be inclined to give the preference to the latter, as it is cultivated in Lower Sind. The diameter of a full-grown tree is from 18 to 24 inches, or the circumference is, say, six feet at the base; the height is from 40 to 60 feet, and in favourable localities, as in Burma, 100 feet. Canoes, capable of holding two or three people, are made from the stems of this palm in many parts of India at the present day. It is noteworthy, moreover, that the Sanskrit name is *Tṛiṇarâja*, *i.e.* king of the grasses or reeds, from which in all probability the Greeks derived the name which they applied to it. The *Phœnix dactylifera*, or date-palm, which is now the common palm in the Indus Valley, attains a height of 100 to 120 feet, and the trunks of male trees may perhaps be used for canoes; but if, as is stated by Brandis,[16] it was only introduced into Sind in the eighth century, it certainly cannot have been the tree mentioned by our ancient authors.

5. THE NAUPLIOS (Ναύπλιος).

Cocos nucifera.—The Indian Cocoanut.

Under the name Nauplios, which Müller suggests, as stated by Mr. M'Crindle, is a mistake for ναργιλιος (the Persian *nârgîl* or Sanskrit *nârikela*), the author of the *Periplus*,[17] refers to the cocoanut, while Kosmas[18] gives a very good description of it, under the name *argellia*, evidently a transliteration of the native name minus the initial *n*.

6. THE PAREBON TREE (Πάρηβον).

Ficus religiosa, Linn.—The *Pîpal*, Hin.

The *parêbon* tree, as described by Ktêsias, according to Photios,[19] was a plant about the size of the olive, found only in the royal gardens, producing neither flower nor fruit, but having merely fifteen roots, which grow down into the earth, and are of considerable thickness, the very slenderest being as thick as one's arm. If a span's length of this root be taken it attracts to itself all objects brought near it (πάντα ἕλκει πρὸς ἑαυτήν), gold, silver and copper, and all things except amber. If, however, a cubit's length of it be taken, it attracts lambs and birds, and it is, in fact, with this root that most kinds of birds are caught. Should you wish to turn water solid, even a whole gallon of it, you have but to throw into it but an *obol's* weight of this root, and the thing is

[9] *Bibl.*, lib. II. § xvii. p. 132.
[10] Conf. *Ancient India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 10.
[11] Conf. *Ancient India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 10.
[12] *Khiliades*, VII. v. 739, from third book of Αραβικιον of Uranius.
[13] *Plant. Hist.* ix. 11.
[14] *ibid.* xv. 21.
[15] Brandis' *Forest Flora*, p. 554, gives for the stems of *Bambus arundriancea*, Retz, diameters varying from four to nine inches.
[16] *Forest Flora*, p. 558.
[17] *The Erythræan Sea*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 26.
[18] *Ancient India*, p. 95.
[19] *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii. Conf. *Ancient India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 20.

done. Its effect is the same upon wine, which when condensed by it, can be held in your hand like a piece of wax, though it melts the next day. It is found beneficial in the cure of bowel disorders."

My reasons, for identifying the above with the *pîpal* tree (*Ficus religiosa*) are as follow:—Though of common occurrence in the moist tropical parts of India, it is seldom found except where cultivated in gardens and plantations in the Pañjâb and the arid tracts of Northern India generally, where, as it does not flourish, it is probably not often larger than a well-grown olive tree. Its small figs are inconspicuous, scarcely exceeding the larger varieties of peas in size, so that it might easily have been supposed to have had neither flowers nor fruit. Its roots sometimes clasp other trees in their embrace, and they are generally visible at the surface of the ground for some distance away from the trunk. There is no limit, however, to their number. Being regarded as sacred by the Hindus, offerings of various emblems and idols are often to be seen placed round the trunk; in some cases ancient stone implements and other stones of curious and grotesque shapes may be observed thus collected around it. In these facts I would suggest that the myth as to the attractive power of the roots, or, as Apollônios has it, the tree itself, for metals and stones, may very probably have originated. Its "attractive" power for birds and other animals is very readily explained, since from the glutinous juice which exudes from the stem bird-lime is commonly made; and it may be that the "attraction" for metals, &c., merely refers to some adhesive substance prepared from this juice. The effects of the fresh juice when dropped into water or wine might possibly be to thicken them, but perhaps not to the extent stated by Ktêsias. As to the medicinal properties, the seeds are believed to be cooling and alterative, and the leaves and young shoots are used as a purgative.

To the above, which constitute strong reasons in favour of this identification, there may be added, that although at first sight the name *pîpal* presents no very close resemblance to *parêbon*, still, when written as it is often pronounced, *peepun*, the *l* being replaced by *n*, it is not difficult to understand how the sound may have suggested to the ear of the Greek writer a combination of letters which he represented by πάρηβον.[20]

7. TREES BEARING WOOL (τὰ δὲ δένδρεα τὰ ἄγρια αὐτόθι φέρει καρπὸν εἴρια).

Gossypium indicum, Lam.—Cotton Tree.

No claim can be made here for originality in identifying with cotton the substance mentioned in the following extracts. It is an identification about which commentators are agreed. It is only mentioned here on account of some special points of interest connected with it; but it might have been omitted for the same reason that so many other substances have been, namely, that their identity is not doubtful.

Hêrodotos[21] says:—"One sees, besides, wild trees which, instead of fruit, carry a species of wool more beautiful and better than that of the sheep. The Indians dress themselves with the wool which they collect from these trees."

Ktêsias, as related by several of his commentators, refers to the trees in India which bear wool.

Arrian, quoting from Nearkhos, also refers to this product, which in its woven state, was new to the Greeks who went to India in the army of Alexander.

A cotton from stones, mentioned by some early authors, appears to have been asbestos, as I have elsewhere suggested.[22]

The κάρπασος mentioned in the *Periplus* as an export from Ariakê to Egypt, was the Sanskṛit *kârpâsa*, signifying fine muslin. The name survives in the modern Hindustânî word *kapâs*, cotton.

8. THE SIPTAKHORAS TREE (Σιπτάχορας).
Schleichera trijuga, Wild, and *Bassia latifolia*, Roxb.

In the account of ἤλεκτρον, *supra*, p. 309f., the identification of the *siptakhoras* has, by anticipation, been already suggested. It appears to combine the characteristics of two trees which are found in the same tract of country. The *khusum* tree (*Schleichera trijuga*) was probably the tree which yielded the shell-lac, and it seems to have been confused with the *mahwwâ* (*Bassia latifolia*), since from the

[20] [Does not the description, however, tally better with the Banyan tree or *baṛ*, Skr. *vaṭa*, *Ficus Indica*?—ED.]

[21] *Thalia*, lib. III. c. cvi.

[22] *Proceedings, Royal Dublin Society*, 1883, p. 83.

latter there exudes a gum without the aid of lac insects. It may, I think, be accepted as almost certain that the so-called dried fruits were, as has been explained, the dried flowers of the *mahwwá*, which are at the present time largely used as an article of food, and for the extraction of an intoxicating spirit by distillation. Both trees are found together in the same jungles.

9. LYCIUM (Λύκιον).

Berberis tinctoria, D. C., and *B. lycium*, Royle.

This substance, which, according to the *Periplus*,[23] was exported from Barbarikon (*i.e.* a town on the Indus, in Indo-Skythia), and from Barygaza, *i.e.* Bharoch, was a plant whose roots yielded a dye, and the extract a medicine.

It has already been identified, as pointed out by Mr. M'Crindle,[24] with the *rasaut* of the natives, which is prepared from the two species of Berberry named above. The first of them, *B. tinctoria*, is found both in the Himâlayas and the mountains of Southern India and Ceylon; but the other species is only known from the Himâlayas.[25]

10. BDELLIUM (Βδέλλα, or Βδέλλιον).

Balsamodendron mukul, Hooker. Called *Gûgal* in Sind.

It appears to be now generally admitted that this is the species of tree which yielded the gum-resin known to the ancients as *bdellium*, and which, according to the author of the *Periplus*, was exported from Barbarikon on the Indus, and from Barygaza.

Dr. Stocks has described the collection of Indian *bdellium* as follows[26]:—"In Sind the *gûgal* is collected in the cold season by making incisions with a knife in the tree, and letting the resin fall on the ground. It exudes in large tears, soft and opaque, hardens and turns brownish black very slowly; a single tree is said to yield from one to two pounds weight. It is brought to the *bâzârs* of Haidarâbâd and Karâchî, where it sells at the rate of four shillings for 80lbs.

The *bdellium* of Scripture was, it is supposed, a siliceous mineral allied to onyx.

11. PEPPER (Πέπερι).

Piper nigrum, Linn.—Black Pepper. (Sansk., *pippali*).

Mr. M'Crindle's note on this subject, when referring to the mention of it in the *Periplus*, is as follows:—"Kottonarik pepper exported in large quantities from Mouziris and Nelkynda; long pepper from Barygaza. Kottonara was the name of the district, and *Kottonarikon* the name of the pepper for which the district was famous. Dr. Buchanan identifies Kottonara with Kadattanâḍu, a district in the Calicut (Kâlîkoṭṭa) country celebrated for its pepper. Dr. Burnell, however, identifies it with Kolattanâḍu, the district about Tellicherry, which, he says, is the pepper district."

Malabar continues to produce the best pepper in the world; but Sumatra and other islands cultivate and export largely.

The pepper vine is planted near trees which it ascends to the height of 20 or 30 feet. The berries, which are collected before being quite ripe, are dried in the sun; white pepper only differs from black by having the outer skin removed, for which purpose the berries are first macerated.

12. MALABATHRUM (Μαλάβαθρον.)

Cinnamomum tamala, Nees, and *Ḍâlchînî*,[27] Hin.

The leaves of this tree, which are known to the natives of India as *tezpât*, or more correctly *tejpât*, appear to be identical with the *malabathrum* of the Greeks. It was obtained by the Thinai from the Sesatai, and exported to India, conveyed down the Ganges to Gangê, near its mouth; and it was also brought from the interior of India to Mouziris and Nelkynda for export.

Mr. M'Crindle[28] who seems to regard it as identical with betel (*Chavica betel*, Mig.), (from which, however, it is quite distinct) mentions that according to Ptolemy (VII. ii. 16), the best varieties of *malabathrum* came from Kirrhadia—that is to say, Rangpûr in Eastern Bengal. The description given in the *Periplus* of how the *malabathrum* was prepared by the Thinai (Chinese ?), from leaves which were used by the Sesatai to wrap up the goods

[23] *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 22. [24] *loc. cit.*

[25] Conf. *Forest Flora*, by D. Brandis, p. 22.

[26] Conf. *Forest Flora*, by D. Brandis, p. 14.

[27] [*Dâlchînî* means 'Chinese Sticks.'—ED.]

[28] Conf. *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, pp. 23, 25. In his recent work on Ptolemy, *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 379, he has however adopted the above identification.

which they brought to market, is very curious, and must refer to some custom of an Assamese tribe, which is still probably capable of elucidation. At the present day for instance the leaves of the (Zingiber? Sp.?) are used in Assam to wrap up small parcels as also are those of the *Śâl* (*Shorea robusta*) in the parts of India where that tree grows. All the indications of position point to the mountainous regions included in and surrounding Assam as the home of the *malabathrum*, and there in fact the above-named tree abounds, extending westwards to the Satlaj, and sparingly to the Indus; and eastwards to Burma. It is also found in Queensland, Australia.

13. The Karpion Tree (Καρπίον).

Laurus (*cinnamomum*) *Sp.* (?) *Pandanus odoratissimus* (?)

Ktêsias's description of this tree, according to Photios,[29] is as follows:—"But again there are certain trees in India as tall as the cedar or the cypress, having leaves like those of the date palm, only somewhat broader, but having no shoots sprouting from the stems. They produce a flower like the male laurel, but no fruit. In the Indian language they are called μυρουδα, *i.e.* unguent roses. These trees are scarce. There oozes from them an oil which is wiped off from the stem with wool, from which it is afterwards wrung out and received into alabaster boxes of stone."

The nature of this tree has been much discussed. In some respects the description suits the *Pandanus*, the flowers of which yield, on distillation, a fragrant oil which is called *keorá* by the natives, and in these particulars, especially its palm-like habit, it corresponds least well with the characteristics of the cinnamon. Mr. M'Crindle's arguments in favour of its identification with the latter are of considerable cogency, though certainly not conclusive. He says:—"I have little doubt that the Sanskrit *karpûra*, camphor, is substantially the same as the Tamil-Malayâlim *karuppu* (oil of cinnamon), and Ktêsias' Καρπιον, seeing that it does not seem to have any root in Sanskrit, and that camphor and cinnamon are nearly related. The camphor of commerce is obtained from a species of laurel (*Laurus camphora*, Nees.)." But this tree is not found in India, and it is believed that camphor itself was not known to the Greeks. Altogether it may be doubted whether a complete solution of the difficulty can be obtained. It is probable, however, that Ktêsias jumbled together the characteristics of some species of *Laurus* with those of the screw pine (*Pandanus odoratissimus*).

It may be added that in the Chinese work entitled *Si-yu-ki* which was compiled in the year 646 A. D. we find the following as given in Dr. Beal's translation (Vol. II. p. 232);—"The tree from which *Kie-pu-lo* (*karpûra, i.e.* camphor) is procured is in trunk like the pine but different in leaves, flowers and fruit. When the tree is first cut down and sappy, it has no smell; but when the wood gets dry it forms into beams and splits; then in the middle is the scent, in appearance like mica, of the colour of frozen snow. This is what is called in Chinese *Long-nao-hiang, i.e.* the Dragon-brain-scent."

14. Cassia (Κασσία).

Laurus cassia,[30] Roxb., &c.

The term Cassia appears to have been applied to different substances by the ancients, ten varieties are mentioned in the *Periplus*. They were produced chiefly from different species of *Cinnamomum*, but other plants wholly unallied to the laurel family may, it is thought by some authors, have contributed aromatic substances which were included in the same general denomination. As this subject has been dealt with by most commentators, more need not be said of it here.

15. Indicum (Ἰνδικὸν μέλαν).

Indigofera tinctoria, Linn.—Indigo. *Nîlinî*, Sansk. *Nîl*, Hin., &c.

Among the exports from the Skythik port of Barbarikon, on one of the mouths of the Indus, the above substance is enumerated in the *Periplus*, upon which Mr. M'Crindle[31] remarks:—"It appears pretty certain that the culture of the indigo plant and the preparation of the drug have been practised in India from a very remote epoch. It has been questioned, indeed, whether the *indicum* mentioned by Pliny (xxxv. 6) was indigo, but, as it would seem, without any good reason. He states

[29] *Ecloga in Photii*, Bibl. lxxii. 28.

[30] According to some authorities this is only a synonym for *L. tumala*.

[31] *The Erythræan Sea*, p. 17.

that it was brought from India, and that when diluted it produced an admirable mixture of blue and purple colours. The dye was introduced into Rome only a little before Pliny's time."

It is stated that as late as the close of the 16th century it was not known in Europe what plant produced indigo, although its preparation at Lisbon was described by Marco Polo. As is well known, it has hitherto been a most important product from British India, but the introduction of an artificial indigo renders it probable that the trade of the indigo planter is destined to become extinct ere long.

16. A TREE HAVING BEAN-LIKE PODS (Δένδρον λόπους ἔχον).

Cassia fistula, Linn. *Amaltâs*, Hin. *Suvarṇa*, Sansk.

According to Strabo,[32] Aristoboulos mentions "a tree, not large, bearing great pods, like the bean, ten fingers in length, full of honey, and says that those who eat it do not easily escape with life."

The above description suggests the pods of the *Cassia fistula*, which are sometimes two feet long. They include, besides the seeds, a sweet mucilaginous pulp, which, however, is not poisonous, but is regarded as a valuable laxative. The seeds may be noxious. Possibly the pulp, if taken in quantity, might produce disagreeable effects.

17. NARDOS (Νάρδος).

Nardostachys jatamansi, Jones—Spikenard.

Sumbul-i-Hindî, Persi. *Bâlchhar*, Hind.

From the *Periplus* we learn that gangetic nard or spikenard was brought down the Ganges to Gangê, near its mouth, and was forwarded thence to Mouziris and Nelkynda. Spikenard, which was obtained in the regions of the upper Indus and in Indo-Skythia, was forwarded through Ozênê (Ujjain) to Barygaza (Bharoch), and was thence exported to Egypt.

The true origin of this aromatic drug was first discovered by Sir W. Jones,[33] who was followed in its investigation by Roxburgh[34] and Royle.[35] They determined it to be the root of a plant named as above, which belongs to the Valerian family.

It is obtained in the higher regions of the Himâlayas, and is brought down for sale in considerable quantities, being much esteemed by the people of Oriental nations generally on account of its strong fragrance.

18. THE PURPLE FLOWER (Ἄνθος πορφυροῦν).

Grislea tomentosa, Roxb. The *Dhâvâ*, Hin.

Among Photios's extracts from Ktêsias[36] there occurs the following passage:—"Near the source of the Hyparkhos there grows a certain purple flower, which is used for dyeing purple, and is not inferior to the Greek sort, but even imparts a more florid hue."

I am inclined to recognize in this description the flowers of the *dhâvâ* tree (Sanskrit, *dhâtṛi-pushpika*, or *agnivâla*, *i.e.* flame of fire), which was named *Grislea tomentosa* by Roxburgh.[37]

It will be seen by reference to any of the Indian *Floras* that the flowers of this wild jungle-shrub are largely used as a dye. Thus Brandis says that they are collected in the North-West, and exported to the Pañjâb for dyeing silks; and Drury, that "in Khândesh, where the plant grows abundantly, they form a considerable article of commerce inland as a dye."

I have often seen baskets-full of the dried flowers exposed for sale at the fairs in Chuṭiâ Nâgpûr, together with crude shell-lac, *i.e.* in the same general region as that in which the Hyparkhos river was probably situated. The petals being minute, it is the coloured sepals which actually afford the dye.

19. OIL OF SESAME (Ἔλαιον σησάμινον).

Sesamum indicum, Linn. Gingely Oil, Eng. *Yellu cheddi*, Tamil. *Til*, Hin.

This is one of the most valuable oil-yielding plants in India. Both seeds and oil are still largely exported from India, as they were, or at any rate the latter was, according to the *Periplus*,[38] from Barygaza (*i.e.* Bharoch), it having been brought there from the region in the Narbadâ valley, then known as Ariakê.

It is much cultivated in India and Egypt, and has found its way even to the West Indies. The seed contains about forty-five per cent. of oil, which is, when carefully extracted, of a

[32] B. xv. C. 1, § 21.
[33] *As. Res.* II. p. 405.
[34] *As. Res.* IV. p. 109.
[35] Illust. p. 243.
[36] Conf. *Ancient India*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 22.
[37] According to Brandis the proper name is *Woodfordia floribunda*, Salis.
[38] Conf. *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 17.

pale yellow colour. It has a sweet smell, and is one of the best substitutes for olive oil.

20. KOSTOS (Κόστος).

Aucklandia costus, Falconer. Sansk., *Kushtha.*

According to the author of the *Periplus*, *kostos* was exported from Barbarikon, at the mouth of the Indus, and from Barygaza, it having come from Kâbul, through Proklais, &c.[39]

Much doubt existed as to the identity of this drug, till it was ascertained by Dr. Falconer to be the root of the above-named plant, which belongs to the order *Asteraceæ*. It inhabits the moist open slopes surrounding the valley of Kaśmîr, at an elevation of 8,000 or 9,000 feet above sea-level.

The roots have a strong aromatic pungent odour, and are largely employed on account of their supposed aphrodisiac properties.

Considerable quantities, under the name *pachak*, are still exported from Calcutta to China—or were some years ago; but it is possible the route from Lahore, whence they were brought to that port, has now been changed in favour of Bombay or Karâchî. In China it is used in the manufacture of incense. Two varieties are distinguished by their colours and qualities.

21. MARINE TREES.

Bruguiera gymnorhiza, Lam.—Mangroves. *Kâkrâ*, Beng.

According to a passage in Antigonos, we learn that Megasthenês, in his *Indika*, mentioned that trees grow in the Indian seas.

These were doubtless mangroves, which flourish in Sind, in the estuaries of the Indus, as well as on various parts of the coast of the peninsula, and the islands of the Bay of Bengal, spreading thence to the Northern parts of Australia. As is well known, mangroves grow below high-water mark, and, with their stems supported above ground by numerous roots, they present a singular appearance—one sure to attract the attention of European travellers in India.

Pliny's accounts of marine trees may possibly include the mangrove, but they are somewhat vague; they seem to refer rather to the appearances presented by different corals and algæ.

APPENDIX.

My attention has been drawn by Professor Haddon to an article in the October 1884 number of the *Edinburgh Review* on Aristotle's *History of Animals*. Aristotle's history has not been often quoted in this paper, for the simple reason that it contains little or nothing of importance about Indian animals which is at the same time original. The statement of Pliny and Athenæus, that Alexander sent Indian animals to Aristotle, has been rejected as being without foundation by Humboldt, Schneider, and Grote. With this opinion, which is endorsed by the writer of the review, I fully agree, on account of the absence of original remarks regarding them; but I must take exception to part of what he says about Ktêsias, for although he objects to Aristotle's mention of him as a man "unworthy of credit" (οὐκ ὢν ἀξιόπιστος), and as a "manifest liar" (φανερὸς ἐψευσμένος), he himself says that the following, together with some of the races of men mentioned by Ktêsias, are "simply creatures of the imagination," or "altogether fabulous." The animals so denominated are the *Skôlêx*, *Dikairon*, *Martikhora*,[40] and the Indian ass, the origin of the stories regarding each of which, and their respective identifications, I venture to believe I have successfully explained in the foregoing pages. His opinion as to the identity of the *Krokottas* agrees, I observe, with mine.

It has occurred to me that the *Leucrocotta* of Pliny (B. VIII. ch. 30) was the *Nîlgâî* (*Portax pictus*). According to his description it was the size of the wild ass, with the legs of a stag, the neck, tail, and breast of a lion, the head of a badger, a cloven hoof, the mouth slit up as far as the ears, and one continuous bone instead of teeth. The last item I cannot explain; but the mane and tail of the *Nîlgâî* sufficiently resemble those of the lion to have suggested the comparison.

The *Hippelaphas* of Aristotle has also been supposed to be the *Nîlgâî* by some writers.

[39] *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*, by J. W. M'Crindle, p. 20.

[40] Topsell's fantastic figure of the *Martikhora*, given in his *History of Four-footed Beasts*, which is reproduced by Miss Phipson in her *Animal Lore of Shakespere*, might easily be spoken of as a creature of the imagination.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF THE EARLY RULERS OF NEPAL.

BY J. F. FLEET, Bo. C.S., M.R.A.S., C.I.E.

The inscriptions which give the subject of the present paper, consist of fifteen collected by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, and published by him and Dr. Bühler in this Journal, Vol. IX. p. 163ff,—and of one discovered by Mr. Bendall, and published by him in this volume, p. 97f.

The historical results of the former set, have been discussed at length by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in his paper entitled "Some Considerations on the History of Nepal," edited by Dr. Bühler, and published in this Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 411ff. These results, however, are, unfortunately, vitiated by a radical error; *viz.* the reference of one series of the dates to the Vikrama era, instead of to the Gupta era nearly four hundred years later.[1]

This was due, partly to the misinterpretation of an important verse in the inscription of Jayadêva II. of (Harsha)-Saṁvat 153; and partly to the want of the key-note supplied by Mr. Bendall's inscription. And it was, of course, the publication of this last inscription that led me to look carefully into the whole matter, and at length to hit upon the fundamental mistake, without a recognition of which it might still be argued that Mr. Bendall's date of 318 for Śivadêva I. and Aṁśuvarman stands alone in belonging to the Gupta era, and that, in spite of it, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji was right in referring the other larger dates to the Vikrama era.

The dates and other important points of the sixteen inscriptions in question, arranged in proper chronological order, are, in brief, these:—

A.—Mr. Bendall's inscription; *ante*, p. 97f.—The charter recorded is issued from the house or palace called Mânagṛiha. The inscription is one of the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious Śivadêva I., the banner or glory of the Lichchhavikula.[2] And it records a grant made by him on the advice, or at the request,[3] of the *Mahâsâmanta* Aṁśuvarman. The *Dûtaka* is the *Svâmin* Bhôgavarman.[4] The date, in numerical symbols here and throughout the series, is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 318, + A.D. 319-202, = A.D. 637-38.

B.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 5; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 168f.—The charter is issued from Mânagṛiha. The inscription is one of the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious Śivadêva I., the banner of the Lichchhavikula. It recorded some act, the details of which are broken away and lost, done by him, as in inscription A., on the advice, or at the request, of the *Mahâsâmanta*, the illustrious Aṁśuvarman.[5] The date, and the name of the *Dûtaka*, are broken away and lost in line 11ff.

C.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 6; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 169f.—The charter is issued from the house or palace called Kailâsakûṭabhavana. The inscription is one of the *Mahâsâmanta*, the illustrious Aṁśuvarman. The *Dûtaka* is the *Mahâsarva[daṇḍanâ]yaka* Vikra[masêna](?)[6] The date is (Harsha)-Saṁvat[7] 34, + A.D. 606-7, = A.D. 640-41.

D.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 7; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 170f.—The charter is issued from Kailâsakûṭabhavana. The

[1] I do not think it necessary on this occasion to enter into a full discussion of the era used by the Guptas. It is sufficient to say that, in my visits to Mâlwa in the early part of the present and the preceding years, I succeeded in obtaining some new inscriptions which satisfactorily determine the epoch of the era, and shew that that part of Albîrûnî's statement is correct which tells us that it is posterior to the Śaka era by two hundred and forty-one years.—Whether in converting a Gupta into a Christian date, we have to add 241 or 242 of the Śaka years, will depend upon accurate calculations which have not yet been made. But Albîrûnî's apparent meaning is that we have to add 241 of the Śaka years. This gives as the equation Śaka-Saṁvat 241 + A.D. 78-79 = A.D. 319-20 as the epoch of the Gupta era; and this is the equation that I shall use in this paper.—There is one other point which should be mentioned here. It is that none of the Early Gupta and connected inscriptions give this era the name of the Gupta era (or any other special name), or shew specifically that it was founded by the Guptas. But it is convenient to call it, for the present at all events, as heretofore, the Gupta era.

[2] *Lichchhavikulakêtu*, l. 2.

[3] *Mahâsâmant-Âṁśuvarmmaṇâ vijñâpitêna mayâ*; l. 6-7.

[4] This person would seem to be Aṁśuvarman's sister's son, who is mentioned in inscription D. below.—He must not be confused with Śivadêva II.'s father-in-law, the Maukhari Bhôgavarman, who is mentioned in inscription O. below, and was at least a full generation later.—See note 10 below p. 343, on another point.

[5] As in note 3 above.

[6] This is the name as completed by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. But, if we accept it as correct, we must be careful not to confuse this person with the *Râjaputra* Vikramasêna who was the *Dûtaka* of inscription P. below, more than two hundred years later.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

[7] For the epoch of this era used by me, see Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's remarks on Albîrûnî's statement (*ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 420, note 37.) Whether we have to use A.D. 606 or A.D. 607, will depend upon calculations which have still to be made.

inscription is one of the illustrious A m̃ ś u v a r m a n, to whom no formal titles are allotted here. It mentions Aṁśuvarman's sister Bhôgadêvî, who was the wife of the *Râjaputra* Sûrasêna,[8] and the mother of the illustrious Bhôgavarman[9] and Bhâgyadêvî. It records certain orders addressed by Aṁśuvarman to the officials of the Western province (*paśchimâdhikaraṇa-vritti-bhujaḥ*, lines 5-6; and *paśchimâdhikaraṇa*, l. 14), in connection with three *liṅga* forms of the god Îśvara or Śiva. The *Dûtaka* is the *Yuvarâja* Udayâdêva [10] The date is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 39, + A.D. 606-7, = A.D. 645-46.

E.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 8; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 171.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records that, by the favour of the illustrious A ṁ ś u v a r m a n, a *praṇâli* or 'conduit' was caused to be built by the *Vârtta*[11] Vibhuvarman, for the increase of his father's religious merit. The date is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 45 (?),[12] + A D. 606-7, = A.D. 651-52 (?)

F.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 9; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 171f.—The charter is issued from K a i l â s a k û ṭ a b h a v a n a (l. 3-4). The inscription is one of the illustrious J i s h ṇ u g u p t a.[13] It records that, at the request of the *Sâmanta* Chandravarman, a *tilamaka* or water-course, which had been constructed by the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious A ṁ ś u v a r m a n, was made over by Jishṇugupta to Chandravarman, to be repaired; &c. The *Dûtaka* is the *Yuvarâja*, the illustrious Vishṇugupta. The date is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 48, + A.D. 606-7, = A.D. 654-55.—Lines 1 and 2 of this inscription mention Mânagṛiha,[14] and, in connection with it, the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja* D h r u v a d ê v a, but the passage is much mutilated, and does not in itself suffice to explain the connection between Dhruvadêva and Jishṇugupta.[15]

G.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 10; *ante*, Vol. IX. p 173f.—The charter is issued from K a i l â s a k û ṭ a b h a v a n a (l. 6). The inscription is one of the illustrious J i s h ṇ u g u p t a. The details are much mutilated; but the subject is a *tilamaka* or water-course which had been constructed by the *Mahâsâmanta*, the illustrious[16] ......dêva. The name of the *Dûtaka*, and the date have peeled off and are lost.—Lines 3 and 4 of this inscription again mention M â n a g ṛ i h a, and, in connection with it, the *Bhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâja*, the illustrious D h r u v a d ê v a, the banner of the Lichchhavikula.[17] Between *mânagṛiha* and *dita-chitta* in line 4, there are four (or perhaps five) *aksharas* which are much damaged, and are quite uncertain even in the rubbing; but the *ha* (not *hâ*) is distinct enough; and this, and the whole construction, shews that we have here,—not *Mânagṛihât*, the formal ablative of issue,—but the base *Mânagṛiha*, as the first member of a compound, ending with *santati*, that qualifies *śrî-Dhruvadêva*, and means something like "who belonged to a lineage which had its thoughts [gladdened by residing] at Mânagṛiha." As regards the connection between Dhruvadêva and Jishṇugupta,—in line 5, after *śrî-Dhruvadêva*, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji read *purassarê sakala*, and interpreted the passage as shewing that Jishṇugupta acknowledged Dhruvadêva as his lord paramount. The interpretation is possibly correct; though the text may equally well mean nothing more than a courteous reference by Jishṇugupta to one whose

[8] The original is somewhat damaged, but it has undoubtedly *s* in the first *akshara* of this name; not *ś* as given by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text and translation. And the spelling is the same in line 3 of an inscription of the Sûrasêna family published by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, *ante*, Vol. X. p. 34ff. But very probably *ś* is the more correct spelling; especially as line 8 of the present inscription mentions the *liṅga* named Śûrabhôgêśvara.

[9] See note 4 above, p. 342.

[10] The dates seem to prevent the identification of this person with the Udayadêva of the Ṭhâkurî family, mentioned in inscription O.—He was perhaps a Lichchhavi, as suggested by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. If so, in this Lichchhavi *Dûtaka* of a Ṭhâkurî charter, we have an instance parallel to the Ṭhâkurî *Dûtaka* of a Lichchhavi grant, suggested in note 4 above, p. 342.

[11] Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji takes Vârta as a family or tribal name. It seems more likely, however, that, as suggested by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji himself, it is an official title, synonymous with the *vṛittibhuj* of inscription D., and that the correct form is *vârtta* (with the double *t*) from *vṛitti*.

[12] The second symbol is doubtful; but it is either 4 or 5.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

[13] Other names in this series of inscriptions, ending in *gupta*, are:—Vishṇugupta, the *Dûtaka* of this inscription;—Âdityagupta (?), in L. line 4, and Śrîgupta, *id.* line 12;—Ravigupta, the *Dûtaka* of N.;—and Âdityagupta, in P. line 7.

[14] The two *aksharas mâna*, immediately after *svasti*, are clear enough in the original rubbing, though they hardly shew in the lithograph and are not given by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji in his text.

[15] The purport of it, however, must have been the same as in the next inscription G.

[16] In the original rubbing *śrî* is very distinct at the beginning of line 14. Two *aksharas* are illegible between it and *dêva*.

[17] *Lichchhavikulakêtu*; l. 4.

position was equal to his own. But, from the rubbing, the proper reading is certainly *purassara-sakala*, in composition. The whole passage, in fact, from *Mânagṛiha*, line 4, down to *mânasa*, lines 5-6, is one continuous compound, meaning, in the latter part, that Jishṇugupta's mind had been brought into a state of contentment by devising the means of freeing from calamity all the people *headed by* Dhruvadêva, &c. And the expression *Dhruvadêva-purassara-sakala-jana* is analogous in its purport to the *sa-nṛipatêr=jjagatô* (*hitâya*), "(for the welfare) of the world (*i.e.* of all the people), together with the king," of line 2 of inscription K. below.

H.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 11; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 174.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records certain grants made in the augmenting victorious reign of the illustrious Jishṇugupta. The era-date, if any was recorded, is lost with lines 27ff.

I.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 1; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 163 ff.—This furnishes the following short genealogy :—Vṛishadêva;—his son Śaṁkara, with a reference in lines 9 and 10 to other sons, who, however, are not mentioned by name;—Śaṁkara's son, Dharmadêva, who with justice [governed] a great hereditary kingdom (*kula-kram-âgatam* * * * * * * * * * *râjyaṁ mahat*, line 17), and whose wife was Râjyavatî;—and Dharmadêva's son M â n a d ê v a, who was appointed to reign by his mother on his father's death. The inscription then records that Mânadêva made an expedition to the East, and reduced to obedience some "roguish," ill-behaved, or rebellious *Sâmantas* there, and then went back to the West, where also he heard of misdoings on the part of a *Sâmanta*. Here, unfortunately, the available part of the inscription terminates, the rest being buried underground. The date is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 386, + A.D. 319-20, = A.D. 705-6.

J.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 12; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 174 ff.—The charter is issued from K a i l â s a k û ṭ a b h a v a n a. The inscription is one of the *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the glorious Ś i v a d ê v a II. The *Dûtaka* is the *Râjaputra* Jayadêva.[18] The date is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 119, + A.D. 606-7, =A.D. 725-26.

K.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 2; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 166 f.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. It simply records that, by the favour of the illustrious 'king' M â n a d ê v a, a certain Jayavarman erected a *liṅga* named Jayêśvara, for the welfare of the world, (*i.e.* of all the people), together with the king,[19] and endowed it with a permanent endowment.[20] The date is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 413, + A.D. 319-20, = A.D. 732-33.

L.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 13; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 176 f.—This inscription is very much damaged.[21] The name of the palace whence the charter was issued, is lost. And the king's name is illegible in line 3; but, as it is preceded by the titles of *Paramabhaṭṭâraka* and *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, the name was probably that of Ś i v a d ê v a II., as in inscription J.; and Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji filled up the *lacunæ* in that way. This is a Buddhist inscription. The *Dûtaka* is the *Bhaṭṭâraka*, the illustrious, or perhaps the venerable, Śivadêva. The date is somewhat doubtful; but Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji read it as (Harsha)-Saṁvat 143, + A. D. 606-7, = A.D. 749-50, with the possibility of the second symbol being 20 or 30, instead of 40.

M.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 14; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 177f.—All the introductory part of this inscription, recording the palace whence the charter was issued and the name of the king, is broken away and lost. The *Dûtaka* is the *Yuvarâja* Vijayadêva. The date is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 145, + A.D. 606-7, = A.D. 751-52.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, taking Vijayadêva as a "vicarious" name of Jayadêva II., allotted the inscription, chiefly on this account,[22] to Ś i v a d ê v a II. As far as the date goes, the inscription may be one either of him or of J a y a d ê v a II. But Vijayadêva cannot be a "vicarious" name of Jayadêva II. Occasional instances may be cited in which the special *terminations* of names vary; thus the Vasantasêna of his

[18] Evidently Śivadêva II.'s son and successor, Jayadêva II. of inscription O. below.—I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

[19] *Sa-nṛipatêr=jjagatô hitâya*; l. 2.

[20] *akshayanîvî*; l. 2.

[21] I have not seen the original rubbing of this inscription.

[22] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 424.

own inscription N., appears in O. line 10, and in the *Vaṁśâvalî*, as Vasantadêva; and Jayadêva I. of O. line 8 perhaps appears in the *Vaṁśâvalî* as Jayavarman. But even this is rare enough. And I cannot call to mind a single instance in which (apart from the substitution of *birudas*) the inscriptions shew any variation in the *first* and really distinctive part of a king's name. If the present inscription is one of Śivadêva II., then Vijayadêva was another son of his; if, as seems to me more probable, it is one of Jayadêva II., then Vijayadêva was *his* son.

N.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 3; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 167.—The charter is issued from Mânagṛiha. The inscription is one of the *Mahârâja*, the illustrious Vasantasêna.[23] The *Dûtaka* is the *Sarvadaṇḍanâyaka* and *Mahâpratihâra* Ravigupta. The date is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 435, + A.D. 319-20, = A.D. 754-55.

O.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 15; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 178ff.—This is not a formal charter, issued from any specified place. The inscription,—which gives a good deal of genealogical information, to be commented on below,—is one of Jayadêva II., who also had the second name or *biruda* of Parachakrakâma. The object of it is to record that he caused a silver waterlily to be made, for the worship of Śiva under the name of Paśupati, and that it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadêvî. The date is (Harsha)-Saṁvat 153, + A.D. 606-7, = A.D. 759-60.

P.—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's inscription No. 4; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 168.—The commencement of the inscription, recording the place whence the order was issued and the king's name, is broken away and lost. The *Dûtaka* is the *Râjaputra* Vikramasêna.[24] The date is (Gupta)-Saṁvat 535, + A.D. 319-20, = A.D. 854-55.

The two dates of A. the year 318 for Śivadêva I. and Aṁśuvarman, and C. the year 34 for Aṁśuvarman, suffice to shew quite clearly that, here at all events, we are dealing with two very different series or eras. Acting on the identification of Aṁśuvarman with the king of that name who was reigning during, or very shortly before, Hiuen Tsiang's visit to Northern India,[25] which was about A.D. 637,—Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji very properly referred the dates of (C.) 34, (D.) 39, (E.) 45 (?), (F.) 48, (J.) 119, (L.) 143 (?), (M.) 145, and (O.) 153, to the era established by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and dating from his accession in A.D. 606 or 607. And, this much being proved, it follows that the date of (A.) 318 must of necessity be referred to an era commencing just about three hundred years before that of Harshavardhana. The era that exactly meets the requirements of the case is the Gupta era,[26] commencing in A.D. 319-20; for, (A.) 318 + 319-20, = A.D. 637-38, and (C.) 34 + 606-7, = A.D. 640-41. There can be no doubt that this era was well known in Nêpâl at an early date; for,—Chandragupta I. married Kumâradêvî, the daughter of Lichchhavi,[27] or of a Lichchhavi prince;—Nêpâl is mentioned, in the Allahâbâd pillar inscription, as one of the countries conquered by Samudragupta;—and the Kahâuṁ pillar inscription shews that, in Gupta-Saṁvat 141 (A.D. 460-61), Skandagupta's empire extended, at any rate, up to the confines of the country. And it is not impossible that the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvalî* itself has unconsciously preserved a reminiscence, not only of the introduction of the Gupta era, but of the actual year in which it was introduced. The earliest king mentioned in it has the curious name of "Bhuktamânagata;" and the duration of his reign is given as eighty-eight years. Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has pointed out[28] that this is not a real name, but is probably a corruption of *bhuktamânagatavarsha*, "the year of the reign." I would suggest, as a matter worth considering and probably capable of being cleared up by a collation of manuscripts, that it is really a corruption of *bhujyamâna-Gupta-varsha*, "the year of the Guptas that was being enjoyed, *i.e.* that was current,"—that the eighty-eight years of the reign of this "Bhuktamânagata" point to Gupta-Saṁvat 88 + A.D. 319-20, = A.D. 407-8, when Chandragupta II., the successor of Samudragupta, was on the throne, as the time when the era was introduced into Nêpâl,—and that it is owing to the influence of this

[23] In O. line 10, he is called Vasantadêva.
[24] See note 6 above, p. 342.
[25] *ante*, Vol. XIII. pp. 418 and 422.
[26] See note 1 above, p. 342.
[27] The form Lichchhivi also occurs in two of the Gupta inscriptions,—the Bhitari pillar inscription of Skandagupta; and a spurious Gayâ plate of Samudragupta.
[28] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 411, note 2.

reminiscence, that the seven successors of this "Bhuktamânagata" all have, in the *Vaṁśâvalî*, names ending in *gupta*, a termination which does not appear anywhere else in that record.

As regards the other larger dates of (I.) 386, (K.) 413, (N.) 435, and (P.) 535,—all the circumstances of the case shewed that they were, at any rate, not a continuation of the smaller dates belonging to the Harshavardhana era. And, after examining the theory of the Śaka era, commencing A.D. 78, and rejecting it on the grounds that even this was not early enough, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji (who of course wrote without knowing of Mr. Bendall's inscription), finally referred them to the Vikrama era commencing B.C. 57. Curiously enough, the Nêpâl *Vaṁśâvalî* states that Vikramâditya came to Nêpâl, and established his era there. But this occurrence is allotted to the time of the predecessor of Aṁśuvarman; *i.e.* to the end of the sixth, or the beginning of the seventh, century A.D. And Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has shewn[29] that the statement is certainly quite wrong as regards the name of the king and the particular era intended, and that what it probably contains is a reminiscence of the conquest of the country by Harshavardhana of Kanauj, and the adoption of *his* era as the result. This statement, therefore, can have influenced him but little, if at all, in his assignment of the above-mentioned dates to the Vikrama era.

The real grounds for his doing so,—grounds which, in spite of the existence of the date of (Gupta)-Saṁvat 318 for Śivadêva I. and Aṁśuvarman, still require to be cleared away,—are to be found in his erroneous treatment of O. the inscription of Jayadêva II. of (Harsha)-Saṁvat 153; No. 15, *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 178ff.

Starting with a mythological genealogy, this inscription carries the descent from the god Brahman (line 3), through Sûrya or the Sun,[30] Manu, Ikshvâku, and others, down to Raghu, Aja, and Daśaratha (l. 6.) After Daśaratha there were eight kings, in lineal succession of sons and sons' sons, who are passed over unnamed; and then there was the illustrious Lichchhavi. Then comes verse 6, which records that "even still," at the time of the writing of the inscription, "there exists a family which bears the pure *second* name of Lichchhavi,"—*svachchhaṁ Lichchhavi-nâma vi(bi)-bhrad=aparaṁ vaṅśaḥ* (l. 7). Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, in his lithograph, text, and translation, gave *aparô vaṅśaḥ*, "a *new* . . . race . . . . which bears the pure name Lichchhavi." But, on examining his original rubbing, I find that the real reading is *aparaṁ (nâma)*, "another name, a *second* name;"—not *aparô (vaṅśaḥ)*, "another race, a *new* race." This verse, therefore, is of some interest, in shewing that,—in addition to the appellation of Lichchhavivaṁśa or Lichchhavikula, the latter of which actually occurs in inscriptions A. B. and G.,—the family had another original name, which, however, is not recorded. After Lichchhavi there came some kings, who again are passed over unnamed, and the number of whom is illegible[31] at the end of line 7 and the beginning of line 8; and then the illustrious king Supushpa (l. 8) was born at the city of Pushpapura.[32] After him omitting in the interim (*to mention the names of*) twenty-three kings, there was another[33] king, the famous Jayadêva I., who is treated by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji as the first really historical member of the family, and the founder of the Nêpâl branch of it,[34] and on the Vikrama-Saṁvat theory, is placed about A.D. 1. After this "victorious" Jayadêva I., and again "omitting in the interim (*to mention the names of*) eleven . . . . . . kings," the inscription gives the first unbroken succession of names that it contains; *viz.*—Vṛishadêva;—his son, Śaṁkaradêva;—his son, Dharmadêva;—his son, Mânadêva;—his son, Mahîdêva;—and his son, Vasantadêva. The first four of these names have already been made known by inscription I., and the sixth, in the form of Vasantasêna, by inscription N. And these six kings plainly belong to the family the genealogy of which forms the subject of all

[29] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 421f.

[30] In accordance with this, the *Vaṁśâvalî* enters the historical Lichchhavis of this inscription as members of a Sûryavaṁśi family.

[31] But the number was probably twelve, as *hitv=âpa-[rân=dvâdaśa]* seems to suit best the metre and such traces as are discernible in the rubbing.

[32] *i.e.* Pâṭaliputra, the modern Paṭna in Bihâr; *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 180, note 44.—This part of the inscription, therefore, relates to a period antecedent to the settlement of the Lichchhavis in Nêpâl.

[33] As no previous Jayadêva, with whom this one could be contrasted, is mentioned in the inscriptions, *apara* seems to introduce another branch of the Lichchhavi family, not directly descended from Lichchhavi and Supushpa.

[34] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 424.

the preceding part of the inscription, *viz.* the Lichchhavikula.

Then follows, in lines 10 and 11, the eleventh verse, which has been entirely misunderstood by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji, and which has, through that misunderstanding, led to the erroneous reference of the larger dates of his inscriptions to the Vikrama-Samvat. He read this verse—

Asy=ântarê=py=Udayadêva iti kshitîśâj=
jâtâs=trayôdaśa [tata]ś=cha Narêndradêvaḥ
mân-ônnatô nata-samasta-narêndra-mauli-
mâlâ-rajô-nikara-pâṁśula-pâda-pîthaḥ ||

and translated—"Afterwards came thirteen (*rulers*), sprung from king Udayadêva;[33] and then Narêndradêva, who was proud, and whose footstool was covered with the dust from the row of diadems worn by numerous prostrated kings." With the exception that the original has *pâṁsula*, not *pâṁśula*, the reading and translation of the second half of the verse represent the original correctly. It is the first half that has not been properly treated. In the first place, *asy=ântarê* does not mean "afterwards," or "after him." The literal meaning of *antara* is 'an interval'; and in *anantaram* it helps to make up the equivalent of 'afterwards,' only from its meaning in the first place "no interval after . . . . . ." But, standing without the negative particle, *antara* can have no meaning but that of 'interval'; and it is used twice before by the composer of this inscription, in lines 8 and 9, distinctly in that sense. *Asy=ântarê* can only mean "in an interval of this"; and, supplying *vaṁśasya*, from the *vaṁśaḥ* of line 7, in apposition with *asya*, we have "in an interval, *i.e.* at an intervening point, of this (*lineage that has just been detailed*)." The expression plainly introduces some names in respect of which it is intended to be conveyed that they are of another family or branch, and that the last of them comes contemporaneously with or immediately after the name of Vasantadêva, the last mentioned of the immediately preceding succession, and the first comes at some unspecified point intervening between Vṛishadêva and Vasantadêva. In the second place, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's reading of *kshitîśâj=jâtâs* cannot be maintained. In the two *aksharas jjâtâ*, the rubbing shews distinctly the double *jj*, of which, in the lithograph, the lower one is only sketched in faintly, as if it were doubtful; but the second *akshara* is as distinctly *ta*, not *tâ*, as is in fact shewn in the lithograph. There is a slight abrasion mark between the *ta* and the following *akshara*, which does not appear in the lithograph; but the rubbing shews most distinctly that this mark is no remnant of a half-obliterated *â*, and that the stroke for *â*, for which in fact there is no room, never was engraved here. The reading of the original, in short, is *jâtas*, the nominative singular,—not *jâtâs*, the nominative plural. This is the first objection to the more serious error, the introduction of *trayôdaśa*, 'thirteen,' immediately after *jâtas*. The second is that, of the six following *aksharas* which are read *s=trayôdaśa* [*tata*], the only parts that can be pronounced on with any certainty, are *s*, as part of the first, and, at the beginning of line 11, *da*, the third, which is well preserved and unmistakable. The others are hopelessly injured and unrecognisable; and,—with the exception that the first probably had a *t* below the *s*; and that the second looks more like *thâ* (*tathâ*), or *dâ* (*tadâ*), or *pô* (*tapô*), than *yô*,—it is quite impossible, even from the rubbing, to say what they may be. But the culminating and final objection to the reading of *trayôdaśa* [*tata*]*ś* = *cha* is, that in the passage, as thus read, there is no such word as *vyatîtya*, *vihâya*, *hitvâ*, or *tyaktvâ*, "having passed over or omitted (*to mention the names of*)," which we have in lines 4, 6, 7, 8, and 9, where, in each case, a specified number of kings is passed over,—and that the metre does not allow of our introducing any such word. The *lacunæ* at the end of line 10 and the beginning of line 11 render it, as I said, impossible to decide what the original reading

[33] Or, again,—"After him (Vasantadêva), followed thirteen, sprung from the lord of the earth called Udayadêva"; *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 425, note.—*Udayadêva*(*ḥ*) *iti kshitîśât*, "from king Udayadêva," or "from the lord of the earth called Udayadêva," is, I think rather an ungrammatical construction. We ought to have, if the metre allowed it, either the compound *Udayadêv-êti-kshitîśât*, or two ablatives in apposition, *Udayadêvâd=iti kshitîśât*. But it certainly seems to mean "from king Udayadêva." And we have a similar construction in *Parachakrakâma iti yô nâmn=âparêṇ=ânvitah*, in line 18 of this inscription.—The best method of explaining it away would be to adopt some such reading as *Asy=ântarê=py=Udayadêva iti kshitîśâj=jâtas=[tadâ tat-tanuja]ś=cha Narêndradêvaḥ*, "At an intervening point of this (*lineage*) Udayadêva was born from a (*certain unknown*) king; (*and*) then (*there was*) his son Narêndradêva."

may have been. But the whole structure of the passage leaves no doubt whatever that the original contained nothing but an epithet, or perhaps two, of Narêndradêva, and that,—so far from thirteen rulers having intervened between him and Udayadêva,—he was the son of Udayadêva.

Narendradêva's son was Śivadêva II. (l. 12), who married Vatsadêvî, of the family of the Maukharis, who abounded in strength of arm,[36] the daughter of the illustrious Bhôgavarman, and the daughter of the daughter of "the great"[37] Âdityasêna, the lord of Magadha (l. 13). And their son was the *Râja*, the illustrious Jayadêva II. (l. 14), also called Parachakrakâma (l. 18), whose wife was Râjyamatî, of the family of king Bhagadatta or of the Bhagadatta kings (l. 16), the daughter of Harsha, king of Gauḍa, Ôḍra, &c., and Kaliṅga, and Kôsala (l. 15). The rest of the inscription details the beauty of the silver waterlily which Jayadêva II. caused to be made, and how it was worshipped and installed by his mother Vatsadêvî, and then concludes with the date.

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's acceptance of Udayadêva as the successor of Vasantadêva, and insertion of thirteen rulers between him and Narêndradêva, led of necessity to the reference of the dates for Mânadêva of (I.) 386 and (K.) 413, and for Vasantadêva of (N.) 435, to the Vikrama era. It is unnecessary to repeat his calculations in full. But, starting with fifteen names between Vasantadêva and Śivadêva II., or nineteen from Mânadêva to Śivadêva II. (both included), all of which denote "*generations* of kings, not reigns of *collaterals*,"[38]—and taking twenty-one years as the smallest possible average for these generation-reigns,—he found that no era later than the Vikrama era would meet the requirements of the case, and that that era would meet them. For, on the Vikrama-Saṁvat theory, Mânadêva's first date represented A.D. 329;—the interval from this to A.D. 759, the date of Jayadêva II., was 430 years;—and this, divided by 19, gave about twenty-two and three-quarters years as the average for each generation-reign. This was all right enough from his point of view.

But let us now take the matter from the correct point of view; *viz.* that Udayadêva did not come after Vasantadêva. This frees us at once from the necessity, under which Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji laboured, of forcing Vasantadêva and his ancestors back to such early times; and leaves us at liberty to follow the analogy of inscription A., and to refer his date and Mânadêva's to the Gupta era. The result is that we have for Vasantasêna the date of (N.) A.D. 754-55, just synchronous with the dates of perhaps (M.) A.D. 751, and certainly (O.) A.D. 759-60 for Jayadêva II., exactly what inscription O. seeks to convey;—and we have for Mânadêva, the grandfather of Vasantasêna, the dates of (I.) A.D. 705-6 and (K.) A.D. 732-33, just about one generation before Jayadêva II.'s father Śivadêva II., for whom we have the dates of (J.) A.D. 725-26 and probably (L.) A.D. 749-50 (?).

Here the question naturally suggests itself,—as Udayadêva and his descendants were not successors and descendants of Vasantasêna, who were they? I think the answer is perfectly plain,—that they were successors of Aṁśuvarman, and, though not his direct lineal descendants, belonged, like him, to the family which in the *Vaṁśâvalî* is called the Ṭhâkurî family.

Inscription O., in fact, furnishes another instance of the double government of Nêpâl, to which Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has drawn attention in the case of Śivadêva I. and Aṁśuvarman, and which is illustrated in the most pointed way throughout the inscriptions. We have two separate families, ruling contemporaneously and mostly on equal terms, but each preserving certain distinctive characteristics of its own. On the one side, we have the Lichchhavikula of the inscriptions, the Sûryavaṁsi family of the *Vaṁśavalî*,—issuing its charters from the house or palace called Mânagṛiha,—and using the Gupta era. And on the other side, we have a family the name of which is not given in the inscriptions hitherto brought to notice, but which in the *Vaṁśâvalî* is called the Ṭhâkurî family,—issuing its charters from the house or palace called Kailâsakûṭa-

[36] The original has *dêvî vâ(bâ)hu-va(ba)l-âḍhya-Maukhari-kulâ śrîvarmma* &c.; not *kula-śrîvarmma*, in composition, as in the published text.

[37] *mahataḥ*.

[38] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 425.

bhavana,—and using the Harsha era. To the former belong inscriptions A. B. I. K. N. and P.; and it was represented in A.D. 637-38 by Śivadêva I. (in A.D. 654-55 by Dhruvadêva),[39] in A.D. 705-6 and 732-33 by Mânadêva, and in A.D. 754-55 by Vasantasêna or Vasantadêva. While to the latter belong inscriptions C. D. E. F. G. H. J. L. M. and O.; and it was represented in A.D. (637-38),[40] 640-41, 645-46, and 651-52 (?) by Aṁśuvarman, in A.D. 654-55 by Jishṇugupta, in A.D. 725-26 and 749-50 (?) by Śivadêva II., and in A.D. 751-52 (?) and 759-60 by Jayadêva II. From the fact that each of the two families issued its charters from a palace, not a town,—and the fact that all the inscriptions are either at 'Kâṭmâṇḍu' itself, or close in the neighbourhood,—the two palaces of Mânagṛiha and Kailâsakûṭabhavana appear to have been in the immediate vicinity of each other, in different divisions of one and the same ancient capital. And,—though the inscriptions give no specific information on this point,—from the fact that the order of Aṁśuvarman recorded in inscription D. is issued to the officials of the *western* province, and from the way in which, in inscription I., Mânadêva is described as marching to the *east* and reducing to obedience the rebellious *Sâmantas* there, and then returning to the west, it seems pretty clear that the Lichchhavikula or Sûryavaṁśi family had the government of the territory to the east of the capital, and the Ṭhâkurî family of the territory to the west of it.

Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji has treated Aṁśuvarman as if he was at first the feudatory of Śivadêva I. There is, however, nothing in the inscriptions to support this. The inscriptions of Śivadêva I., it is true, record acts that were done by him "on the advice," or "at the request," of Aṁśuvarman; but this expression, though often used in respect of feudatories and officials, does not of necessity imply any state of subordination. And, whereas Śivadêva I. uses in respect of himself only the feudatory title of *Mahârâja*, in his own inscriptions he allots to Aṁśuvarman the equal title of *Mahâsâmanta*,—not simply *Sâmanta*, as represented almost throughout by Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji. The co-ordinate nature of the two titles is shewn by the Nirmaṇḍ plate,[41] which couples them both with the names of Samudrasêna and all his ancestors. And a third title, *Mahâsênâdhipati*, seems to have denoted equal rank with these two; since the Walâ clay seal[42] of Pushyêṇa gives him the two titles of *Mahârâja* and *Mahâsênâdhipati*; and the same two titles are coupled in the same way in a fragmentary inscription of the Yaudhêya tribe at Bijayagaḍh.[43] Śivadeva I. and Aṁśuvarman were only co-ordinate feudatories of a paramount sovereign, *viz.* Harshavardhana of Kanauj.—During the time when Aṁśuvarman was a *Mahârâjâdhirâja* or a paramount sovereign, as recorded in inscription F., the Lichchhavi rulers were of course feudatory to him. This was after his inscription C. of A.D. 640-41. His other two inscriptions D. and E., which give him no titles except that of *śrî*, "the illustrious, or the glorious," perhaps belong to a transitional period, when he hesitated about adopting the paramount title, and yet was unwilling to use a feudatory title any longer. He probably assumed the paramount rank and title, on the death of Harshavardhana, when, as Ma-twanlin tells us,[44] the kingdom of Kanauj fell into a state of anarchy, and the minister *Na-fo-ti-a-la-na-shun* usurped the supreme power. And Aṁśuvarman is probably the king of Nêpâl, who came with seven thousand horsemen to help the Chinese general Wang-hiwen-tse who defeated the usurper.—In the time of Dhruvadêva and Jishṇugupta, it is possible that the Ṭhâkurî family may to a certain extent have acknowledged the Lichchhavis as superior to them.—But Śivadêva II. again had the paramount title and rank; and the Lichchhavis were then, of course, again the feudatories of the Ṭhâkurî family.—Finally, the fact that the Lichchhavi genealogy is given in the Ṭhâkurî inscription O.,—coupled with the use by Jayadêva II. in this inscription of no title but that of *Râja* (line 14), with the epithet *śrî*, 'the illustrious'—may perhaps

[39] From Jishṇugupta's inscription F.

[40] From Śivadêva I.'s inscription A.

[41] *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. XLVIII. *Proceedings*, p. 212ff.

[42] *ante*, Vol. XII. p. 274f.—The syllables *sênâ* are destroyed, at the end of line 3; but there can be no doubt as to the correctness of Dr. Bühler's restoration of them.

[43] Noticed at p. 8 above.

[44] *ante*, Vol. IX. p. 20.

indicate that at this latter time the Ṭhâkurîs again acknowledged a certain amount of superiority on the part of the Lichchhavis. Or it may be nothing more than another expression of the mutual courtesy of the two families, already exhibited in the inscriptions of Śivadêva I. and Jishṇugupta.

In conclusion, Pandit Bhagwanlal Indraji's "Table of the Lichchhavi Kings of Nêpâl"[45] requires to be entirely recast, thus :—

TABLE OF THE EARLY RULERS OF NEPAL.

The Lichchhavi or Suryavamsi family of Managriha.		The Thakuri family of Kailasakutabhavana.	
	1. Jayadêva I.—About A.D. 330-355.		
	2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. Names not recorded in the inscription. A.D. 355-630.		
Śivadêva I., *Mahârâja*.—A.D. 637.	13. Vṛishadêva.—About A.D. 630-655.	Aṁśuvarman, *Mahâsâmanta*, and afterwards *Mahârâjâdhirâja*.—A.D. 637, 640, 645, and 651 (?)	
Dhruvadêva, *Mahârâja*.—A.D. 654.	14. Śaṁkaradêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 655-680.	Jishṇugupta.—A.D. 654.	
	15. Dharmadêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 680-704.		Udayadêva.—About A.D. 675-700.
	16. Mânadêva, son of preceding.—A.D. 705 and 732.		Narêndradêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 700-724.
	17. Mahîdêva, son of preceding.—About A.D. 733-753.		Śivadêva II., *Mahârâjâdhirâja*, son of preceding.—A.D. 725 and 749 (?).
	18. Vasantasêna, or Vasantadêva, *Mahârâja*, son of preceding.—A.D. 754.		Jayadêva II., *Râja*, son of preceding.—A.D. 751 (?) and 759.

In the Lichchhavi family, the earliest name for which we have as yet a definite date, is that of Śivadêva I., A.D. 637-38. And either Śivavṛiddhivarman, No. 14 in the *Vaṁśâvalî* list of the Sûryavaṁśi family, or Śivavavarman, No. 16 in the same, seems to be intended for him. The next name is that of Dhruvadêva, A.D. 654-55, who is not given or represented in the *Vaṁśâvalî*. The connection between Śivadêva I. and Dhruvadêva is not as yet explained. But they probably belonged both to one branch of the family; though, from their not being mentioned in inscription O., certainly not to the same branch with Vasantadêva and his ancestors. Their contemporaries of the Ṭhâkurî family were respectively Aṁśuvarman and Jishṇugupta.—They were followed by another branch of the same family introduced (about A.D. 630-655, not A.D. 260) by Vṛishadêva, who was the contemporary of Śivadêva I., and represented, as far as definite dates go,

[45] *ante*, Vol. XIII. p. 427f.

by Mânadêva in A.D. 705-6 and 732-33 (not A.D. 329 and 356), and by Vasantasêna or Vasantadêva in A.D. 754-55 (not A.D. 378). The six names from Vṛishadêva to Vasantasêna are given correctly in the *Vaṁśâvali*, as Nos. 18 to 23 of the Sûryavaṁśi family. If inscription O. is to be accepted throughout, this branch of the family was founded by Jayadêva I. He is doubtless the person who is intended by Jayavarman, No. 3 in the *Vaṁśâvali* list of the Sûryavaṁśi family. And, calculating back fifteen generations, at the average rate of twenty-five years, from Mânadêva, whose generation is represented by his recorded dates, we have for Jayadêva I. the date of about A.D. 330 to 355, not A.D. 1. But if Vṛishadêva was a direct lineal descendant of Jayadêva I., it is rather peculiar that the composer of inscription O., writing only five generations after him, was unable to give the names of the persons, only eleven in number, who intervened before him and after Jayadêva I. —In the Ṭhâkurî family, the earliest name is that of Aṁśuvarman, with the extreme dates of A.D. 637 and 651 (?); and the next is that of Jishṇugupta, A.D. 654-55. Aṁśuvarman is mentioned in the *Vaṁśâvali*, under exactly the same name, as the founder of the Ṭhâkurî family; but Jishṇugupta's name is not given or represented. The connection between them is not as yet explained.—They were followed by Udayadêva (about A.D. 675-700, not A.D. 400) and his descendants, who, from there being no mention of Aṁśuvarman and Jishṇugupta in inscription O., plainly belonged to another branch of the family. Udayadêva was contemporaneous with Dharmadêva of the Lichchhavi family; he is not mentioned in the *Vaṁśâvali*, being certainly not the Udayadêvavarman, No. 24 in the *Vaṁśâvali* list of the Sûryavaṁśi family. His son, Narêndradêva, is possibly the person intended by Narêndradêva No 7, in the *Vaṁśâvali* list of the Ṭhâkurî family. His son, Śivadêva II. is not mentioned in the *Vaṁśâvali*. His son Jayadêva II. is possibly the person intended by Jayadêva, No. 11 in the *Vaṁśâvali* list of the Ṭhâkurî family.

MISCELLANEA.

THE DATE OF THE KOTA BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION OF THE SAMANTA DEVADATTA.

This inscription has been edited by Dr. Hultzsch at page 45ff. above. The reading of the date given there is—*Samvat śarâṅka* (read *samvatsarâṅka*) 7 *Mâgha śudi* 6 | ——" In the (*regnal*) year, in figures, 7; on the 6th day of the bright half of Mâgha."

Even if only because of the peculiar way in which, according to this emendation, *aṅka* is compounded with *saṁvatsara*, this is not at all a satisfactory rendering of the date, and must certainly be abandoned. And, in his original edition of the inscription, in the *Jour. Germ. Or. Soc.* Vol. XXXVIII. p. 546ff., Dr. Hultzsch had interpreted the date differently,—*Samvat śa* 841 *Mâgha śudi* 6 |; with the suggestion that the *śa* might represent either *śata*, 'hundreds,' or the numerical symbol for 100, or *Śaka*, the name of the era.

I now give a lithograph of the date, reduced from the lithograph given with Dr. Hultzsch's original notice, and compared by me with the paper-rubbing of the inscription:—

The date is rather a peculiar one, in containing a decimal figure combined with a numerical symbol. But it seems plain to me that what follows the word *samvat*, is a late form of the numerical symbol for 100, followed again by the decimal figure 8; the two together representing 800. The next sign cannot be the symbol for 4, as, being followed by a third sign, it must be one of the tens, not a unit. Moreover, in the symbol for 4, the upward stroke in the left lower corner is not joined to the cross-stroke (thus forming a loop), as it is here. It is plainly a form of the symbol for 70. The third sign is not straight enough to be the decimal figure 1; it is plainly the symbol for 9. After *śu di* we have evidently a late form of the symbol for 20,—not the decimal figure 6, with a half mark of punctuation after it.

My reading of the date is *Samvat* 800 70 9 *Mâgha śu di* 20,—" The year 800 (*and*) 70 (*and*) 9; (*the month*) Mâgha; the bright fortnight; the the day[1] 20."

[1] Not of the fortnight, but of the month; and in accordance with the arrangement indicated by Hiuen Tsiang,—" The preceding dark portion, and the following light portion, together form a month" (Beal's *Buddh. Rec. West. World*, Vol. I. p. 71.)

The era is not specified; but, from the locality of the inscription, it must be the era of the Mâlava tribe or kings, *i.e.* the Vikrama era. The date, accordingly, is A.D. 822-23. J. F. FLEET.

THE CHANDRAGUPTA AND VIKRAMADITYA OF THE UDAYAGIRI AMRITA CAVE INSCRIPTION.

This inscription, published by me in this Journal, Vol. XIII. p. 185, is dated (Vikrama)-Samvat 1093 (A.D. 1036-37). The object of it is to record the visit of a pilgrim named Kanha to the cave. But the really interesting part of the record is the statement, in lines 5 to 8, that the cave was made by Chandragupta, and that the reign of Vikramâditya came after that event.

I quoted this as apparently a record of tradition of the eleventh century A.D.,—to be taken for what it may be worth,—to the effect that the reign of the Vikramâditya, after whom the Vikrama era was named, was at least subsequent to the time of Chandragupta II. of the Early Gupta dynasty.

At page 61 above, Dr. Burgess has suggested that the statement refers to the great Maurya king Chandragupta, of the fourth century B.C., and a Vikramâditya who is given as his son by one of the Mackenzie palm-leaf Telugu MSS. at Madras.

But,—judging by the lists in the *Vishṇu* and other *Purâṇas* (see Hall's edition of Wilson's translation of the *Vishṇu-Purâṇa*, Vol. IV. pp. 186-190 and notes),—no such person was known of in Northern India. And there is nothing whatever to connect Chandragupta, the Maurya, with the Udayagiri hill. On the other hand, there are two inscriptions in other caves on the hill, which mention a name that is unmistakably that of Chandragupta II. of the Early Gupta dynasty;—one of them recording that he actually came in person to the hill; on which occasion the "Tâwa Cave" was excavated by the order of his minister Vîrasêna, otherwise called Śâba, who accompanied him.

As regards the age of the "Amṛita Cave,"—there is no inscription to shew the period to which it must be allotted. But General Cunningham[1] is of opinion,—from the more copious decoration of the pillars, and their new style,—that it is the latest of all the Udayagiri caves. At any rate, therefore, it is not earlier than the "Tâwa Cave."

It is possible that the mention of the name of Vikramâditya, is due to nothing but a dim knowledge of the fact that this was a title[2] of Chandragupta II. But,—whatever opinion may be held as to the identity of this Vikramâditya,—all the circumstances of the case render it beyond a doubt that the Chandragupta who is referred to is Chandragupta II. of the Early Gupta dynasty. J. F. FLEET.

[1] *Archæol. Surv. Ind.* Vol. X. p. 52.
[2] See, for instance, the silver coins, the legends of which are given at p. 65 f. above.

BOOK NOTICES.

A SECOND REPORT OF OPERATIONS IN SEARCH OF SANSKRIT MSS. IN THE BOMBAY CIRCLE.[3] By Professor P. PETERSON. Extra Number of the *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, 1884, pp. 183, 29.

Dr. Peterson's Second Report follows the First after a reasonable interval, and is like the latter replete with matter both interesting and calculated to advance our knowledge of Sanskrit literature. Though Dr. Peterson spent the autumn vacation of the year under report, 1883-84, on leave in Europe, he nevertheless found time to pay at Christmas a visit to the famous library of the Mahârâja of Alwar—a fact which speaks highly for his energy and his zeal in the good cause. His trouble has been rewarded by a number of important discoveries. The list of Vedic works in the Alwar collection, given at pp. 167-183, as well as the remarks in the body of the Report, show that the fame of the library has not been exaggerated, and that the Mahârâja really possesses a considerable number of rare books. Among the MSS. referring to the *Ṛigvêda* those containing the sacred books of the Śâṅkhâyanas are particularly valuable. It is very probable that, as Dr. Peterson contends (pp. 4-7) the MSS. of the *Saṁhitâ* contain the text which the Śâṅkhâyanas at present study. Whether it is the same as that to which their old Sûtras refer is another question altogether and very doubtful. Copies of the *Kaushîtakibrâhmaṇabhâshya* by Vinâyaka, which in the list stands erroneously as No. 36 under the heading Âśvalâyana-Śâkhâ, as well as of the fragments of Varadatta's and Ânartîya's commentaries on the *Śrautasûtras* ought to be procured for the Government collection. The latter possesses only incomplete transcripts of the *Brâhmaṇabhâshya* and nothing but the text of the *Śrautasûtras* (Nârâyaṇa's commentary on the *Gṛihyasûtra* is represented by a good old copy in the Collection of 1879-80). It will also be advisable to have Lakshmîdhara's *Galitadîpikâ* (No. 35, p. 168) copied. The question

[3] Reprinted from the *Oestreichische Monatsschrift für den Orient.*

of the Galitas deserves more attention than it has received hitherto; the old copy of the *Dipikâ*, bought in 1879-80, is defective. Dr. Peterson is right in declaring (p. 8) the *Sudarśanasaṁhitâ* (p. 167, No. 7) an erroneous entry. The MS. undoubtedly contains Sudarśanârya's commentary on the *Âpastambîya-Grihyatantra*. The book is common in Southern India, and is represented in Dr. Burnell's collection, lately purchased by the India Office. An examination of it, which my pupil, Mr. Winternitz, has made, shows that it is partly based on Haradatta's *Anâkulâ-Vritti* (Elphinstone College Collection of 1867-68), referring to the same work. The discovery of a new MS. of Dyâ Dvivêda's *Nîtimañjarî* (pp. 8 and 102-103) which gives the date of the author, is extremely interesting. As Dyâ Dvivêda wrote in Saṁvat 1110, he preceded Sâyaṇâchârya probably by 300 years, and it is evident that the latter author must have copied from him or that both have drawn on a common older source. Dr. Peterson's hope (p. 9) that the second Alwar MS. of the *Black-Yajurvêda-Saṁhitâ* may contain the *Âtrêyî-Śâkhâ*, will, I fear, prove deceptive. For the published edition of the Taittirîya text shows also the division into Kâṇḍas and Prapâṭhakas; and the number of the Prapâṭhakas in the complete Kâṇḍas agrees exactly with the latter. Among the works belonging to the *White-Yajurvêda* No. 62, the *Maunasûtra* deserves to be examined. No. 115, said to contain the *Grihyasûtrabhâshyamantraḥ* (?) by Dêvamiśra is, I suspect, a Bhâshya on the mantras of the *Pâraskaragrihyasûtra*. If so, it ought to be copied for Government as the similar work of Murârimiśra No. 2 of 1872-73, is defective. The collection of the *Âtharva*-MSS. includes, besides the *Vaitânabhâshya*, noticed by Dr. Peterson, two very rare works, the *Prâtiśâkhyabhâshya*, Nos. 16-17, the only known copy of which is in the Chambers Collection at Berlin, and the *Saṁhitâvidhivivaraṇa* (No. 31), a commentary on a portion of the *Kauśikagrihyasûtra*. The only known copy of this Vritti is in the Bombay Government Collection of 1870.

From the discussion of the Vedic MSS. Dr. Peterson turns (pp. 10-21) to an analysis of some books connected with the *Kâvyaprakâśa*, which he found in Alwar and Jeypur libraries. The first work noticed is Vidyâbhûshaṇa's *Sâhityakaumudî* which possesses some historical interest, as it makes mention in the *maṅgala* of the Vaishṇava sectarian Chaitanya (circiter 1485 A. D.) who according to the commentary, the *Krishṇânandinî*, was the author's "most beloved teacher," and of the conversion of Gajapati, *i. e.* Pratâparudra of Utkala (not A t k a l a, as the spelling is, p. 13) or Orissa by Chaitanya. The *Sâhityakaumudî* is an independent commentary on the *Kârikâs* of the *Kâvyaprakâśa*; and with respect to the origin of the latter its author gives expression to an opinion, similar to that which Dr. Peterson tried to establish in his First Report. He alleges that the *Kârikâs* do not belong to Mammaṭa, but to Bharatamuni, the reputed founder of the Sâhitya, Nâṭya and Saṅgîta Śâstras. The same story is mentioned also in a commentary of the *Kâvyaprakâśa*, Jayarâma's *Tilaka* (pp. 21 and 107), but is rejected as improbable. Dr. Peterson, though very naturally gratified by the discovery that the learned in India, too, have doubted the unity of Mammaṭa's textbook, finds it necessary to alter his former opinion. He has now recognised that the meaning which I attributed in my review of his First Report to the verse *ity êsha mârgô vidushâṁ vibhinnô* etc., is correct, and expresses his approval of the view of Jayanta, who explained the *Kâvyaprakâśa* in 1294 A.D. and ascribes *both the Kârikâs and their commentary* to one author (p. 20). Under these circumstances I will not quarrel with Dr. Peterson for his note (p. 16) on my explanation of the passage *tadadôshau* etc., though I see no reason for retracting my former remarks. In connexion with this subject I will add that Jayarâma's remark "some of Mammaṭa's Kârikâs are found in Bharata's Saṁhitâ" probably furnishes the clue to Vidyâbhûshaṇa's story. Two other works, Ruchaka's *Kâvyaprakâśasaṁkêta* and Ratnakaṇṭha's *Sârasamuchchayaṭîkâ*, a novelty, are used in order to settle Mammaṭa's date, which is fixed in the first half of the twelfth century. A note at the end of the *Saṁkêta* calls this work *kritî râjânakamammaṭâlakaruchakânâm*; and the somewhat corrupt colophon of the first Ullâsa speaks of the *śrîrâjânakâmallamammaṭaruchakavirachitanijagranthakâvyaprakâśasaṁkêta*. Hence Dr. Peterson, who corrects "*râjânakâmalla*" to "*râjânakâlaka*," infers that the *Saṁkêta* and its original were the joint production of the three authors, Mammaṭa, Alaka and Ruchaka. Alaka is known, as Dr. Peterson showed in his first report and again proves in the present one, as the author of the end of the *Kâvyaprakâśa*. Ruchaka he identifies with Maṅkha's teacher Ruyyaka who flourished in the reign of Jayasiṁha of Kaśmîr and wrote a treatise on poetics, called *Alaṁkârasarvasva*. In support of this identification he uses the *Sârasamuchchhaya*, a work chiefly based on Jayanta's ancient commentary of 1294 A.D. It quotes an *Alaṁkârasarvasva* by Ruchaka and a commentary on an *Alaṁkârasarvasva* by Alaka. The fact that we have two almost

homonymous authors, either of whom is credited with an *Alaṁkârasarvasva*, as well as the discovery that Alaka completed the *Kâvyaprakâśa* and commented on an *Alaṁkârasarvasva*, make Dr. Peterson's inferences very tempting. If I, nevertheless, hesitate to accept them without reserve, it is :—1, because, as far as I remember, the *Saṁkêta* is, according to the Kaśmîrian Paṇḍits and MSS. No. 247 of the Deccan College Collection of 1875-76, the independent work of Ruchaka ;—2, because the substitution of Ruchaka for Ruyyaka is not easily explicable either on phonetic or palæographic grounds ;—and 3, because *Alaṁkârasarvasa* is a not uncommon title for works on poetics. A full solution of these difficulties is easily possible, if Dr. Peterson will compare the Deccan College MS., and will look out the quotations from Ruchaka's work in the Bombay copies of Ruyyaka's *Sarvasva*.

In spite of these objections to details, I agree with Dr. Peterson with respect to Mammaṭa's age. I do not think that he can have written, as I formerly supposed, as late as the 13th century. For a note in a Jaina Prabandha and a renewed examination of my acquisitions of 1873-74 have taught me that Sômêśvara, the court-poet and Purôhita of Vîradhavala and Vîsaladêva of Dhôlkâ wrote a commentary on the *Kâvyaprakâśa*, and that a copy of his work is found in No. 66 of the Deccan College Collection of 1873-74. Its full title is *Bhaṭṭa-Sômêśvara-virachita-Kâvyâdarśa-Kâvyaprakâśasaṁkêta*. If a Gujarâtî poet of the first half of the thirteenth century thought it worth his while to explain the work of a Kaśmîrian, the latter cannot be placed later than the twelfth century.

To the following remarks on some other works found in Alwar libraries (pp. 22-23), chief among which is "the Gôlâdhyâya of an astronomical Siddhânta which professes to be a part of the missing and long-sought-for *Rômaka-Siddhânta*" I must add that the extracts at p. 110 do not bear out the assertion made. Portions of the genuine *Rômaka-Siddhânta*, as well as of the equally important *Vâsishṭha-Siddhânta* are, I think, contained in No. 34 of the Deccan College Collection of 1870, No. 78 of 1868-69 and Nos. 35-36 of 1870. All these MSS., as well as Dr. Peterson's new one, ought to be examined by a competent astronomer like Dr. Thibaut.

Next Dr. Peterson proceeds to an analysis of two new works, cursorily noticed in the First Report,——Dâmôdaragupta's *Śambhalîmata*, pp. 23-33, and Sômadêva's *Yaśastilaka*, pp. 34-49. The former is an early specimen of Indian pornography, similar to and possibly the prototype of Kshêmêndra's *Samayamâtṛikâ*. Though, like the latter, it is written with considerable *verve*, its contents doom it to neglect. The chief value of the find will probably be that it teaches us what Kalhaṇa, (*Râjataraṁgiṇî*, vi. 495) means, when he calls the poet Dâmôdaragupta, whom Jâyâpîḍa made his minister, *kuṭṭinîmatakâriṇam*. The Yaśastilaka, which turns out to have been written in 959 A.D. (not in 825, as the First Report asserted) and to be not a historical poem, but an ordinary Jaina romance, written in order to inculcate the doctrines of the sect, possesses yet some interest on account of its numerous quotations from Kâvyas and Śâstras. Very important is the mention of the poet Râjaśêkhara along with Kâlidâsa and Mâgha. Râjaśêkhara's time is now pretty well defined by his quoting *Ânandavardhana*, circiter 850 A.D., and by his being quoted in Sômadêva's work. Professor Bhâṇḍârkar's note on the kings mentioned in the colophon of the *Yaśastilaka*, pp. 47-49, is carefully done and exhaustive.

The remaining portion of the Report is taken up with notices of some books purchased during the year 1883-84. The discovery of a *Vîramitrôdaya* (pp. 49-57) which differs from the well-known bulky volumes on Âchâra and Vyavahâra and is simply a commentary on *Yâjñavalkya*, possesses considerable importance for the practical lawyer, because Mitramiśra is one of the authorities recognised by the law courts. For the history of Yâjñavalkya's text, its value, I fear, will be small, because its date is very late. Copies of Viśvarûpa's *Vârttika* and Dêvabôdha's *Vṛitti* would be more welcome. Historically interesting is the new volume of elegant extracts, the *Harihârâvali*, from which Dr. Peterson adduces (pp. 57-64,) numerous valuable details. I can notice here only one point. If Râjaśêkhara did write a *Bhôjaprabandha* (pp. 59-60), its hero cannot be the famous Pramâra Bhôja of Dhâr, who certainly did not begin to reign in 966 A.D., as his inscriptions and his Karaṇa are dated from 60-80 years later. I will add that Dr. Peterson can render a very great service to his colleagues, if he will see that all the Sanskrit anthologies are printed. The owner of the Nirṇayasâgar Press will probably undertake what cannot be included in the Bombay Sanskrit Series.

In Jñânavimala's commentary on Mahêśvara's *Śabdabhêdaprakâśa* (No. 100, pp. 64-65) Dr. Peterson has found the exceedingly important statement that the Aindra grammar begins with the words *siddhir anuktânâṁ rûḍhêḥ*. This discovery settles, indeed, the question, if an Aindra grammar really existed; it also raises the hope that the work may still be found in one of the Jaina libraries.

The remarks on the value of Vâtsyâyana's *Kâmaśâstra* are very true. The earliest poets whose works we possess, seem to have carefully studied it and to have used its rules for their compositions. The best commentary on Vâtsyâyana is, as the English translation (printed by the Hindoo Kâmashâstra Society, London, 1883, for private circulation) states, the *Jayamaṅgala-Vṛitti*, written in the 13th century. I regret that I cannot "forgive" Dr. Peterson's suggestion that the Hindus derived their Kâmaśâstra from the Ionian Greeks. Many passages in Vedic literature and in the Buddhist Vinaya make it perfectly believable that this "science" is of true Indian growth.

The last twenty pages refer to Jaina and especially to Digambara works. Vasunandin's *Âchâravṛitti*, the *Tattvârthavyâkhyânâlaṁkâra*, the *Shaṭprâbhṛitakâ* with a commentary, and Mêrutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* are very valuable acquisitions. It may be noted that two copies of the text of the first work are found in the Collection of 1875-76; Nos. 656-57, and that the usual title of the book is *Mûlâchâra*. Mêrutuṅga's *Prabandhachintâmaṇi* is included in the Collection of 1873-74. Dr. Peterson's remarks on these and other Jaina works are most instructive and the extracts in the Appendix judiciously selected. One might, however, have wished to learn something definite about Samantabhadra's Prâkṛit grammar, No. 96 of his list, and about the Digambara *Bṛihatkalpabhâshya*. In 1876 Paṇḍits Phatehlâl and Chimaṇlâl protested that the *Bṛihatkalpasûtra* was a Śvêtâmbara forgery (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 29). What proofs are there that the MS. found is a Digambara book? It is also a matter of deep regret to me to see the discussion on the *Jainêndravyâkaraṇa* (pp. 67-74) disfigured by an unnecessarily bitter attack on Dr. Kielhorn. Dr. Kielhorn's identification of its reputed author Pûjyapâda with the *Tîrthaṁkara* Vardhamâna is no doubt erroneous. But there is no need to represent his view, which was a very natural inference from the few facts known to him, as a dire offence. Dr. Peterson's remarks, the correctness of which is disputed by Mr. Pâṭhak, and seems by no means certain, show that the questions of Pûjyapâda's identity and age are surrounded with very great difficulties. I am at present not prepared to give a definite opinion on the disputed points, whether Pûjyapâda's other and real name was Dêvanandin or Guṇanandin, whether the *Pañchavastuka* belongs to Śrutakîrtti or to Dêvanandin, and whether Pûjyapâda lived in the fifth century A.D. or in the seventh. But I must call attention to one fact, *viz.* that Pûjyapâda is doubtlessly a *biruda* or honorific epithet, not the real name of a Yati. Though it may have been customary to designate Dêvanandin or Guṇanandin by this term, just as it is usual to call Kumârilabhaṭṭa, Bhaṭṭapâdâḥ, yet there must have been many Jaina Pûjyapâdas, just as there are many Bhaṭṭas. Hence the utmost caution is necessary in using inscriptions or passages from books which mention *a* Pûjyapâda for fixing the date of *the* Pûjyapâda.

In conclusion, I can only congratulate Dr. Peterson on the results of his work in 1883-84, and express the hope that the Third Report will make us acquainted with a still greater number of Ratnas, and will show a still more rigorous exclusion of all works of doubtful value from the list of purchases.

G. BÜHLER.

CENTENARY REVIEW OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL, FROM 1784 TO 1883. Published by the Society. (Calcutta: Printed by Thacker, Spink and Co., 1885). 8vo.—Part I. History of the Society, by Dr. RAJENDRALAL MITRA, LL.D., C.I.E., pp. 195.—Part II. Archæology, History, Literature, etc., by Dr. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, pp. 216 and ciii.—Part III. Natural Science, by BABOO P. N. BOSE, pp. 109 and xcvi. With Proceedings of the Special Centenary Meeting, pp. 20.

"A hundred years have elapsed—a century of arduous and unremitting labour, and the time has now arrived for a review of the progress made and of the services rendered to the cause of literature and science by the Asiatic Society of Bengal since its foundation." Such are the opening words of the valuable volume before us, a volume which we owe to the united labours of Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, and Mr. P. N. Bose, and which will be received with gratitude by all who take an interest in India and in Oriental studies generally. The Asiatic Society of Bengal may indeed be proud of what it has accomplished since the days of its foundation; and its centenary festival could not have been celebrated in a more fitting manner than by placing before the world a record of the names and labours of its distinguished members, who—few of them trained to be scholars or Orientalists by profession—have opened up new fields of inquiry, have made discoveries which must ever rouse the grateful admiration of later generations, and have laid the foundations of many branches of study, which, thanks to their genius and pains-taking toil, we are prosecuting with ease, and with some hope of completing the building designed by them. But there was another, if we may say so, more practical reason why such a record, as has now been presented to us, should have been written. The *Researches*, the *Journal*, and the *Proceedings* of the Society fill, we are told, no less than 103 volumes. "These 103 volumes represent, roughly speaking, a total of 50,000 pages of

closely printed matter, replete with innumerable essays, papers, monographs, and notes of great interest." By most men these volumes can be consulted only in one of our large public libraries; and a scholar interested in any particular subject in coins or inscriptions, language or literature, manners or religion, geology or geography, &c., even when within reach of one of the centres of learning, has had to search through many volumes in order to ascertain what, or where, or whether anything had been written on it in this Society's journals. Such search, if not rendered altogether unnecessary, has now been at least greatly facilitated by this *Centenary Review*.

As has been suggested above, the *Review* consists of three parts. In the first part Dr. Rajendralal Mitra has sketched what may be called the outward history of the Society; how it was founded by Sir W. Jones; what rules were made from time to time regarding the election of members, their contributions, meetings, &c.; how the Society acquired a house of its own, and founded and extended its library; what gifts were made to it of coins, inscriptions and other objects of interest; how it created the finest Museum in India, undertook the completion of a series of valuable works, the printed sheets of which had been directed by Government "to be sold as waste paper," gave its liberal assistance to Oriental publications of all kind, and particularly established and successfully carried on the *Bibliotheca Indica*, &c. Towards the end Dr. R. Mitra has given brief personal notices of some of the most renowned scholars with whom the fame of the Society is intimately associated, of Sir W. Jones, F. H. Colebrooke, Sir Charles Wilkins, H. H. Wilson, James Prinsep, B. H. Hodgson, and others; and in four appendices he has added a statement showing the number of members from time to time, a list of the officers of the Society from 1784 to 1883, a list of the books published directly or indirectly by the Society, and finally a valuable alphabetical index of the papers and contributions to the *Asiatic Researches* and the *Journal* and *Proceedings* of the Society.

The literary work done by members of the Society or under its auspices has been more fully detailed in the second and third parts of the *Review*, the former composed by Dr. A. F. Rudolf Hoernle and the latter by Mr. P. N. Bose. Dr. Hoernle has arranged the matter which fell to his share under the heads of Antiquities, Coins, Ancient Indian Alphabets, History, Languages and Literature; and Mr. Bose has described the achievements in Mathematical and Physical Science, Geology, Zoology, Botany, Geography, Ethnology, and Chemistry. Under similar headings both scholars have appended to their own account and estimate of what has been done, accurate classified indices of all the papers in the Society's publications arranged in the order in which they have been published,—indices which will prove of very great value to future inquirers. That both Dr. Hoernle and Mr. Bose have had to go through an immense amount of reading is evident from the innumerable references which are crowded together in the pages of their reviews. It is equally certain that what they have done has been a labour of love to themselves, and that they will earn the gratitude of many scholars for what they have so successfully accomplished.

Where three men have done so much to insure our grateful acknowledgment of their services, it would seem invidious to single out one of them for particular praise. But there can be no doubt that, of the scholars named, it is Dr. Hoernle, whose task has been the most laborious; just as it is his share of the work which will prove of the greatest interest to most readers of the *Indian Antiquary*. The great discoveries which form the foundation of our knowledge of the history of Ancient India, the decipherment of the Indian alphabets which will ever render illustrious the names of men such as James Prinsep and Alexander Cunningham, and the researches of Prinsep, Thomas, and others, into the coinages of various Indian dynasties, were indeed sure to prove attractive themes to a scholar who combines accuracy in details with a wide range of reading; and the account which he has given of them will in turn be regarded as perhaps the most attractive portion of this *Centenary Review*. That opinions should differ regarding some of the statements made by Dr. Hoernle, and the views suggested by him, is only natural, when we remember how fragmentary is our knowledge of the history of India, and how often new discoveries force us to cast aside what were before accepted facts. It is true that some scholars do consider A.D. 166 as the initial year of the Gupta era, and that some do place the accession of Kanishka A.D. 78; though an impartial examination of all the evidence available would appear to prove that the Gupta era really commenced A.D. 319, and that Kanishka must have reigned long after the date assigned to him. But such and similar details in no wise detract from the value of the work before us; and the writer of this notice feels sure that all readers will join him in thanking both those who designed, and those who were directly instrumental in bringing about the publication of the *Centenary Review* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

F. KIELHORN.

INDEX.

ERRATA IN VOL. XIV.

p. 8, note 4, *for* 30th July *read* 13th August.

p. 14, note 1, *for* Pulekêśin *read* Pulikêśin.

p. 55*a*, l. 21, *for* CHITTUR *read* CHELLUR (see p. 204)

„ l. 29, *for* Chittûr *read* Chellûr.

p. 95*b*, line 33, *dele the comma after* Kâcha.

p. 159*a*, l. 42, *after* for photo-lithography *insert* The other ring also was probably a plain one, as the seal of the dynasty,—Garuḍa, half-man and half-bird, in the act of devouring a serpent,—is engraved in the lower proper right corner of the second plate.

p. 230*a*, l. 14, and note 7, *for* Vilanda *read* Vilandha.

„ Text, line 10, *for* mu(ma)khi-âhu *read* mu(ma)kh-âhu

p. 233*a*, l. 33, for *bhêdav-ill* read *bhêdav=ill*

p. 234*a*, l. 22, *for* Vaishṅava *read* Vaishṇava